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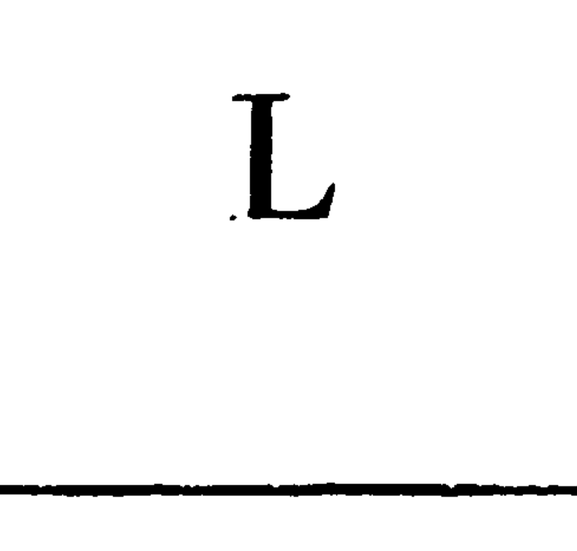
Universal HISTORY,

IN

SEVEN VOLUMES,

IN

FOLIO.



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ADDITIONS

Particular REMARKS *concerning* PERSEPOLIS, *and the* Antient Authors *who have written upon that Subject.*

THE modern writers, both *Perſian* and *Arabian*, pretend that one of their kings or heroes, called *Giemſchid*, or *Zjemſchid*, was the founder of that metropolis of *Perſia*; and that he called it *Eſtechar*, i. e. cut out of the rock. They add, that that city was of ſo vaſt an extent, that it contained alſo the city of *Chiras* within its walls; that queen *Homai*, *Bahaman*'s daughter, founded the palace of that city, called *Gihil*, or *Chilminar*; and that the monuments on the hill owe their origin to prince *Kitſchtaſb*, ſon to the 5th king of the race of the *Cajanides*, called *Lohoraſp*.

NEVERTHELESS, ſeeing that thoſe relations are mixed with many fictions, which have little probability; and that they no-way agree with the old *Grecian* hiſtories, nor with the ſacred authors; we ought not to rely upon them. The caſe being ſo, I ſhall not ſcruple to ſay (with all due reſpect to the opinion of the learned) that in the remains of the ruins of *Chilminar*, its ſituation, the edifice, the figures and their dreſſes, the ornaments, and whatever is to be ſeen there, agree with the manner of the antient *Perſians*, and with the deſcription which is found of the antient palace of *Perſepolis*.

DIODORUS of *Sicily*, who is reported to have lived in the time of *Julius Cæſar*, and of *Auguſtus*, is the only one among the antient authors, who hath left us a rough draught of the noble palace of *Perſepolis*, that was deſtroyed by *Alexander the Great*, extracted from the *Egyptian*, *Grecian*, and other antiquities, which time hath deſtroyed. After that author hath mentioned, that *Alexander* had expoſed that capital city of the kingdom of *Perſia*, which was the wealthieſt in the univerſe, to be plundered by his *Macedonian* ſoldiers, excepting out of it the royal palace; he deſcribes that palace as an extraordinary piece of work, in theſe words: This lofty edifice, ſaith he, or royal palace, is ſurrounded with 3 walls, the firſt whereof, being very ſtately, is 16 cubits high, and is flanked with towers, and a parapet. The ſecond, which is like the firſt, in reſpect of the architecture, is twice as high again. The 3d is *ſquare, cut out of the rock, and is 60 cubits high.* The courtines of them were ſtrengthened with paliſades of copper, and gates of the ſame, 20 cubits high; the firſt was intended to ſtrike a terror, and the other to ſecure the palace. On the eaſt ſide thereof is to be ſeen a piece of ground, containing 4 half-acres, and beyond it the royal hill, where are the monuments of the kings.

MOREOVER, it is no wonder, if the ruins of that antient edifice, which was reduced to aſhes by *Alexander the Great*, 2000 years ago, do not exactly agree with the deſcription which *Diodorus* hath given of that place; if one conſiders, ever ſo little, the great alterations, that have happened in *Perſia* ſince that time; that after the death of that prince it fell to the ſhare of one of his captains, who made it hereditary to his family; that the *Parthians* conquered it afterwards; that the *Perſians* recovered it by the means of *Artaxerxes*, in the time of *Alexander Severus*; and governed it a conſiderable time; and laſtly, how *Mahomet*'s ſucceſſors ſubdued it after that.

ALL thoſe conſiderations being duly weighed (I ſay), it is no wonder, that authors differ in their ſentiments; and much more, becauſe it is to be preſumed, that the fury of armies, the tempeſts, and earthquakes, have intirely deſtroyed a part of that lofty edifice, or hath buried it in the bowels of the earth. On the contrary, there is occaſion to wonder, that there are ſtill found, at this day, many things, according to the deſcription of Don *Garcias de Silva de Figueroa*, in his embaſſy to *Perſia*, that are agreeable to that of *Diodorus* of *Sicily*, and thoſe of ſeveral other antient authors: and as my plates agree with thoſe deſcriptions, methinks there is no doubt, that the ruins of *Chilminar* are thoſe of the famous palace of *Perſepolis*, which was deſtroyed by *Alexander the Great*. *Diodorus* of *Sicily* ſaith, in the place before-mentioned, that there was a piece of ground containing 4 half-acres between that palace and the hill; where the *kings* monuments are to be ſeen. I have obſerved the ſame thing, as well as the *Spaniſh* embaſſador already mentioned, who ſaith the ſame thing in his deſcription of *Chilminar*, except in the diſtance, wherein he varies a little from the *Grecian* author. For tho' the *Latin* tranſlation of that which I made uſe of, allows only 400 feet compaſs to 4 *Plethra*, or half-acres of land, it does not follow, that he meant the ordinary feet of the *Romans*, or the *Greeks*. Contrarywiſe, tho' a certain unknown Author, quoted by *Salmaſius*, ſaith that the *Greek* word πλέθρον ſignified, among the *Romans*, a ſpace of ground containing 100 ſquare feet, he is ſure, nevertheleſs, that the royal foot, called by the *Greeks*, *Platbaerius*, was 16 inches long, which is confirmed by the ſame *Salmaſius*. The learned *Lipſius* thinks alſo, that the πλέθρον was within a ſmall matter like *Jugerum agri Romani*, or half-acre of land, of the *Roman* meaſure. An account thereof may be found in his treatiſe of the military art of the *Romans*.

mans. Thoſe things being well conſidered, it ſeems to me, that my common paces agree well enough with the relations of thoſe antient authors; and that helps to prove, that the ruins of *Chilminar* are the ſame with thoſe of the old palace of *Perſepolis.* The famous *Iſaacus Voſſius* is of the ſame opinion, in his remarks on *Pomponius Mela.* *Ptolemæus* of *Alexandria*, an antient geographer, places alſo *Perſepolis* in 33 degrees, 20 minutes, of northern latitude. *Strabo*, *Stephanus*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and ſome others, make mention alſo of *Perſepolis*, without taking any notice of its ſituation. *Salmaſius* thinks that *Ptolemæus*, and *Ammianus* his tranſcriber, have ſpoken of that city as of a place which was ſtill in being, tho' he is perſuaded, that there remained not any ſign of it in their time, and that *Alexander* had burnt down the city, as well as the palace. It is likewiſe the opinion which *Quintus Curtius* ſeems to embrace. So, whether it be upon the account that the *Greeks* and *Romans* have ſeldom travelled into *Perſia* after the death of *Alexander*, or that the writings of thoſe amongſt them, who have diſcourſed of *Perſepolis*, have been deſtroyed, as ſeveral others have; it appears nevertheleſs, from the firſt book of the *Maccabees*, and *Joſephus*'s teſtimony, that the city of *Perſepolis*, which the antient *Perſians* called *Elymais*, was ſtill in being, or at leaſt ſome part of it, in the time of the illuſtrious *Antiochus.* Whether it was ſo ſaid, becauſe *Alexander* had not deſtroyed it all (as I ſuppoſe), or becauſe it was partly rebuilt ſince that time, is uncertain. I do not ſee, neither, why as much credit is not given to thoſe books of the holy Scripture, called the Apocrypha, and to *Joſephus*'s hiſtory, as to the heathen writers; and ſo much the more, becauſe it is known, that the *Jews* were diſperſed into all parts, after the *Babylonian* captivity; and that many of them went and ſettled themſelves in *Perſia*, after the death of *Alexander*, where I am perſuaded their ſucceſſors have remained to this day. Yet, tho' all this ſhould be queſtioned, it appears plainly, by the arms, the dreſſes, and the ornaments of the figures, and alſo by the hieroglyphics which are found at *Chilminar*, that it was an antient palace of the kings of *Perſia*, and that it muſt be that of *Perſepolis.* I ſhall again endeavour to prove it, by the teſtimony of thoſe authors who have written upon that ſubject.

THE dreſſes of the figures that are upon the ſtaircaſe, are partly ſhaped after the manner of the *Perſians*, and partly like the *Medes.* Thoſe of the antient *Perſians* were of leather, with a girdle of the ſame, according to *Herodotus:* but they altered their faſhion after the reign of *Cyrus*; and it is certain, that the dreſſes of the figures of the ſtaircaſe are the ſame as they were in *Perſia*, when *Xerxes* invaded *Greece.* They uſed caps made in the form of tiares; their gowns were covered with mails of iron, which reſembled the ſcales of fiſhes; and their breeches were tied at the bottom about their legs. Their ſhields were made of twiſted ropes, called *gerra*, which the *Romans* called afterwards, *Spaniſh* bucklers; they carried, beſides, ſome arrows, which hung about them, ſome ſhort pikes, a great quiver, and ſome javelins made of canes or ruſhes, and a dagger on their right hip; which arms they wore in imitation of the *Medes.* The *Ciſſiers*, or *Kiſſiers*, a *Perſian* people, wore in thoſe days mitres, inſtead of tiares, according to *Herodotus.* The long gowns they wore without plats, were the true *Perſian* dreſſes: *ſtolæ Perſicæ* are mentioned by *Cælius Rhodiginus*; but *Cyrus* brought in the platted gowns for the nobles of the kingdom, after he had conquered *Aſia.* It was at his firſt offering after the taking of *Babylon*, that he diſtributed ſome dreſſes, made after the manner of the *Medes*, to the *Perſians*, who had never worn any ſuch till then, according to *Xenophon.* The ſtaircaſe where the figures are repreſented, proves clearly, that the ruins of *Chilminar* are thoſe of the palace of *Perſepolis*, becauſe the dreſs, and the arms of thoſe figures, which differ altogether from thoſe now in uſe among the modern *Perſians*, ſhew, that that ſtaircaſe ſtood in the reign of the kings of the firſt race, and even in the time of *Xerxes* the Great. Don *Garcias de Silva de Figueroa*, the *Spaniſh* embaſſador ſent to king *Abas*, ſpeaks of that ſtaircaſe, as of a piece that repreſented a triumph; and yet it is no-way like thoſe now in uſe among the *Perſians:* for *Xenophon* ſaith poſitively (after he has given the deſcription of the offering, which *Cyrus* offered at *Babylon)*, that all the *Perſian* kings who have ſucceeded that prince, have imitated his manner of dreſſing, when he appeared publicly; and no beaſts were ſeen, but upon offering days. It is well known alſo, that the *Perſians* offered horſes to the Sun, and oxen to the Moon, as well as the antient *Ethiopians.* The horſes repreſented the ſwiftneſs of the Sun's courſe, and the oxen, the tillage over which the Moon preſided, as it was ſuppoſed. See *Xenophon*, *Heliodorus*, and *Ludovicus Februarius.*

NEVERTHELESS, ſeeing there are, on that ſtaircaſe, ſome figures of camels, aſſes, and he-goats, as well of horſes, and of oxen; I am perſuaded (with all due reſpect to the learned), that whatſoever is ſeen on that ſtaircaſe, repreſents nothing elſe, but the anniverſary of a king's birth, and the offerings made to him; which is a thing in uſe at this preſent time, on ſuch occaſions, wherein there are brought to the king's table, by way of offering, ſheep, deer, *&c.* ready roaſted. See *Athenæus.*

THOSE kind of proceſſions are led by ſome perſons that wear a tiara, or a ſort of a crown, upon their heads; which cuſtom was uſed in the time of *Cyrus*, under whoſe reign the chief lords at court, called *Æquales*, were obliged to attend at the offerings, and at feaſts, with a crown on their heads, becauſe they believed, that the gods were delighted with ſeeing the magnificence of thoſe who made them offerings, and accepted them the more kindly. See *Xenophon.*

THE

THE veſſels which thoſe figures carry along, were probably full of fragrant herbs, and eſpecially of myrrh; which things the *Perſian* kings received chearfully, tho' from the hands of their ſubjects, as *Athenæus* relates it.

THE *Spaniſh* embaſſador ſo often mentioned is perſuaded, that the beaſt which the lion attacks (on the ſtaircaſe) is an ox, or a bull; but it ſeems to me rather to be an horſe, or an aſs. Moreover, it is but an hieroglyphic, ſignifying virtue triumphing over ſtrength; and moſt people know, that the antient *Perſians*, and the *Egyptians*, concealed their greateſt myſteries under equivocal figures, as *Heliodorus* obſerves.

AND ſeeing all thoſe beaſts are repreſented with horns, tho' naturally they have none, there muſt be therefore ſome myſtery in it. That aſſertion is ſo much the better grounded, becauſe it is known, that horns were formerly an emblem of ſtrength, and alſo of majeſty; and that they have repreſented the ſun and moon with horns, as well as *Alexander the Great*, whom the eaſtern nations called *Dhulkarnam*, or the horned, becauſe he had ſubdued two of the ſun's horns, *viz.* eaſt and weſt.

As to the ſcales, moſt people know, that juſtice was in great veneration among the antient *Perſians*, as *Xenophon* obſerves: therefore they carried ſcales before the king, and before the grandees of the kingdom, to repreſent juſtice: that cuſtom has likewiſe been in uſe among the antient *Greeks*, and afterwards among the *Romans*.

The figures which are found in the two firſt portico's, are pretty like an horſe, before and behind; but their heads are almoſt like a monkey's: truly their tail is not much like that of an horſe; but that might be imputed to the ornaments that are joined to it, and which were much in uſe among the antient *Perſians*. They are called ſphinxes, becauſe they are like monkeys: and, ſeeing the antients gave alſo the name of *Sphinx* to a certain bird, the *Greeks*, and probably the *Perſians*, have allowed them wings. Some naturaliſts pretend, that they repreſent likewiſe the ſtrength of the volatile and fixed ſpirits.

THE umbrella was formerly in uſe among the *Perſians*, and *Xenophon* ſeems to place the time of its invention in the reign of *Artaxerxes*, brother to *Cyrus* the younger, and not in that of *Cyrus the Great*, under whoſe reign the *Perſians* imitated the dreſſes, the ornaments, and the manners of the *Medes*, without minding the heat of the ſun, the violence of the winds, or the variety of the ſeaſons. But there happened an alteration in the reign of *Artaxerxes*, who addicted himſelf to wine and debauches, with his whole court, and all grew effeminate; ſo that they were no longer delighted with the ſhade of trees, and the coolneſs of grottoes and caves, to ſecure themſelves from the ſun's heat; umbrellas were then found out, and ſervants were employed in carrying of them.

THE 2 figures armed with lances repreſent the *tunicæ manicatæ*, or long platted gowns of the *Medes*, which the *haſtati*, or lanciers, both *Medes* and *Perſians*, wore in the reign of *Cyrus*, and of many of his ſucceſſors. That on their head is a kind of cap, or mitre, mentioned by *Herodotus* in his deſcription of the dreſſes and the arms of *Xerxes*'s ſoldiers, and the *Grecian* army. You need only read *Rhodiginus*, with this author, to be thoroughly informed of this matter.

THE 3 figures partly broken, one whereof has a platted gown, a tiara, and its chin wrapp'd round in a linen cloth, repreſents a *Perſian* prieſt. Dr. *Hyde* mentions it in his hiſtory of the religion of the antient *Perſians*.

THE figure loaded with offerings repreſents a *Perſian* ſoldier, who is one of thoſe juſt mentioned: and I take that which is fighting with the lion, and is dreſs'd after the manner of the *Medes*, to be an hieroglyphic, becauſe the *Egyptians*, from whom the *Perſians* have borrowed ſeveral of their cuſtoms, repreſented ſtrength and valour by a lion. You may read *Clemens Alexandrinus* on that matter. It may perhaps too be a real fight, the *Medes* and *Perſians* having formerly delighted to fight with beaſts, as *Xenophon* obſerves in his inſtitution of *Cyrus*. Thoſe verſed in antiquities may judge of it, as they think fit.

THE figures on the half-buried pilaſter are alſo dreſs'd in the *Medes* manner, as has been obſerved in diſcourſing of the figure with the umbrella. You ſee a *Perſian* prieſt dreſs'd in the ſame manner by the window, who leads for his offering an he-goat with an horn bended downwards: the figure of it is pretty odd, after the cuſtom of the antients, who ſet forth their offerings under divers uncommon figures, on occaſion of a myſterious conſecration. *Heliodorus* diſcourſes fully upon that account; and *Pignorius* alſo, in his deſcription of the table of *Iſis*.

THE pilaſter full of figures, repreſents a royal audience, where the king appears ſitting on his throne, with a footſtool, after the manner of the antient *Perſians*. The book of *Eſther* mentions it, and *Xenophon* alſo. The firſt figure which ſtands behind the king, is dreſs'd in the *Medes* manner; the ſecond in the *Perſian* manner; and the third like the firſt. The bundle of lances repreſents the ſtrength and concord of the kingdom; and the figure dreſs'd in the *Perſian* manner, which ſtands before that prince, is a petitioner: the other figures armed with lances and ſhields are guards, who are dreſs'd like *Medes*: thoſe figures ſeem to be ranged on both ſides at a diſtance.

On the moſt adorned pilaſter may be ſeen the figure of another king, or of a perſon of great diſtinction, dreſs'd alſo after the manner of the *Medes*, with a ſort of a crown upon its head, which ornaments the kings favourites uſually wore. See *Xenophon*.

The figures below the work ſeem to be intended for an ornament, and a prop to it: they are dreſs'd the *Perſian* way; the pilaſter, whereof the pedeſtal is to be ſeen, ſhews ſomething like it.

There is found upon the monument, cut out in the rock near *Perſepolis*, the figure of a king before an altar, on which the ſacred fire is burning, which was in ſuch veneration among the *Perſians*, that they carried it in the army, in time of war, upon a ſilver altar, as *Quintus Curtius* relates. This fire was committed to the care of *Magi*, and was never ſuffered to go out, but at the king's deceaſe.

He who is ſuppoſed to be a king before the altar, is clad in a long gown after the manner of the *Medes*, with a crown on his head, holding in his hand a ſnake half-twiſted. I am perſuaded, that he is performing an offering; which is the more probable, becauſe it is known, that *Cambyſes* and *Cyrus* were at the ſame time kings and magi, and, as ſuch, were obliged to offer ſome offerings. Therefore when *Cyrus* attended *Cyaxares* the king of the *Medes* his uncle, in his expedition againſt the *Aſſyrians*; *Cambyſes* preſented an offering for his ſon, and for his army: and when *Cyrus*, after the conqueſt of the kingdom of *Babylon*, returned into *Perſia*; *Cambyſes* called together the nobles of the kingdom; and made a decree, whereby he injoined *Cyrus* to make an offering himſelf, in the behalf of his people, after his acceſſion to the crown of *Perſia*, he being dead; and that ceremony was to be performed by a prince of the blood, in the king's abſence. *Xenophon* makes mention of it, in his inſtitution of *Cyrus*.

As to the ſerpent half-twiſted, it is known, that the antients denoted, by that hieroglyphic, a king of narrow dominion; whereas, when they would repreſent a powerful monarchy, they did it with a ſerpent in the form of a circle, holding its tail between its teeth, as it may be found in *Horus Apollo*. That induces me to think, that the ſerpent (if it be one), that the king holds in his hand, denotes the king of *Perſia:* and tho' it ſhould be a bow, my conjecture ſtands nevertheleſs, the bow being a weapon particularly fanſied by the *Perſians*, who carried it with ſome other arrows about them, for a diſtinguiſhing mark from other nations. The figures upon the ſtaircaſe, with the quivers upon their ſhoulders, confirm it.

The ſmall figure that appears in the air which Dr. *Hyde* ſuppoſes to be a king flying, or a ſoul ſoaring up to heaven), is dreſs'd in its head and body, like that of the king, which is below it. *Strabo* ſaith, that the *Perſians* did not burn the offerings preſented to the Sun, but parted them among themſelves, being perſuaded, that the gods were ſatisfied with the ſouls of the beaſts offered to them. For my part, methinks that figure might very probably be intended for an oracle, becauſe it ſits on a tripod, according to the cuſtom of the *Delphians*.

The figures repreſented on each ſide of the tomb are dreſſed in the *Medes* way; and thoſe that are between the ornaments, with their hands lifted up, the *Perſian* way.

The heads of the beaſts with one horn are only ornaments that repreſent the power of kings, as hath been already obſerved.

The ſun that appears above the altar, ſets forth the antient divinity of the *Perſians*. As *Strabo* and *Quintus Curtius* obſerve.

Lastly, One of the main reaſons that induce me to believe, that *Chilminar* muſt have been the antient palace of *Perſepolis*, is becauſe the tombs which ſtand eaſt in the hill, were formerly called the royal monuments.

As to that of *Naxi-Ruſtan*, I do not doubt in the leaſt, that it is *Darius* the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes*, who ordered it to be built, the outſide of that tomb agreeing exactly with the deſcription given of it by *Cteſius*, in his *Perſian* hiſtory, out of *Herodotus*, and with that of *Diodorus* of *Sicily* already mentioned.

Observe the ſenſe of theſe words of that hiſtorian: Darius *ordered a monument to be raiſed for himſelf on a double hill, whither his friends, who were deſirous to ſee it, cauſed themſelves to be drawn up by a prieſt, with the help of a rope.*

These things being conſidered, none can deny, that there is a great likeneſs between *Chilminar* and the palace of the antient city of *Perſepolis:* but it would be a difficult matter to fix the time wherein it was built; becauſe, when *Xenophon* ſpeaks of the journey which *Cyrus* undertook from *Babylon* into *Perſia*, to ſee the king his father; he ſaith only, that, having left his forces in the way, he marched forward toward the city; but does not name it. Moreover, it is very probable, that the city of *Elymais*, which was the metropolis of the kingdom, was called afterwards *Perſepolis*. As to the figures and ornaments, that are found at *Chilminar*, they have been ſince made by ſeveral kings.

ADDITIONS

TO THE

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

The HISTORY *of the* ETRUSCANS*.

* *See* Octavo Edition, *Vol.* XVI. *at the beginning.*

SECT. I.

Deſcription of Etruria.

Italy *formerly ſubject to the* Etruſcans

THAT the *Etruſcans* (A), in times of very remote antiquity, and even many ages before the building of *Rome*, were maſters of almoſt all *Italy*, appears highly probable from ſeveral authors. The whole region called *Italia* by the *Latins*, went under the name of *Tyrrhenia* amongſt the more antient *Greeks*, according to *Dionyſius* [a] *Halicarnaſſenſis*; which ſeems to imply, that it was formerly ſubject to the *Tyrrhenians*, or *Etruſcans*, and from them received that denomination. [b] *Livy* and *Plutarch* intimate, that the ſeas which, in ſome meaſure, ſurround *Italy*, that is, the *Tyrrhenian*, the *Ionian*, and the *Adriatic*, were antiently denominated the *Etruſcan* ſea; and that the *Etruſcans* poſſeſſed all that vaſt tract extending from the *Alps* to the ſtreights ſeparating *Italy* from *Sicily*. They built twelve cities beyond the *Tiber*, afterwards the boundary of the *Proper Etruria* on that ſide, according to [c] *Strabo*; and, that [d] *Nola* and *Capua* acknowleged them for their founders, we learn from *Cato*: nay, that they had [e] twelve capital cities, or heads of lucumonies, in the tract terminated by the *Po* and the *Alps*, may be collected from hiſtory. *Pliny* mentions one *Olenus Calenus*, an *Etruſcan*, famous for augury [f] and divination; which ſeems to ſuggeſt, that *Caleni* was an *Etruſcan* name, and conſequently, that the *Caleni* were *Etruſcans*. [g] *Virgil* and *Silius Italicus* likewiſe rank *Cæſena* and *Mantua* amongſt the

[a] DIONYS. HALICARNASSEN. antiq. Rom. lib. i. [b] LIV. lib. i. & v. PLUTARCH. in Mario. [c] STRAB. lib. v. [d] CATO apud Vel. Paterc. lib. i. c. 7. [e] VIRG. Æn. lib. x. DEMPST. de Etrur. regal. lib. iv. c. 110. SCIP. MAFF. orig. Etruſc. & Lat. c. 2. Lipſiæ, 1731. [f] PLIN. lib. xxviii. c. 2. [g] SIL. ITAL. & VIRG. apud Scip. Maff. ubi ſupra.

(A) The word *Hetrurians*, though commonly uſed by modern writers, we have thought proper to explode, as not being countenanced by any tolerable authority. *Servius* (1), indeed, calls the antient inhabitants of *Tuſcany Etruri*, not *Hetruri*; but he is the only author that gives them that appellation. All the manuſcripts of thoſe antient authors, that take any notice of the *Tuſcan* affairs, denominate the people under conſideration either *Tyrſenians*, *Tyrrhenians*, *Etruſcans*, or *Tuſcans*. Our readers therefore will meet with all thoſe names in this hiſtory of that nation; though the word *Etruſcans* will moſt frequently occur, as being the beſt ſupported both by manuſcripts and inſcriptions.

(1) *Serv. ad Æn. lib.* x. *v.* 164. *Vide Dempſt. de Etrur. regal. vol.* i. *p.* 2, 3.

cities of *Etruſcan* extraction; and indeed, that this moſt antient nation, in very early times, occupied the whole tract between the *Alps* and the *Apennines*, ſufficiently appears from *Livy* [h]. *Pliny* [i] ſays, that *Bononia*, or, as it is now called, *Bologna*, was antiently looked upon as the principal city of *Etruria*; which amounts to an implication, that there was a time when *Etruria* comprehended that part of *Italy* lying between the *Alps* and the *Apennines*. And, in confirmation of the above-mentioned authorities, it may be obſerved, that many *Etruſcan* relics and fragments of antiquity have been dug up in various provinces of the kingdom of [k] *Naples*, *Verona*, [l] *Padua*, &c. as well as the duchy of *Tuſcany*, or the *Proper Etruria*.

The Latins *a colony of the* Etruſcans.

ITALY, however, muſt be allowed to have been a very antient name; but then it was firſt applied to only a ſmall part of the region afterwards ſo called. [m] *Ariſtotle* and *Antiochus Syracuſanus* aſſign this appellation firſt to a tract compriſing only the *Brutian* territory, and part of *Lucania*; tho' it afterwards reached the diſtricts even contiguous to the *Alps*. When the country called *Italy*, in the *Roman* times, loſt its old name *Etruria*, we cannot take upon us to pronounce; but this, we think, happened long before the foundation of *Rome*. Nay, it is probable, that the kingdom of [n] *Latium* was a colony of the *Etruſcans*; and the firſt traces of the city of [o] *Rome* itſelf may poſſibly have been owing to that nation. Be that as it will, the hills on which *Rome* ſtands, cannot, with any colour of reaſon, be ſuppoſed to have remained without cultivation till the time of *Romulus*, as will appear from the following note (B).

THE

[h] LIV. ubi ſupra. [i] PLIN. lib. iii. c. 15. [k] POCOCK's deſcription of the Eaſt, &c. vol. ii. par. 2. p. 206. [l] SCIP. MAFF. ubi ſupra. [m] ARISTOT. polit. lib. vii. c. 10. ANTIOCH. SYRACUSAN. apud Dion. Halicarn. STRAB. lib. vi. BOCH. Chan. lib. i. c. 33. [n] LIV. & PLUT. ubi ſupra. [o] ALCIM. & CUMAN. hiſt. aut. apud Feſt.

(B) As the *Umbri*, or *Aborigines*, and *Pelaſgi*, built towns upon hills in the earlieſt ages, it is natural to ſuppoſe, that ſome, at leaſt, of thoſe on which *Rome* ſtood, ſhould have been inhabited long before the birth of *Romulus*. Some of them therefore had probably caſtles and ſmall towns erected upon them before the common æra of *Rome*. Nor can this be well denied, if we conſider the proximity of ſo fine a river, as the *Tiber*, which muſt render ſuch a ſituation moſt commodious and delightful. From hence therefore we may conclude, that all the hills on which *Rome* ſtands, were not uncultivated till the time of *Romulus* (2).

But this ſeems to be rendered clear by the authority of ſeveral reputable antient hiſtorians. *Damaſcus Sigenſis*, *Cephalo Gergithius*, as well as many others cited by *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis* and *Plutarch*, tell us, that *Rome* was either founded by *Æneas*, or his ſons, ſoon after the *Trojan* war. *Antiochus Syracuſanus*, who was an admirable compiler of antient hiſtory, affirms *Rome* to have been built long before the *Trojan* war, by the *Pelaſgi*; which is alſo confirmed by *Plutarch*. Nay, *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis* aſſerts, that *Rome*, or at leaſt the ſpot on which it ſtands, was inhabited by the *Umbri* and *Aborigines*; and that this, when he wrote, was as clear and evident, as any thing could be that happened in the mythic period of time. Since, therefore, *Dionyſius* was twenty years in writing his hiſtory, and extracted the materials for it from all the beſt hiſtorians that preceded him, the ſacred tables, the annals of the *Roman* pontifices, and all other authentic monuments of *Latin*, or rather *Etruſcan* antiquity, his authority muſt be of great weight in the preſent caſe. Nay, this, in conjunction with what has been advanced by *Antiochus Syracuſanus*, muſt clearly evince the antiquity of *Rome* to be ſuperior to that of *Romulus* (3).

Dionyſius likewiſe in another place affirms the *Umbri* and *Aborigines*, who were probably the ſame people, to have been the founders of the *Roman* ſtate; and that they were afterwards joined by the *Pelaſgi*. This notion was alſo adopted by *Tertullian*, who mentions *Saturn*'s ſeating himſelf upon the hill, from him called *Saturnius*, as a point not to be diſputed: nor indeed was it ever diſputed amongſt the *Romans*, as we learn from *Feſtus*, and others of their beſt writers. The concluſion from whence is, that *Rome* is of an *Umbrian* and *Pelaſgic* original (4).

The word *Rome* itſelf is of *Umbrian*, or *Pelaſgic*, and conſequently *Oriental*, extraction. This has been fully proved in a diſſertation printed at *Oxford*, in 1746. as likewiſe in another piece. We muſt therefore imagine, that its foundation preceded the birth of *Romulus* (5).

Several of the *Roman* medals and coins allude to an age prior to that of *Romulus*. Theſe are done in a taſte and manner quite different from thoſe that are diſcernible on any of the conſular and imperial coins. The traditions they allude to do not ſuppoſe *Romulus* the founder of *Rome*; but, on the contrary, point out a much earlier original; and therefore from hence we may conclude, that the *Romans* themſelves were fully convinced of the certainty of ſuch an original (6).

Laſtly, the famous common-ſewers, with their arches of hard ſtone, made by *Tarquin* the firſt, the

(2) *Dionyſ. Halicarn. antiq. Rom. lib.* i. *Strab. lib.* iv. xiv. *& alibi. Plin. lib.* iii. *c.* 14. *Vide Famian. Nardin. de Rom. vet. Pet. Caſſell. de prim. Ital. colon. Octav. Ferrar. de orig. Romanor. Andr. Cirin. de urb. Rom. alioſque ſcriptor. quam plurim.* (3) *Damaſt. Sigenſ. Cephal. Gergith. aliique apud Dionyſ. Halicarn. lib.* i. *& Plut. Antioch. Syracuſ. apud Dionyſ. Halicarn. lib.* i. *ut & ipſe Dionyſ. Halicarn. ibid. Plut. in Romul.* (4) *Dionyſ. Halicarn. lib.* i. *Tertul. apol. Feſt. Plin. lib.* iii. *c.* 5, *&c.* (5) *Joann. Swint. de priſc. Roman. lit. diſſert. p.* 5, 6. *Oxon.* 1746. *Franciſc. Marian. Viterbienſ. de Etrur. metrop. p.* 137. *Romæ*, 1728. (6) *Scip. Maff. in bibliotheq. Italiq. tom. troiſiem. p.* 39, 40, 41. *à Geneve*, 1728.

fifth

THE [p] *Gauls*, making, at different times, irruptions into *Etruria*, by degrees, ſeized upon that part of it ſituated between the *Alps* and the *Apennines*, as we learn from *Livy* and *Plutarch*. This notion likewiſe receives a farther acceſſion of ſtrength from the word *Aruſnates*, on two ſtones lately [q] diſcovered, which was the proper name of a people, not mentioned by any of the old geographers, inhabiting the northern hilly part of the territory of *Verona*: [r] for *Aruns*, or *Aruſn*, was a proper name in uſe among the *Etruſcans*. [s] *Livy* intimates, that the *Etruſcans* had been long ſettled in this tract, when they were expelled from thence by the *Gauls*.

The Gauls and Greeks conquered part of antient Etruria.

As for the ſuperior part of *Etruria*, taken in its largeſt extent, ſeveral colonies of *Greeks* found means to make ſettlements there. From them it was called [t] *Magna Græcia*. Theſe colonies, gradually inſinuating themſelves into the country, at various periods, made themſelves maſters of it; but the preciſe time of every conqueſt we cannot pretend to aſcertain. It will not be improper here to obſerve, that [u] the *Gauls*, or inhabitants of *Gallia Celtica*, made four irruptions into *Etruria* before they conquered the tract above-mentioned. The firſt of theſe happened about ſix hundred years before [w] the birth of *Chriſt*, and [x] the laſt a little before the taking of *Rome* by *Brennus*. But for a particular account of theſe invaſions we muſt beg leave to refer our readers to that part of this hiſtory to which they more properly belong.

THE *Etruſcans* were likewiſe diſpoſſeſſed of a pretty large extent of territory, by the *Samnites* and *Ligurians*, long before they ſubmitted to the *Romans*. This we learn from [y] *Mela*, *Livy*, and *Strabo*. So that, at laſt, they found themſelves confined within the limits of *Etruria Propria*, where, for ſeveral ages, they made a very conſiderable figure. As we know little of the *Etruſcans*, whilſt in the zenith of their power, it would be prepoſterous to attempt a deſcription of all the countries they at that time poſſeſſed: it will therefore be ſufficient to give our readers here a general idea of the boundaries and principal cities of the *Proper Etruria*.

The Samnites and Ligurians ſeized upon part of Etruria.

ETRURIA PROPRIA, *Etruria Poſterior*, or, as it is ſimply ſtiled by moſt of the *Latin* writers, *Etruria*, was [z] bounded on the eaſt by the *Tiber*, on the weſt by the *Macra*, on the ſouth by the *Tyrrhenian* ſea, and on the north by the *Apennines*. The moſt [a] antient *Greeks* called it *Tyrſenia*; but *Polybius* [b], and thoſe who lived after him, *Tyrrhenia*. *Tyrſenia* is undoubtedly the true name, as correſponding with that of the *Lydian* prince, *Tyrſenus*, under whoſe conduct, according to [c] *Herodotus*, the *Tyrſeni*, or *Tyrrheni*, firſt made a ſettlement in *Italy*. As the *Etruſcans*, from *Raſena*, one of their leaders, called themſelves [d] *Raſenæ*, the ſame name apparently with [e] *Reſen*, that occurs in Scripture; and as T is frequently a ſervile letter in the *Aſiatic* tongues; we may deduce both *Tyrſenus* and *Raſena*, without any [f] violence, from the Eaſt. The *Greek* and *Etruſcan* names of this nation, therefore, appear to have been originally the ſame; and are a clear proof, that the *Tyrſenians* were of *Oriental* extraction.

Limits of Etruria Propria.

ETRURIA was divided [g] into twelve ſtates or dynaſties, every one of which had its proper metropolis. Theſe were [h] *Volſinii*, *Camers* or *Cluſium*, *Cortona*, *Peruſia*, *Arretium*, *Falerii*, *Tarquinii*, *Volaterræ*, *Ruſellæ*, *Vetulonii* or *Vetulonium*, *Cære*, and *Veii*; to

Etruria divided into twelve ſtates.

[p] LIV. lib. v. PLUT. in Camill. [q] SCIP. MAFF. ubi ſupra. [r] DIONYS. HALICAR. LIV. & SCIP. MAFF. ubi ſupra. [s] LIV. lib. v. [t] PHIL. CLUVER. Ital. antiq. lib. ii. c. 1. SCIP. MAFF. ubi ſupra. [u] LIV. lib. v. c. 34, 35. [w] Idem ibid. Vide & PHIL. CLUVER. ubi ſupra. [x] LIV. ubi ſupra. Vide & PHIL CLUVER. ubi ſupra. [y] MEL. lib. ii. c. 4. LIV. lib. xli. STRAB. lib. v. CLUVER. ubi ſupra. [z] STRAB. lib. v. PLIN. lib. iii. c. 5. CLUVER. ubi ſupra. [a] HESIOD. PINDAR. EURIPID. HERODOT. THUCYDID. APOLLON. LYCOPHR. &c. [b] CLUVER. Ital. antiq. lib. ii. c. 1. ſub init. CUMBERL. orig. gent. antiquiſſ. p. 318. Lond. 1724. [c] HERODOT. lib. i. [d] DION. HALICARN. antiquit. Roman. lib. i. [e] Gen. c. x. ver. 12. [f] CUMBERL. ubi ſupra, & alibi. [g] DION. HALICAR. antiquit. Roman. lib. vi. & vii. LIV. lib. iv. v. vii. &c. SERV. ad Æn. xi. ſub init. [h] DIONYS. HALICARN. LIV. STRAB. PLUT. SERV. &c. apud Phil. Cluver. ubi ſupra, p. 453.

fifth king of *Rome*, plainly prove this city to have had a more antient founder than *Romulus*. Some very ſurpriſing remains of theſe ſewers are to be ſeen at this day. The expence of this incomparable work was never ſo well underſtood, as when it came to be repaired; and a judgment of its grandeur may be formed from hence, that the cenſors gave no leſs than a thouſand talents to him, who undertook to cleanſe it. This ſeems plainly to indicate, that the city, in *Tarquin*'s reign, had been a conſiderable time immenſely great, rich, and populous; and therefore amounts to a ſort of proof, that ſeveral hundred years at leaſt muſt then have elapſed ſince its foundation (7).

(7) *Scip. Maff. ibid.*

which some add [i] *Luna*, *Fæsulæ*, and *Populonium*. Each of the *Tuscan* states, or tribes, was governed by its own prince, called in the *Etruscan* language [k] *Lucumo*, and received its denomination from the capital city. As these towns were very famous, not only for their antiquity, but likewise for the figure they made in the earliest times, our readers will expect a short description of them here.

Volsinii. VOLSINII, now *Bolsena*, stood on the confines of *Latium*, about forty-five miles north-west of *Rome*, near a lake called by the antient *Romans* [l] *Lacus Volsiniensis*, and by the modern *Italians Lago di Bolsena*. That this was one of the most famous and opulent cities of *Etruria*, appears from [m] *Livy*. [n] *Pliny* says, that *Volsinii* was depopulated by the monster *Volta*, in the reign of king *Porsena*. It was likewise [o] once destroyed by lightning, and reduced by the *Romans* [p] under the conduct of *M. Fulvius Flaccus*, in the year of *Rome* 489. as may be evinced from the *Capitoline Tables*. The citizens of *Volsinii* seem to have been skilful artificers, at [q] least in the art of statuary, by the great number of statues carried from thence to *Rome*. *Pliny* [r] affirms, that the invention of hand-mills was owing to the people of *Volsinii*. As this invention was undoubtedly of great antiquity, it may from hence be collected, that the city itself was extremely antient. And indeed this the name itself seems to suggest (C), as being probably *Oriental*. *Bolsena* is a town of little note, though frequently passed through by travellers, as lying in the great *Roman* road; and consequently no traces at all of its former opulence and grandeur are now to be discerned.

Clusium. CLUSIUM, or, as it is now called, *Chiusi*, stood upon the [s] *Clanis*, the *Chiana* of the present *Tuscans*, about twenty-eight miles north of *Volsinii*, and sixty-five north-west of *Rome*. The marsh or lake near it was denominated by the antients *Palus* [t] *Clusina*, and *Lacus Clusinus*; but it has for several ages been considered by the moderns, as part of the *Chiana*, into which the *Tresa* discharges itself, not far from *Chiusi*. This city was justly celebrated for being the seat of the *Tuscan* [u] kings before the *Trojan* war; as also for being the residence [w] of *Porsena*, who was at the head of the *Etruscan* lucumonies. For, though the twelve capital cities above-mentioned were immediately governed by their respective princes [x], yet they were all under one su-

[i] THO. DEMPST. de Etrur. regal. lib. iv. c. 14, 19, 20. Florentiæ, 1724. [k] PLUT. in Camil. p. 135, 136. SERV. ad Æn. ii. viii. xi. & alibi. CENSORIN. de die natal. c. 4. [l] COLUMELL. rustic. rer. lib. viii. c. 16. VITRUV. lib. ii. c. 7. PLIN. lib. xxxvi. c. 22. LIV. lib. xxvii. STRAB. lib. v. [m] LIV. lib. v. ix. x. Vide etiam DIONYS. HALICARN. antiquit. Roman. lib. xiv. PLIN. lib. ii. c. 52. VALER. MAX. lib. ix. c 1. & ZONAR. annal. lib. ii. [n] PLIN. lib. ii. c. 53. [o] Idem, c. 52. [p] Tab. Capitol. A. U. C. 489. ZONAR. annal. lib. viii. c. 7. [q] METROD. SCEPSIUS apud Plin. lib. xxxiv. c. 7. [r] PLIN. lib. xxxvi. c. 18. DEMPST. de Etrur. regal. lib. iii. c. 68. [s] POLYB. VIRG. LIV. DIOD. SIC. STRAB. VELL. PATERC. PLIN. PLUT. APPIAN. FLOR. PTOL. &c. Vide & CLUVER. Ital. antiq. lib. ii. p. 566, 567, 568. [t] STRAB. lib. v. [u] SERV. ad Æn. x. Vide DEMPST. de Etrur. regal. lib. ii. c. 41, 43. & lib. iv. c. 18. [w] LIV. lib. ii. [x] Idem ibid. JUSTIN. lib. xliii. DION. HALICAR. antiquit. Rom. lib. i.

(C) The *Etruscans* probably wrote the name of this city, *Fulsine*, *Fulsini*, *Fulsinie*, or *Fulsinii*; for that the V was expressed by the F in antient *Etruria*, appears from the (8) *Eugubian* tables, and several *Etruscan* sepulcral inscriptions. Now, that this word may be derived from the East, will clearly appear from the following etymons: 1. The town here mentioned might properly enough have been called *Volsinii*, *Vulsinii*, *Fulsine*, *Fulsinie*, or *Fulsinii*, i. e. (9) פלאו ן *Phole-zan*, or *Fule-san*, *the famous city preparing food*; which naturally enough alludes to the invention of (1) mills. 2. *Fulsinii*, (2) פול צנע *Ful-zani*, or *Ful-sani*, *the tribe*, *canton*, or *people*, *versed in mechanic arts*, is an appellation that extremely well quadrates with what we have observed of *Volsinii*, to wit, (3) that it was famous for the art of statuary, and for the invention of mills. That פול, פל or פלא, might, in the earliest times, signify *a division*; and that this was equivalent to *a detached colony*, or *body of men*, *that separated themselves from the rest of mankind* (4), cannot well be denied. Hence the *Greek* word [illegible], *tribus*, a *separate*, or *distinct*, *body of men*; and hence, if we mistake not, the *Tuscan* word *sul*, *a tribe*, *city*, or *community*: we say *sul*, because the *Etruscans* never admitted O into their alphabet, as will hereafter be clearly evinced. 3. It is very likely, that בעל סיני (5) *Baal-sini*, or rather, פול סיני *Ful-sini*, might have antiently been a local proper name in the East, and particularly *Phœnicia*, or some adjacent region, from whence the *Tyrseni*, or *Etruscans*, migrated into *Italy*. These three etymons, we say, prove, that the word *Volsinii* may easily, and even naturally, be deduced from the East; but which of them is the real one, or whether any of them ought to be considered as such, we shall not take upon us to determine: for we know so little of the foundation, and first ages, of this city, that it would be vanity to pretend to demonstrate the true reason of its primitive appellation.

(8) *Tab. Eugubin. pass. Vide etiam tab. ær. apud Gor. in mus. Etrusc. pass.* (9) *Val. Schind. lex. pentaglot. p.* 476, & 1444. (1) *Plin. lib.* xxxvi. *c.* 18. (2) *Schind. ubi sup. p.* 1441 —1445. & 1555. (3) *Metrod. apud Plin. ut & ipse Plin. ubi supra.* (4) *Schind. ubi supra, p.* 1441 —1445. (5) *Gen. c.* x. *v.* 17. *Exod. c.* xiv. *v.* 9. *Isa. c.* xlix. *v.* 12 *Ezek. c.* xxx. *v.* 15. *Cant. c.* viii. *v.* 11, &c.

preme

preme head, or ſovereign, and, at all critical junctures eſpecially, ſubmitted to his authority. *Cluſium* ſeems to have been built by the [y] *Umbri*, who, according to *Pliny*, were *indigenæ*, or ſome of the firſt inhabitants of *Italy*. The name it went by amongſt them was [z] *Camers*; but, after their expulſion from thence, the *Etruſcans* called it *Cluſium* [a]. This ſuggeſts to us the reaſon of the latter appellation, and at the ſame time indicates the *Etruſcans* to have come out of the Eaſt: for חלצה *chelutze*, *chlutze*, or *chluſe*, the participle pahul of [b] חלץ, ſignifies *removed*, *ſeparated from*, *taken away*, &c. חלשה [c] *cheluſe*, or *chluſe*, alſo the ſame participle of the verb חלש, denotes *conquered*, *reduced*, &c. Nor can either of theſe etymons appear forced, or unnatural, ſince the letter [d] ח had frequently a power equivalent to *ch*; and hiſtory admits at leaſt, if it does not require it. As, therefore, the city of *Cluſium* was prior to the firſt ſettlement of the *Tyrſeni* in *Italy*, and was even the ſeat of the *Tyrſenian* kings long before the *Trojan* war, it muſt undoubtedly be one of the moſt antient cities in *Europe*.

RUSELLÆ, or, as the *Etruſcans* antiently wrote it, *Ruſele*, was a city of great antiquity [e], and the capital of a lucumony: this we learn from *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis* and *Livy*. It ſtood on [f] an hill, at a ſmall diſtance from the *Lacus Prilis* or *Prelius*, now the *Lago di Caſtiglione*. Out of its [g] ruins has riſen the town of *Moſcona*, near the mineral waters called *Bagni di Roſelli*, about three miles north of *Groſſeto*, as is clearly evinced by *Cluverius*. That *Ruſellæ* was a city of [h] vaſt wealth and power in the year of *Rome* 14[illegible]. *i. e.* above ſix hundred years before Chriſt, and therefore probably preceded the *Trojan* war, may be inferred from the beſt authors, who have treated of the infancy of the *Roman* ſtate. The name ſeems to have been deduced from the ſituation; for ראש עולה *ros oleh*, or rather *rus uleh*, *the* [i] *top of the hill*, or *aſcent*, is an appellation exactly agreeable to it. *Bochart* [k] ſupplies us with many parallel inſtances, which it is unneceſſary to tranſcribe; and that ראש *ros* or *rus* frequently ſignified *the top of a mountain* or *hill*, is evident to all who have been converſant with the ſacred writers of the Old Teſtament in the original [l]. Ruſellæ.

CORTONA, or rather *Croton*, was a city at leaſt coeval with the firſt migration of the *Pelaſgi*, or *Tyrſeni*, into *Italy*; if it was not of *Umbrian* [m] original. It is ſeated upon an hill, about thirty miles weſt of *Peruſia*, between a ridge of mountains, called by [n] *Livy*, from their proximity to it, *the mountains of Cortona*, and the *Lacus Thraſymenus*, now the *Lago di Perugia*: betwixt this lake and the foot of the above-mentioned mountains there is only a narrow defile, that by degrees grows ſomewhat wider, and is lined by ſome little riſing hills. Here *Hannibal* [o] encamped only with his *Africans* and *Spaniards* in open view: the *Baleares*, and light-armed troops, he poſted behind the hills on the right: his horſe he poſted under cover of the eminences on the left, near the entry into the defile, that, as ſoon as the *Romans* entered it, they might all be incloſed by the lake and the mountains, while the horſe ſtood in the mouth of the paſſage. The conſequence of which diſpoſition was, the total defeat of the *Roman* army. The firſt name of *Cortona* [p] was *Coritus*, *Coriti*, *Corithi*, or *Cerethi*, the ſame undoubtedly with כרתי; which ſufficiently points out the origin of, at leaſt, one branch of the *Tyrſeni*, or *Pelaſgi*: nay, it ſeems to diſcover the country from whence the *Umbri*, whoſe firſt ſettlement here preceded that of the *Etruſcans*, migrated into *Italy*. This topic we cannot at preſent expatiate upon; but our readers will find it fully diſcuſſed by the [q] authors to which we refer. Cortona.

PERUSIA, now *Perugia*, an inland city of *Etruria*, ſtood [r] upon the *Tiber*, near the famous mount *Ciminus*. It was a place of very conſiderable note in the earlier Peruſia.

[y] POLYB. lib. ii. LIV. lib. iv. c. 25. FRONTIN. ſtratag. lib. i. c. 2. [z] Iidem ibid. & LIV. lib. x. [a] SERV. apud Cluver. ubi ſupra, p. 567. [b c] VAL. SCHIND. pentaglot. in voc. חלץ & חלש. [d] BOCHART. Chan. lib ii. c. 13. p. 747. lib. xxix. c. 15. p. 756. lib. xxxvi. p. 761. lib. xxxviii. xxxix. Vide etiam p. 384. lib. iii. Lugd. Bat. 1692. [e] DION. HALICAR. antiquit. Rom. lib. iii. LIV. paſſ. [f] PHIL. CLUVER. ubi ſupra, p. 513. [g] Idem ibid. p. 514. [h] DION. HALICAR. ubi ſupra. [i] VAL. SCHIND. in vocib. עלה, ראש. [k] SAM. BOCHART. in præf. ad Chan. p. 328. l. 55, 56. Lugd. Bat. 1692. [l] Exod. xxiv. 2 Sam. xvi. 1. 2 Sam. xv. 32. Vide etiam SCHIND. ubi ſupra, p. 1677. [m] DION. HALICAR. antiq. Roman. lib. i. [n] LIV. lib. xxii. c. 4. [o] Idem ibid. [p] SERV. ad Æn. ii. ver. 170. Æn. x. & alibi. SIL. ITAL. lib. iv. & alibi. VIRG. Æn. lib. ix. iii. xi. &c. Vide etiam DEMPST. ubi ſupra, lib. iv. c. 15. [q] CUMBERL. Sanchoniath. p. 467, 483. Dr. CASTLE apud Cumb. ibid. BOCHART. Chan. lib. xv. p. 422, 423, 424. Lugd. Bat. 1692. CALMET's diſſert. upon the origin of the Philiſtines, prefixed to the firſt book of Samuel, and his dictionary under the word *Caphtor*. [r] PHIL. CLUVER. ubi ſupra, c. 3. THO. DEMPST. de Etrur. regal. lib. v. c. 10.

ages of the *Roman* republic, and even [s] in the times of the kings. Some take it to have been built by *Tarchon* [t], a very early *Etruscan* prince; and others, by the [u] *Tyrsenian* king *Ocnus*, who, notwithstanding what has been advanced by *Virgil*, lived long before the *Trojan* war: be that as it will, no (D) one ever doubted of its very remote antiquity. That it was one of the twelve original cities of *Etruria*, is beyond all [w] manner of dispute. As *Perusia* was a frontier town [x] of antient *Etruria*, and situated upon the *Tiber*, which separated *Etruria* from *Umbria*, we may easily account for its name: for פרושה [y] *perusa*, the participle pahul of פרש, signifies *separated from*, *divided from*, &c. or rather, *the city separated from*, *divided from*, &c. It [z] might likewise at first have been denominated פרץ *perez*, *peres*, or *perus*, from some *overthrow* or *defeat* given the *Umbri* near the spot on which it stands: and this seems the more probable, as by its situation it appears to have been built soon after the *Etruscans* had expelled the *Umbri* from the western bank of the *Tiber*; for that they did expel them from thence, may be inferred from [a] *Pliny*, in conjunction with *Dionysius* [b] *Halicarnassensis*, and [c] *Herodotus*.

Arretium. ARETIUM, or *Arretium*, now *Arezzo*, was an inland city of *Etruria*, in a mountainous tract, about a thousand stadia from *Rome*, according to [d] *Strabo*. It appears from [e] *Silius Italicus*, and others, that some of the antient kings of *Etruria* held their residence here. That it was a place of great fame in the reign of *Tarquinius Priscus*, above six hundred years before the commencement of the Christian æra, we learn from [f] *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*. The wall which surrounded *Arretium*, was so singular a curiosity, that it merited the attention both [g] of *Pliny* and *Vitruvius*. This city was famous for the earthen ware [h] it produced. It stood at a small distance from the *Apennines*, as well as the source of a little river, now called the *Cerfone*. It was likewise very near the confluence of the *Clanis*, in the middle of whose course was the famous lake above-mentioned, [i] and the *Arno*. Which circumstances being maturely weighed, we shall find, that the name *Aretium*, or rather *Aret*, exactly corresponds with its situation. For [k] ארת *aret* denotes a *lake*, *pond*, or *river*; or rather, as should seem, a composition of these. That this is an eastern name, is likewise evident from הרד *Hared* [l], הרת *Harcth* [m], and ערד *Arad* [n], local proper names that occur in Scripture.

Falerii. FALERII, or rather [o] *Falesii*, was the capital of the *Falisci*, and is supposed to have occupied that spot of ground on which [p] at present stands *Citta Castellana*. However, the learned are not agreed in this particular. In the word *Falisci* the antient name *Pelasgi*, or *Phelasgi*, plainly appears. The radix from whence *Falisci* was deduced, must have been either פלג or פלש, [q] as will clearly appear from *Stillingfleet*, *Grotius*,

[s] APPIAN. bell. civil. lib. v. p. 699. LIV. lib. ix. [t] SERV. ad Æn. x. Vide etiam CLUVER. & DEMPST. ubi supra. [u] Idem ibid. & SERV. ad Æn. x. [w] APPIAN. ubi supra. DIOD. SIC. lib. xx. LIV. lib. ix. x. STRAB. lib v. [x] Vide CLUVER. & DEMPST. ubi supra. [y] VAL. SCHIND. pentaglot. in voc. פרש, p. 1489. [z] Id. in voc. פרץ, p. 1485, 1486, 1487. Hanoviæ, 1612. [a] PLIN. lib. iii. c. 5. & 14. [b] DION. HALICAR. antiquit. Rom. lib. i. [c] HERODOT. lib. i. Vide etiam CLUVER. ubi supra, c. 4. p. 595—600. [d] STRAB. lib. v. [e] SIL. ITAL. Punicor. lib. vii. DEMPST. de Etrur. regal. lib. ii. c. 54. p. 220. [f] DION. HALICAR. antiquit. Rom. lib. iii. [g] PLIN. lib. xxxv. c. 14. VITRUV. lib. ii. c. 8. [h] PLIN. ubi supra, c. 12. [i] POLYB. lib. ii. Vide etiam CLUVER. ubi supra, c. 3. p. 571—573. & DEMPST. ubi supra, lib. v. c. 7. p. 308—313. [k] VAL. SCHIND. pentaglot. in voc. ארת, p. 128. [l] Judg. vii. 1. [m] 1 Sam. xxii. 5. [n] Numb. xxi. 1. [o] SEX. POMP. FEST. apud Gasp. Scioppium, in gram. philosoph. p. 169. Amst. 1659. CIC. ad Pæt. DIOD. SIC. lib. xiv. STRAB. lib. v. Vide etiam CLUV. ubi supra, p. 537, 538. [p] CLUV. ubi supra, p. 540. LUCAS HOLSTENIUS in not. ad Cluver. p. 57, 59. JUST. FONTANINUS de antiquitat. Hortæ, lib. i. c. 4. p. 80. Romæ 1723. [q] STILLINGFL. orig. sacr. lib. iii. c. 4. p. 388, 389, &c. Cant. 1702. HUGO GROT. de jure bell. &c. lib. i. c. 3. CALMET. ubi supra. SALMAS. de Hellen. &c.

(D) Signior (6) *Mariani* informs us, that the symbol of *Perusia* is a griffin; which, in *Hebrew*, is denominated פרס (7) *peres*, or *perus*: from hence he deduces the high antiquity of this city; which we readily assent to: but perhaps he is not to be so much regarded, when from a *Tuscan* fragment of antiquity, exhibiting the figure of a griffin, at (8) *Perugia*, he infers, that the griffin was antiently the symbol of that city. This inference is by no means just, since such figures are found in other parts of *Tuscany*; nor could any one, not unreasonably attached to a favourite hypothesis, have deemed it so. He seems therefore to have but little strength of argument to support him, when he (9) triumphs over our learned countryman *Dempster*, in a manner unbecoming a member of the republic of letters.

(6) *Francisc. Marian. de Etrur. metrop. p. 7. ubi supra, & Dempst. de Etrur. regal. tom. i. p. 464.* (7) *Lexicog. Hebr. & S. Hieronym.* (8) *Marian.* (9) *Marian. ubi supra.*

Calmet, and others. That *Falerii*, or *Falesii*, was a place of great antiquity, may be inferred from [r] *Strabo*. It is likewise represented as a fortress of vast strength [s] by *Livy* and *Plutarch*. *Antonius Massa* [t] *Galesius* has written a particular treatise of the origin and atchievements of the *Falisci*; to which, for farther satisfaction, we refer our curious and inquisitive readers.

TARQUINII [u], *Tarcunia*, or *Tarchonia*, was a city of great note in the earliest times, and the seat of a lucumo. It is supposed to have been built by *Tarchon* [w], a *Tyrsenian* prince, whom some [x] make the same with *Tages*, several centuries before the *Trojan* war. But the precise time of its foundation, for want of sufficient light from antient history, cannot be determined. The ruins of *Tarquinii* [y] are still to be seen, at a small village about a mile north of *Corneto*, called by the modern *Tuscans Tarquinia*. *L. Tarquinius Priscus*, the fifth king of *Rome* [z], was born here. As the *Tarquinian* lucumony extended as far as the *Lago di Bolsena*, we find that lake denominated by *Pliny* [a] *Lacus Tarquiniensis*. The *Tyrsenians*, or *Etruscans* [b], feigned *Tages* to have first appeared in this district. *Tarquinii* stood at a small distance from the sea, upon the *Marta*, which, at present, retains its antient name. That *Tarchon* is a word of *Oriental* extraction, seems pretty clear, from תרה כון *Tara Chun*, or *Tarah Chon*, two local proper [c] names that we meet with in Scripture. Tarquinii.

VOLATERRÆ, now *Volterra*, was the head of a lucumony, and a very antient city. This sufficiently appears [d] from *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, *Tully*, *Livy*, &c. as well as from the numerous relics and fragments of antiquity, that have for several ages been discovered in its neighbourhood. From the *Etruscan* manner of writing, and even from the modern name, which [e] favours more of that manner than the *Roman* word *Volaterræ*, we may conclude, that the antient *Tyrsenian* name was *Fultur*, *Fulture*, *Fultir*, or *Fultera*. So that it may either be supposed of the same import with פל טיר *the tribe*, *canton*, or *colony seated on a mountain*; or על טירה *the high habitation*, since F, [f] amongst the *Etruscans*, sometimes scarce enjoyed the power of an aspirate; or, lastly, [g] פלא טיר *the high fortress*, especially, as *fal*, *fol*, or *ful*, in the old *Etruscan* [h] language, signified *high*. Now, any of these will extremely well agree with the situation of *Volaterræ*. For it stood upon the summit of a steep mountain, whose declivity was fifteen stadia, and even many more on one side, according to [i] *Aristotle*, as explained by *Cluverius*. For a further account of this situation, our readers may have recourse to [k] *Aristotle*, *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, and *Strabo*. Volaterræ.

VETULONIUM, in some of the earliest ages at least, seems to have been not only the residence of a lucumo, but even the principal city of *Etruria*. For it was, according to *Silius* [l], the ornament, and consequently the most illustrious, of all the *Tyrsenian* cities. Nay, it plainly appears, that the *Romans* [m] borrowed their fasces, secures, lictores, sella curulis, prætexta, *&c.* from the citizens of *Vetulonium*; which is an irrefragable argument of their superior politeness. In point of antiquity likewise, it must be allowed at least equal to the other [n] heads of lucumonies, if it did not exceed them. This may be inferred from *Silius*, as well as *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, who represents *Vetulonium* as a city, or rather state, of great power in the time of *Romulus*; and that it was so seldom mentioned by the *Roman* historians, is owing, according to [o] *Dempster*, to its being destroyed in the infancy of *Rome*. The antient *Etruscans* probably wrote the name of this town *Fetulun*; since *ium* is undoubtedly a *Latin* termination. For that nation generally, if not always, used the *Æolic Digamma* F, instead of the consonant V, as appears [p] from many *Etruscan* inscriptions; and that Vetulonium.

[r] STRAB. lib. v. [s] LIV. lib. v. PLUT. in Camil. [t] ANTON. MASSA de origine & rebus gestis Falliscorum, p. 699. inter Ital. illustrat. scriptor. Francof. 1600. [u] DION. HALICAR. antiquit. Rom. lib. iv. STRAB. lib. v. LIV. lib. v. FRONTIN. stratag. lib. ii. c. 4 STEPH. in voc. Ταρκύνια. [w] STRAB. ubi supra. Vide & PHIL. CLUVER. Ital. antiq. lib. ii. c 3. [x] PHIL. CLUVER. ubi supra. [y] Idem ibid. [z] DION. HALICAR. lib. iii. [a] PLIN. nat. hist. lib. ii. c. 95 [b] Cic. divinat. lib. ii. CENSORIN. de die natal. [c] CALM. dict. bibl. Vide etiam Gen. xi. 24. Numb. xxxiii. 27. Gen. iv. 1. Numb. xxiv. 22. [d] Cic. orat. pro Sex. Rosc. DION. HALICARN. antiquit. Rom. lib. iii. LIV. lib. x. c. 12. Vide & PHIL. CLUVER. Ital. antiq. lib. ii. c. 3. p 512, 513. [e] FRANC. MARIAN. de Etrur. metrop. p. 166. Romæ, 1728. [f] Tab. GOR. mus. Etrusc. clxx. Vide & GOR. ibid. p. 423. [g] VAL. SCHIND. lex. pentaglot. p. 696. 1443, 1444. [h] See before, p. 4, (C). [i] ARISTOT. de mirab. PHIL. CLUVER. ubi supra, p. 513. [k] ARISTOT. ubi supra. DIONYS. HALICAR. lib. iii. STRAB. lib. v. [l] SIL. ITAL. Punic. lib. viii. [m] Idem ibid. DEMPST. de Etrur. regal. lib. iii. c. 24. p. 306, 307. Vide & PHIL. CLUVER. ubi supra, p. 473. [n] SIL. ITAL. ubi supra. DION. HALICAR. lib. ii. [o] DEMPST. ubi supra, lib. iv. c. 13. sub fin. [p] JOAN. SWINTON de primigen. Etrusc. alphabet. in lit. ב, Oxon 1746.

they

they wanted the letter O in their alphabet, will be hereafter evinced. After what has been advanced, it may easily be imagined, that *Fetulun* is an *Oriental* word, and possibly equivalent to [q] בית עליון *bet elion*, or *fet eliun*, *the principal tribe*, *canton*, or *lucumony*. For the *Etruscans* had neither O, nor B; but expressed the former by V, and the latter sometimes by F; and that בית עליון may be taken in the very sense here mentioned, is sufficiently apparent from [r] Scripture. The situation of *Vetulonium* is not now perfectly known; but *Cluverius* seems to have the greatest probability on his side, when he supposes [s] the ruins at present called *Vetulia*, near the *Vetletta*, or *Vetulonian* forest, about a league from the sea, to be the remains of *Vetulonium*. For this notion is not only favoured by the modern names *Vetulia* and *Vetletta*, but likewise by the hot waters which the *Italians* call *Le Caldane*, at a small distance from the *Vetletta*; since these waters undoubtedly answer to the *Aquæ Calidæ*, which [t] *Pliny* places in the neighbourhood of the antient *Vetulonium*.

Cære. CÆRE, now *Cerveteri*, was built by the *Pelasgi*, after their expulsion from *Thessaly* by the *Hellens* under the conduct of *Deucalion*, as we learn [u] from *Strabo*. It flourished greatly at the time of the *Trojan* war, when *Mezentius* [w], king of *Etruria*, resided in it. The power and opulence of this city were likewise very conspicuous in the first ages of the *Roman* state, and even long before the birth of *Romulus*, as we find attested by [x] *Lycophron*, *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, *Virgil*, *Livy*, and *Strabo*. *Cære* stood upon an eminence, about four miles off the *Tyrrhenian* sea, and not far from the confines of *Latium*. The *Thessalian Pelasgi* [y] at first denominated it *Agylla*, but the *Tyrsenians* [z] afterwards *Cære*. Both which words are apparently *Oriental*; nor can any thing be more unsatisfactory, not to say ridiculous, than the reason of the latter name mentioned [a] by *Strabo*. That *Agylla* came originally from the East, is rendered probable by the [b] following words: גלה, or גלא, *gullah*, or *gylla*, *a spring*, or *fountain*, to which the heemantic letter א, or prefix ה, being added, it becomes *Agullah*, or *Agylla*; גולה, *gullah*, or *gyllah*, *migration*, *expulsion*, &c. which, by the addition of the aforesaid heemantic letter, or prefix, is *Agullah*, or *Agylla*, the very word under consideration. Now, as *Cære* was situated on a river of the same name, and near the celebrated waters called from it *Aquæ Cæretanæ*; and as the *Thessalian Pelasgi* founded this town immediately after their migration or expulsion from *Thessaly*; either of the above-mentioned words will quadrate with the primitive appellation of this town. And as for that of a later date, *Cære*, it is no other than קרי, or קריה, *cari*, *ceri*, *cariah*, or *cere*, *city*; which, by way of eminence [c], might be applied to the antient city of *Agylla*.

Veii. VEII [d] was a very potent and renowned city of *Etruria*, whose district or lucumony might have been considered as the *Etruscan* frontier on the side of *Latium*. From this circumstance it probably received its name; since פאה *feeh* [e], or *fee*, as the *Etruscans*, in all likelihood, wrote it, signified *a boundary*, *limit*, or *frontier*. It was a place of [f] immense wealth, surrounded by an high wall of vast strength, and almost inaccessible by its situation; but frequently embroiled with the *Romans*. However, at last, after a most vigorous defence, it fell a victim to their resentment, or rather their insatiable ambition. In fine, it was taken [g] and demolished by *Camillus*, and the inhabitants transplanted to *Rome*. The district or territory of *Veii* was of a considerable extent, and bounded by the *Tiber* on the side of *Latium* [h], before the birth of *Romulus*; and the city itself, at the time of its reduction, larger and more [i] magnificent than *Rome*. Its situation, according to [k] *Cluverius*, was somewhere near the spot upon which *Scrofano* at present stands; though this cannot now (E) be precisely de-

[q] Val. Schind. lex. pentaglot. p. 181--185. 1325. [r] Idem ibid. p. 182. Exod. iii. 1. Ezek. iii. 1. xxvii. 14. [s] Phil. Cluv. ubi supra, p. 472. [t] Plin. l. ii. c. 103. [u] Strab. l. iv. [w] Liv. l. i. Virg. Æn. l. vii. viii. [x] Lycophr. in Alexand. Dion. Hal. antiquit. Roman. l. iii. Liv. & Virg. ubi supra. Strab. l. v. [y] Strab. ubi supra. [z] Idem ibid. [a] Idem ibid. [b] Val. Schind. ubi supra, p. 309, 316, &c. [c] Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 42. p. 682. Lugd. Batav. 1692. [d] Dion. Halicar. l. ii. Liv. l. v. Plutarch. in Romul. [e] Val. Schind. ubi supra, p. 1415, 1416. [f] Dion. Hal. Liv. Plut. ubi supra. [g] Liv l. v. c. 21. [h] Dion. Hal. & Liv. pass. Plut. in Romul. [i] Liv. ubi supra. [k] Phil. Cluver. ubi supra, p. 530, 531.

(E) The situation of *Veii* seems to have been pretty well determined by the later antiquaries: they place it near the banks of the *Cremera*, now the *Valca*, at a small distance from a famous inn, called *la Storta*, about ten miles north-west of *Rome*. Upon this spot several vestiges of an exceeding large antient city were to be seen, in the time of *Lucas Holstenius*; and we are told by the learned *Justus Fontaninus*, that some noble fragments of antient marble pillars, bases, statues, &c. were, not many years since, dug up there by some workmen, employed for that purpose by Cardinal *Chigi* (1).

(1) *Luc. Holsten. in not. ad Cluver. p.* 55. *Just. Fontanin. de antiquit. Hor. p.* 77, 78. *Romæ*, 1723.

termined.

termined. The [l] twelve lucumonies of *Etruria*, by their original constitution, which must have preceded the *Trojan* war several ages, were obliged to act in conjunction on all important occasions; and therefore the others [m] refused to assist *Veii*, because it had placed itself under regal government without their privity and approbation. This is an inconteſtable proof of the high antiquity of *Veii*. *Martinus Schoockius* [n] has obliged the learned world with a dissertation upon the republic or lucumony of *Veii*, wherein he gives a true and just account of the perfidious treatment it met with from the *Romans*, which will be related at large in the sequel of this history.

Some writers of credit [o] have considered *Luna*, *Fæsulæ*, and *Populonium*, as heads of *Etruscan* dynasties; but this notion, as running [p] counter to the express testimony of *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* and *Livy*, has not met with a general reception. However, as these were places of considerable fame, even before the commencement of the *Roman* power, we must not pass them over in silence. Luna, Fæsulæ, Populonium.

Luna was not a large town, but famous for its port, according to [q] *Strabo*. It stood on the *Macra*, in the *Etruscan* territories, if we will believe [r] *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*; but in *Liguria*, if any credit is to be given to [s] *Mela* and *Strabo*. *Cluverius* [t] adheres to the last authors; tho', in manifest contradiction to [u] himself, he asserts *Luna* to be a town of *Etruria*. We say, in contradiction to himself, because he admits the *Macra* to be the boundary of *Tuscany* on the side of *Liguria*; and yet affirms *Luna*, which he places on the *Ligurian* bank of that river, to belong to the former country. But that *Luna* was seated on the *Tuscan* bank of the *Macra* [w], has been clearly proved by *Lucas Holstenius*; and is not now disputed by any one moderately versed in the antient geography. The port here was extremely noble and capacious, and, in every respect, worthy of a nation that commanded the ocean, as the *Etruscans* [x] in the earlier ages did. This may suggest to us the reason of the name. For as a great number of ships probably *rested*, *lodged*, *lay*, or *rode at anchor*, here, the natural appellation of the place, to an *Oriental*, would have been *lun* or *luna*, לון *lun* signifying to [y] *lodge*, *lie*, or *rest for a short time*, as ships in a port generally do. *Luna* was likewise [z] famous for its augurs and aruspices, wine, cheese, and the quarry of marble in its neighbourhood. The name seems to be still preserved in that of the neighbouring district, called the *Lunigiana*. As for the quarry, it probably now exists in that of *Carrara*, which supplies several parts of *Europe* with the most beautiful kind of marble in great abundance. That *Luna* was built before the *Trojan* war, and was a place of vast trade [a], will admit of no dispute. Luna.

Fæsulæ, now *Fiesole*, stood at the foot of the *Apennines*, and made [b] a considerable figure long before the *Romans* subjugated *Etruria*. As the *Æolic digamma*, in some *Etruscan* words, almost intirely loses [c] its power, or at most comes up barely to a note of aspiration, the earlier *Tuscans* might pronounce *Fæsulæ Esule*, or *Hesule*, tho' they wrote it *Fesule*. In which case we may deduce it from the *Arabic* [d] word אצל, which signifies *a root*, or *foot of a mountain*; and this seems to be countenanced by the local proper name אצל [e] *Azal*, or *Asal*, that occurs in Scripture. It may likewise be derived from [f] פסל *Phasal*, *Phesal*, or *Fesal*, as the *Tuscans* [g] had an excellent quarry of marble near *Luna*, and were famed for their skill in [h] architecture and masonry, from remote antiquity. Be this as it will, that *Fæsulæ* was a very old town, appears both from [i] *Diodorus Siculus*, and an antient *Etruscan* [k] relic, that was not many years since discovered in the neighbourhood of this place. Fæsulæ.

[l] Liv. l. v. sub init. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Respub. Achæor. & Veient. juxta sua fata, in usum præsentis seculi delineat. a Martino Schoockio, Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1664. [o] Vide Dempst. de Etrur. regal. tom. ii. & Phil. Cluver. ubi supra. [p] Iidem ibid. [q] Strab. l. v. [r] Plin. l. iv. c. 5. Ptol. geogr. l. iii. c. 1. [s] Mel. l. ii. c. 4. Strab. l. v. [t] *Phil.* Cluver. Ital. antiq. l. ii. c. 2. [u] Idem ibid. [w] Lucas Holstenius in annotat. ad Ital. antiq. Cluver. ad p. 453, & 455. [x] Diod. Sic. l. v. [y] Val. Schind. ubi supra, p. 935, 936. [z] Lucan. Pharsal. l. i. v. 586. Plin. l. xiv. c. 6. Martial. l. xiii. ep. 30. Strab. ubi supra. Serv. ad Æn. l. viii. Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 5. Vide Dempst. de Etrur. regal. l. iv. c. 20. & Franc. Marian. de Etrur. metrop. p. 8. [a] Cato in origin. Vide & Phil. Cluver. ubi supra, p. 458. [b] Polyb. l. ii. Liv. l. xxii. Cic. in Cat. Sal. pass. Plin. Ptol. &c. Vide etiam Phil. Cluver. ubi supra, p. 509, 510. & Dempst. de Etrur. regal. l. iv. c. 19. [c] Tab. Eugubin. iv. l. 5, 25, &c. vii. l. 4, &c. Tab. apud Gor. mus. Etrusc. clxx. Vide & Gor. ibid. p. 423. [d] Al-Zamakhsharius. [e] Zach. xiv. 5. Schind. ubi supra, p. 113. [f] Val. Schind. ubi supra, p. 1460. [g] Strab. l. v. [h] Liv. l. i. Fest. in voc. *Atrium*. Vide etiam Scip. Maff. orig. Etrusc. p. 15, 16. [i] Diod. Sic. l. xx. [k] Phil. Bonar. explicat. & conject. ad monument. Etrusc. op. Dempst. addit. p. 95. Florentiæ, 1726.

Populonium. POPULONIUM, *Populonia*, or *Populonii* (for it went by all these names), in *Etruscan Pupulun*, or *Pupulum*, stood [l] upon an high promontory of the same name, that, projecting into the sea, formed a kind of peninsula, according to *Strabo*. It had a very commodious [m] harbour, capable of receiving a large number of ships, and consequently was of great importance to the *Etruscans*. It had also an arsenal, well furnished with [n] all sorts of naval stores, and a quay for the shipping off or landing of goods. Vast [o] quantities of copper, *&c.* in remote times, were imported here from the island of *Æthalia*, now *Elba* or *Ilva*, where they were then produced; but these mines failing, some ages after, iron was discovered in the same place [p], and, as soon as dug up, carried to *Populonium*. So that the people of *Populonium* made vessels, and other implements, of copper, brass, *&c.* even in the earliest times; and afterwards fabricated arms, instruments, machines, utensils, *&c.* of iron, which they continued to do in the days of [q] *Aristotle* and *Strabo*. This may possibly point out to us the etymon of *Pupulun*, or *Pupulum* [r]; since בב הלם *bob holom*, or, as the *Tuscans* wanted B and O, *pup hulum*, may naturally be supposed to have denoted *the harbour*, or *mouth of the harbour, that received brass, iron*, &c. *for the fabrication of arms, vessels, tools*, &c. Nor ought the termination of הלם to be deemed an objection to what is here advanced, since *mem* was frequently used for *nun* amongst the *Hebrews* and other *Oriental* [s] nations. The ruins of *Populonium* are still to be [t] seen about three miles west of *Piombino*, and ten north of the antient remains of *Vetulonium*. This maritim town was probably built by the *Pelasgi* [u], or inhabitants of *Volterra*, not long after the erection of the twelve original cities. The port or haven of *Populonium* is now called *Porto Baratto*.

As the limits we have here prescribed ourselves, will not permit us to touch upon every city or town of *Etruria*, mentioned by the antient geographers and historians, our readers will be satisfied with a brief account of those that were the most famed for their power and antiquity. Nor, indeed, is any thing farther requisite, in a work of this nature. As therefore such an account has been already given, we might easily excuse ourselves from dwelling any longer upon the present topic. However, for the sake of the curious, we shall here insert a short description of the following places, which, on several accounts, seem not unworthy their attention.

Pisæ. PISÆ, now *Pisa* [w], stood near the confluence of the *Æsar* and the *Arnus*, at a small distance from the *Tyrrhenian* sea. *Cato* [x] says it was built by *Tarchon*, the son of *Tyrrhenus*; but its foundation is attributed either to the *Aborigines*, or first *Pelasgi*, by *Dionysius* [y] *Halicarnassensis*. Of course therefore, the name itself must be *Oriental*; since, in those very early ages, the language of the *Aborigines* and *Pelasgi* approached extremely near to, if it was not intirely the same with, the *Hebrew* and *Phœnician*. Now פי שואה *pi soah* [z] signify, *a place famous for the noise of waters*; which exactly answers to the situation of *Pisæ*, according to [a] *Aristotle* and *Strabo*. We may likewise suppose the word *Pisæ* to correspond with פישון *Pison*, which is deduced from פוש *pus* [b], or *pis*, on account of the augmentation of its waters. Lastly, *Pisæ*, or פי שואה *pi soah*, may denote [c] *the port near the noise of waters*; which agrees with what has been extracted from an antient [d] author by *Servius*. The sea between the promontories of *Luna* and *Populonium*, that received the *Arnus*, was called in the *Roman* times the PISAN *gulph*, or *bay* [e] *of* PISÆ; which shews *Pisæ* to have been then a very considerable town. But what is said of *Pisæ* after the *Romans* conquered *Etruria*, does not properly belong to the history of the *Etruscans*.

Labro. LABRO, now *Livorno*, was situated on the gulph of *Pisa* [f], about twelve miles south of that city. The *Tuscans* probably wrote it *Lapra*, or *Lasra*, as may be collected from what has been already observed. *Cicero* [g] calls it *Labro*, and [h] *Zosimus Liburnum*. *Cluverius* [i] takes it to be the AD HERCULEM of *Antoninus*. The port, as well as town, of *Labro*, seems to be taken notice of by [k] *Cicero*. As the town stood upon a

[l] STRAB. l. v. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Idem ibid. [o] STRAB. l. v. & ARISTOT. de mirab. [p] Idem ibid. [q] Idem ibid. [r] VAL. SCHIND. ubi supra, p. 167. 441, 442. [s] BOCHART. Phal. l. i. c. 27. p. 277. Chan. l. i. c. 14. p. 408. & l. ii. c. 5. p. 718, 719. [t] PHIL. CLUVER. ubi supra, p. 471. DEMPST. de Etrur. regal. l. iv. c. 14. [u] SERV. ad Æn. l. x. [w] STRAB. l. v. [x] CATO apud SERV. ad Æn. x. Vide etiam PHIL. CLUVER. ubi supra, p. 464. [y] DION. HALICAR. antiquit. Rom. l. i. [z] VAL. SCHIND. ubi supra, p. 1422, 1423. 1780. [a] STRAB. ubi supra. ARISTOT. de mirab. [b] VAL. SCHIND. ubi supra, p 1432. [c] SCHIND. ubi sup. p. 1422, 1423. 1780. [d] SERV. ubi supra Vide etiam PHIL. CLUVER. ubi supra, p. 464. [e] TACIT. histor. l. iii [f] PHIL. CLUVER. ubi supra, p. 468. [g] CIC. ad Attic. [h] ZOSIM. histor. l. v. [i] PHIL. CLUVER. ubi supra, p. 468. [k] CIC. ubi supra. Vide etiam DEMPST. de Etrur. regal. l. iv. c. 67. & PHIL. CLUVER. ubi supra, p. 468.

low

low marshy ground [l], at a small distance from the *Piscinæ Pisanæ*, and not far from the *Vada Volaterrana*, it is no wonder the founders gave it the name of *Labro*, or *Labra*; *i. e.* לעברא [m] *the city of the Vadum*, or *the city that has a low marshy situation*. *Livorno*, at this day, enjoys a most flourishing and extensive trade.

TELAMON, now *Talamone*, a maritim town, with a commodious haven, of *Etruria*, stood upon [n] a promontory of the same name, about nine miles south-east of the mouth of the river *Umbro*, the *Ombrone* of the moderns. The promontory *Telamon*, from whence the town and port undoubtedly received their denomination, seems to have been so called from its several [o] small projections into the sea, which resemble so many ridges of land between two furrows, and consequently are, not improperly, termed תלמין *Talmin* [p], or *Telamin*. Such a simile, or metaphor, is extremely agreeable to the genius of the most early *Orientals*, that first settled themselves here. From the name, therefore, probably arose the fable of the *Argonauts* (F), one of whom was *Telamon*, having landed here. *Bochart* deduces many [q] *Greek* fictions from a similar source. Telamon.

COSÆ, or *Cosa*, the seat of king *Massicus* [r], one of *Æneas*'s auxiliaries, stood upon an hill and promontory, a little above the *Port of Hercules*, now known by the name of *Porto Ercole*. The [s] inhabitants took great quantities of the tunny-fish, with which the *Tyrrhenian* sea in these parts abounded; in order to which, they found it requisite to erect an high tower, from [t] whence they might view those animals at a considerable distance. This seems to have been a very antient custom amongst them, as may be inferred from [u] *Strabo*. From hence therefore, may be easily enough deduced the word *Cosa*, *Choze*, or חוזה [w]; which strongly alludes to, if it does not expressly import, such a practice. Cosæ.

FANUM VOLTUMNÆ was a celebrated city of *Etruria*, where the twelve *Etruscan* lucumonies were convened [x] on all extraordinary occasions, supposed [y], by *Cluverius*, to stand upon the spot occupied, at present, by the city of *Viterbo*. The *Etruscan* name of this town has not reached us; but that given it by the *Romans*, must convince all reasonable people, were other arguments wanting, that the *Tyrrhenians* came from the East. For it was no uncommon thing for the *Canaanites*, or *Phœnicians*, to denominate their cities the temples of their false deities, as we learn from [z] Scripture. Fanum Voltumnæ.

FANUM [a] LUCINÆ, [b] *Fanum* [c] *Feroniæ*, [d] *Aharna*, or *Adharnaha*, [e] *Artena*, &c. towns many ages since extinct, to omit, at present, other proofs that occur, clearly evince the same thing. Fanum Lucinæ, Fanum Feroniæ, Aharna, Artena, &c.

SUTRIUM, now *Sutri* [f], was a rich and flourishing city in the earliest ages of *Rome*, and considered, by the *Romans*, as the key or inlet into *Etruria*. It was, therefore, undoubtedly esteemed by the *Etruscans*, when in their possession, as a kind of barrier with regard to *Umbria* and *Latium*. Hence might possibly be derived its name [g], since סתר may reasonably be supposed to denote such a fortress. It stood about twenty-five or twenty-six miles north-west of *Rome*; and was taken twice [h] in one day, first by the *Etruscans*, afterwards by *Camillus*. The *Etruscans*, probably, wrote it *Sutre*, or *Sutri*, *um* being, in all likelihood, a *Roman* termination. *Sutrium* was first [i] an ally of Sutrium.

[l] PHIL. CLUVER. ubi sup. p. 467. [m] SAM. BOCHART. in Chan. l. i. c. 24. p. 482. l. 4. Lugd. Batavor. 1692. Vide etiam CLUVER. ubi supra, p. 468. [n] PHIL. CLUVER. ubi supra, p. 477. [o] Vide Tab. geograph. Etrur. antiq. & nov. apud DEMPST. de Etrur. regal. tom. ii. [p] SCHIND. ubi supra, p. 1973. [q] SAM. BOCHART. in Phal. & Chan. pass. [r] VIRG. Æn. x. MACROB. Saturn. l. v. c. 15. [s] STRAB. l. v. [t] Idem ibid. [u] Idem ibid. [w] VAL. SCHIND. ubi supra, p. 551. [x] LIV. l. iv. [y] PHIL. CLUVER. ubi supra, p. 565. [z] Deut. xxxiv. 6 Josh. xv. 10. Jer. xliii. 13, &c. [a] STRAB. l. v. [b] Idem ibid. [c] LIV. l. x. Vide & Bibliotheq. Ital. Sept. Oct. Nov. Dec. 1728. p. 21. A Geneve, 1728. [d e] LIV. l. iv. sub fin. Vide & Bibl. Ital. ubi supra, p. 18. [f] STEPH. de urb. PLUT. in Camil. LIV. l. ix. c. 32. & alibi pass. [g] SCHIND. ubi supra, p. 1250. [h] LIV. l. vi. c. 3. [i] VELL. PATERC. l. i. Tab. Capitol. PLIN. l. iii. c. 5. JUL. FRONTIN. de colon. Roman. FEST. in voc. *Municipium*. LIV. ubi supra.

(F) As some of our readers may probably believe the *Argonauts* to have really touched here, it will not be improper to observe, that the name *Telamon* may, upon this supposition, be also deduced from the East. For of תלם *Telem* (2), a scriptural proper name, may be formed תלמון *Telmon*, or *Telamon*; in like manner, as of (3) הבר *Heber*, חברון *Hebron*, of (4) שלם *Salem*, or *Selem*, שלמין *Salmon*, of (5) נחש *Nesh*, or *Nesh*, נחשון *Naasson*, &c. But, to omit other instances that occur, (6) שלמון *Talmon*, or *Telamon*, the name of a porter in Scripture, puts this beyond all doubt.

(2) *Josh.* xv. 24. (3) *Val. Schind. lex. pentaglot. p.* 518. (4) *Calmet's biblical dict. tom.* iii. *Val. Schind. ubi supra, p.* 18; 9. (5) *Aug. Calm. ubi supra.* (6) 1 *Chron.* ix. 17.

the *Romans*, and afterwards one of their colonies and municipia. The time or author of its foundation cannot now be determined.

Nepe. NEPE, *Nepet*, or *Nepete*, now *Nepi*, a town of considerable strength, stood a little to the north-east of *Sutrium*, upon the borders of the *Falisean* territory. *Camillus* carried this [k] place by assault, and put a body of *Etruscans* therein to the sword. That the *Etruscan* name of this town, *Nepe*, or *Nepet*, savoured of the East, [l] cannot be denied by any one at all versed in *Oriental* literature. *Nepet*, in after-ages, was likewise [m] a *Roman* colony and municipium.

Fescennium. FESCENNIUM was built either by the *Siculi* [n] or *Pelasgi*, and consequently was a town of the highest antiquity. The ruins [o] of it are still visible near *Gallese*, in the neighbourhood of *Citta Castellana*. The antient name seems to have been *Fescen*, or *Fascen*; which appears related to בזק קין *Besk Ken*, *Phesk Ken*, or *Fesc Cen*, two proper names of [p] towns or districts in the land of *Canaan*. Nuptial songs or [q] poems are said to have been first used by the people of this city, and were therefore called *Versus Fescennini*. *Annianus* [r], a *Falisean* poet, had an admirable talent at this kind of poetry. These songs, at [s] first, kept within the bounds that virtue and decency prescribe; but, afterwards, degenerated into a kind of doggrel, or loose verses, which were a jumble of insipid jests, mixed with all sorts of ribaldry. They are [t] taken notice of by some of the best *Roman* authors.

Alsium. ALSIUM was a little east of *Cære*, and, according to [u] *Cluverius*, occupied the spot on which, at present, *Palo* stands. We are told by [w] *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, that judicious antiquary, that *Alsium* was built by the *Aborigines*, long before the *Tyrsenians* arrived in *Italy*. If this be admitted, *Alsium* must have been erected not many generations after the dispersion in the days of *Phaleg*. As therefore it was founded by, and received its name from, one [x] *Alæsus*, *Alesus*, or *Alisa*, it can scarce be denied, that *Alisah* אלישה, the son of [y] *Javan*, or his posterity, settled here. This seems to be as strong a proof of the migration of the descendents of *Alisa*, or *Elisha*, into *Europe*, as any that has been hitherto produced.

As for *Regisvilla*, *Fregenæ*, *Saturnia*, *Janiculum*, *Statonia*, *Graviscæ*, *Pyrgi*, *Horta*, &c. tho' places of great antiquity, as they made no considerable figure within the historical period of time, it would be of no manner of use to take any particular notice of them here. It will be sufficient to touch upon them hereafter, as they occur in the body of the history.

Promontories of Etruria. THE chief promontories of *Etruria* were those of *Luna*, *Populonium*, *Telamon*, *Cosa*, &c. which, from what has been already observed, are so well known, as not to stand in need of any description.

Mountains. ETRURIA was interspersed with several ridges of mountains, the chief of which were the *Apennines*. The valleys between these hills must have been extremely fertile and pleasant, as may be inferred from their present appearance. Mount *Soracte*, now *Monte di S. Silvestro*, according to some, or as others will have it, *Monte di S. Oresto*; *Mons Fæsulanus*, taken notice of by [z] *Orosius*; *Montes Cortonenses*, that occur in [a] *Livy*; and [b] *Mons Ciminus*, now *Monte di Viterbo*; were also pretty much celebrated amongst the antients. *Monte Argentaro* is a rock of vast height, projecting into the sea in the form of a peninsula; and exactly answers the description of the promontory of *Cosa* [c], given us by *Strabo*. There are likewise other mountains, or rocks, of an uncommon declivity, particularly that on which *Volterra* stands; but their names have not been transmitted down to us. However, it is probable, that some of those which at present prevail, are [d] of a very remote antiquity.

Rivers. THE principal rivers of *Etruria* were the *Macra*, the *Æsar*, the *Arnus*, the *Cecina*, the *Umbro*, the *Albinia*, the *Armine*, *Armenia*, or *Arminia*, the *Marta*, and the *Tiberis*, now the *Magra*, the *Serchio*, the *Arno*, the *Cecina*, the *Ombrone*, the *Albegna*, the *Fiore*, the *Marta*, and the *Tevere*, or *Tiber*. These rivers had either their sources in the *Apennines*, or some hills that might be considered as branches of that chain of

[k] LIV. l. vi. c. 10. [l] VAL. SCHIND. ubi sup. p. 1139. CHRIST. CELLAR. in Samarit. [m] STRAB. l. v. PLIN. l. iii. c. 5. FEST. in voc. *Municipium*. [n] DION. HALICAR. l. i. [o] PHIL. CLUVER. ubi supra, p. 551. [p] Jud. i. 4 iv. 11, &c. [q] SERV. ad Æn. vii. MACROB. Saturn. l. ii. c. 4. HOR. epist. l. ii. ep. 1. & HELENIUS ACRON in loc. [r] AUL. GELL. noct. Attic. l. vii. c. 7. [s] LIV. l. ii. c. 7. [t] Vide DEMPST. de Etrur. regal. l. iv. c. 46. [u] PHIL. CLUV. ubi supra, p. 497. [w] DION. HALICAR. antiquit. Rom. l. i. [x] SIL. ITAL. l. viii. VIRG. Æn. l. vii. & SERV. in loc. Vide CLUVER. ubi supra. [y] Gen. x. 4. [z] P. OROS. l. vii. c. 37. [a] LIV. l. xxii. sub init. [b] VIRG. Æn. l. vii. [c] STRAB. l. v. [d] FRANCIC MARIAN. de Etrur. metrop p. 166. Romæ, 1728.

moun-

mountains; and, after having received many ſmaller ones, diſcharged themſelves into the *Etruſcan* ſea. Thoſe of leſs note, mentioned by the antients, were the *Aventia*, the *Frigida*, the *Veſidia*, the *Lynceus Fluvius*, the *Salebro*, the *Alma*, the *Oſa*, the *Minio*, the *Aro*, &c. now the *Lavenza*, the *Frigida*, the *Verſiglia*, the *Cornia*, the *Bruna*, the *Oſa*, the *Mignone*, the *Arone*, &c. To which we may add the *Clanis*, now the *Chiana*, that ran through the *Palus Cluſina* into the *Tiber*. The names of the five greater rivers, *Macra*, *Æſar*, *Arnus*, *Umbro*, and *Tiberis*, diſcover the high antiquity of thoſe who firſt (G) impoſed them.

THIS country likewiſe had ſeveral lakes, the chief of which were the following; *Lakes.* 1. The *Lacus Thraſymenus*, now *Il Lago di Perugia*, famous for the ſignal defeat given the *Romans* in its neighbourhood by [c] *Hannibal*. 2. The *Lacus* [f] *Prilis*, now *Il Lago di Caſtiglione*. 3. The *Lacus* [g] *Vadimonis*, now *Il Lago di Valdemonio*, and *Il Lago di Baſſano*. Upon the [h] banks of this lake, after an obſtinate diſpute, *Q. Fabius* overthrew the moſt numerous army the *Etruſcans* ever brought into the field. Some years after, the conſul *P. Cornelius Dolabella* likewiſe gave [i] a total overthrow here to the *Boii*, tho' reinforced by a great body of *Etruſcans*. 4. The [k] *Lacus Bacchani*, now *Il Lago di Baccano*, in a plain about ſixteen miles from *Rome*. 5. The [l] *Lacus Ciminus*, now *Il Lago di Vico*, or *Il Lago di Ronciglione*, where, according to [m] *Sotion*, a town formerly ſtood, that was deſtroyed by an earthquake. [n] *Ammianus Marcellinus* calls this town *Succinium*, and informs us, that the neighbouring country was formerly much ſubject to earthquakes. Tho' the lake is but ſmall, yet its waters are very rough at certain ſeaſons. What *Servius* [o] has related of it, deſerves not the leaſt attention. 6. The [p] *Lacus Sabatius*, or *Sabatinus*, now *Il Lago di Bracciano*, was ſuppoſed likewiſe to have been formed by an earthquake, according to a tradition that prevailed amongſt the *Tuſcans*, in the days of [p] *Sotion*. At preſent it ſometimes goes under the name of *Il Lago d'Anguillara*, from the great number of eels there produced. 7. The [q] *Lacus Volſinienſis*, or *Vulſinienſis*, now *Il Lago di Bolſena*, received its name from the city of *Volſinii*, which has been already deſcribed. As this lake alſo bordered upon the lucumony of *Tarquinii*, [r] *Pliny*, in one place, calls it *Lacus Tarquinienſis*. 8. The *Lacus* [s] *Statonienſis*, ſo denominated from the town of *Statonia*, now *Il Lago di Mezzano*. *Cluverius* [t], with great probability, ſuppoſes *Statonia* to have been erected upon the ſpot whereon now ſtands the city of *Caſtro*. 9. The *Palus Cluſina* ſeems to have been denominated *The Lake of Cluſium* [u] by *Strabo*; but as this, in conjunction with the *Clanis*, has been ranked amongſt the rivers of *Etruria*, it is ſufficient juſt to have mentioned it here.

THE following iſlands having been taken particular notice of by the antients, our readers will naturally expect a ſhort account of them in the preſent deſcription of *Etruria*. 1. *Urgo*, [w] or *Orgon*, the *Gorgona* of the moderns, a ſmall iſland in the gulph of *Iſlands.*

[c] LIV. PLIN. CORN. NEP. SIL. ITAL. &c. [f] CIC. in orat. pro An. Mil. [g] POLYB. LIV. SOT. SENEC. PLIN. FLOR. &c. [h] POLYB. LIV. &c. [i] POLYB. LIV. &c. [k] ANTONIN. itiner. [l] SIL. ITAL. lib. viii. VIRG. Æn. lib. viii. v. 696. & SERV. in loc. [m] SOTION in fragment. de mirand. font. flum. & loc. [n] AMMIAN. MARCELL. lib. xvii. [o] SERV. ubi ſupra. [p] SOTION ubi ſupra. [q] COLUMELL. ruſtic. rer. lib. viii. c. 16. VITRUV. lib. ii. c. 7. PLIN. lib. xxxvi. c. 22. LIV. lib. xxvii. STRAB. lib. v. [r] PLIN. lib. xxxvi. c. 22. [s] VITRUV. & PLIN. ubi ſupra. [t] PHIL. CLUVER. ubi ſupra, p. 517. [u] STRAB. lib. v. [w] MEL. PLIN. MARTIAN. CAPEL.

(G) This is clearly evinced by the words themſelves, which are all undoubtedly of *Oriental* extraction: 1. *Umbro*, or עמברה, might either have (7) ſignified *a paſſage*, *the furtheſt part*, or, *a ſmall veſſel uſed in paſſing rivers*; any of which ſignifications may be conſidered as very applicable to the (8) *Umbro*. The *mem*, &c. in (9) עמברה, is equivalent, to the epenthetic N, which was ſometimes inſerted by the *Greeks*, when they wrote certain *Oriental* words: thus, סרן, in writing, they expreſſed σινδων. 2. (1) *Macra*, or, as the preſent *Italians* more (2) properly pronounce it, *Magra*, in (3) *Arabic* denotes *a river*, or *canal*. 3. *Æſar* (4) is an *Etruſcan* word, that indiſputably came out of the Eaſt. 4. *Arnus*, *Arno*, or (5) *Arnon*, is known to be the name of a river in Scripture. 5. *Tiber* muſt be acknowleged an eaſtern proper name, as being the ſame with (6) *Diber*, or *Debir*, the *Etruſcans* having never admitted D into their alphabet: nay, as T is frequently a ſervile letter in the *Oriental* tongues, we may be allowed to derive *Tiber*, as well as *Umbro* (7), from עבר; nor is there any thing forced, or unnatural, in the derivation.

(7) *Val. Schind. lex. pentaglot. p.* 1258—1265. (8) *Plin. lib.* iii. *c.* 5. *Vide etiam Phil. Cluver. ubi ſupra, p.* 474. (9) *Bochart. Phal. lib.* iii. *c.* 7. *p.* 168. *Littleton in lit.* N. *See alſo, p.* 10. (1) *Plin. ubi ſupra.* (2) *Franc. Marian. de Etrur. metrop. p.* 166. *Romæ*, 1728. (3) *Val. Schind. ubi ſupra, p.* 340. (4) *Diſſert. de ling. Etrur. regal. vernac. p.* 20. *Oxon.* 1738. (5) *Deut.* iii. 12. (6) *Joſh.* xv. 7. (7) *Plin. Schind. Bochart. ubi ſupra, & alibi.*

Pisa, famous at this day for the vast quantities of anchovies it sends out every year into various parts of *Europe*. 2. The *Mænaria* [x], or *Menaria* of *Pliny*, now *Meloria*, at a small distance from the town and port of *Leghorn*. 3. [y] *Capraria*, *Ægila*, or *Ægilum*, now *Capraria*, in the same parallel with the antient *Vetulonium*, is known to every one in the least acquainted with the *Mediterranean*. *Varro* calls it [z] *Caprasia*, and intimates, that it was so denominated from the great number of goats it produced. 4. *Æthalia*, [a] or *Ilva*, now *Elba*, was celebrated, amongst the antients, for its inexhaustible vein of iron [b], with which it plentifully supplied the *Romans*. The *Argonauts* are said to have put in [c] here, and from them the port they touched at received the appellation of *Portus Argous*, now known by the name of *Porto Ferraio*. *Ilva* seems to have been an independent state when *Æneas* landed in *Italy*, since it declared itself his ally, and sent him a reinforcement of [d] three hundred men. 5. *Planasia*, [e] now *Pianosa*, whither *Augustus* banished *Agrippa*, mentioned by *Strabo*, *Tacitus*, and *Dio*. 6. The *Oglasa* of *Pliny* [f], an high rock, the *Monte Christo* of the present *Italians*. 7. *Igilium* [g], now *Giglio*, a small island near the *Portus Cosanus*, at present *Porto Ercole*. 8. *Artemisia* [h], or *Artemita*, now *Giannuti*, a little to the east of *Igilium*, and in the neighbourhood likewise of the *Portus Herculis*. 9. The two [i] islands in the *Lacus Volsinienses*, the larger of which the *Italians* call the *Island of S. Giacomo*. These are the islands that, according to the old geographers, appertained to the antient *Etruria*.

Curiosities. AMONGST the principal curiosities of this country may be ranked those that follow: 1. The *Lacus Vadimonis* above-mentioned, of which, from [k] *Pliny*, take the following description. "When I came to it, says he, I found it to resemble a wheel. It has no "angle, and is every-where so smooth and regular, that it seems to have been made "by a line. It is of a deep bluish colour, with a mixture of white and green. Its "waters have a sulphureous smell, and mineral taste, and are extremely good to cure "fractures. It is of no great extent, but yet rough when the winds are high. It "does not admit of vessels of any kind, as being sacred; but has several floating "islands, covered with grass, reeds, and other sorts of weeds produced in fenny "grounds, and the sides of lakes. They are of different figures and sizes. Their "sides are rendered very naked and bare, by frequently striking one against another, "and against the sides of the lake. They are cut smooth at the bottom, and resemble "the keel of a ship. They are sometimes dispersed all over the lake, and are as much "above the water as under it. Sometimes they are united, and form a sort of conti-"nent. Sometimes the violence of the wind separates them; and being then put in "motion, they float as before. The small ones often adhere to the large ones, as long "boats do to ships. They frequently seem to be engaged one with another. At par-"ticular times, they are all driven together on one shore, and inlarge it. Whichever "way they steer their course, they generally drive the waters of the lake before them, "and it never returns to its usual level, till they all arrive at the middle. It is certain "the cattle come on these islands for pasture, not distinguishing them from the bank "of the lake; nor are they sensible of their floating, till they are struck with terror "by seeing themselves surrounded with water. Then following the wind, they go "ashore at the first place that offers. This lake discharges itself into a river, which, "after running a little way above-ground, falls into a great abyss, and continues its "course so freely under-ground, that it brings out any thing with it that had been "thrown into it before its descent." Thus far *Pliny*: and, in confirmation of part of his description, we are told by the learned *Justus* [l] *Fontaninus*, that at this day the *Lake of Bassano* resembles a wheel; is every-where smooth and regular; is of a deep bluish colour, with a mixture of white and green; has waters of a sulphureous smell, and mineral taste, *&c.* It is, however, now of a narrower extent than it seems to have formerly been. We find the phænomenon of the floating islands accounted for by *Se-*

[x] PLIN. lib. iii. c. 6. [y] MEL. lib. ii. 7. PLIN. lib. iii. c. 6. SOLIN. c. 8. MARTIAN. CAPEL. lib. vi. [z] VAR. rustic. rer. lib. ii. [a] HECATÆUS & PHILISTUS apud Stephan. PLIN. lib. xxxiv. c. 14. [b] ARISTOT. de mirab. HECATÆUS & PHILISTUS apud Steph. ubi supra. PLIN. ubi supra. VIRG. Æn. lib. x. SERV. in loc. SIL. ITAL. lib. viii. STRAB. lib. v. [c] DIOD. SIC. lib. iv. STRAB. lib. v. [d] VIRG. Æn. lib. x. [e] VAR. ubi supra, lib. iii. c. 6. STRAB. lib. v. TACIT. annal. lib. i. DIO, lib. lv. [f] PLIN. ubi supra. [g] Idem ibid. [h] STEPH. [i] PLIN. lib. ii. c. 95. [k] PLIN. epist. lib. viii. c. 20. [l] JUST. FONTANIN. de antiquit. Hort. lib. i. c. 5. p. 104, 105. Romæ, 1723.

neca,

neca [m], and mentioned by *Sotion* [n], as emended by *Sylburgius*, and the [o] elder *Pliny*. For a farther account of this ſurpriſing lake, the curious may have recourſe to the above-mentioned [p] *Juſtus Fontaninus* (H), who will give them full and ample ſatisfaction. 2. The two floating iſlands in the *Lacus Volſinienſis*, taken notice of [q] by *Pliny*, that bore ſome reſemblance to thoſe exhibited by the former lake. They were ſometimes, according to that author, of a triangular, and ſometimes of a circular form; but never aſſumed that of a ſquare. But we apprehend our naturaliſt to have been miſtaken in the point before us; and that the two iſlands he repreſents as floating, were, in reality, fixed and immoveable. For two ſuch iſlands remain to this day in *The Lake of Bolſena*, as is well known to every traveler, who has made the tour of *Italy*. 3. The *Aquæ* [r] *Calidæ Piſanæ*, or *Hot Waters of Piſa*; which, as may be inferred from *Pliny*, were remarkable for the vaſt number of frogs they produced. 4. The *Aquæ Tauri* of *Pliny* [s], from whence the people inhabiting the neighbouring diſtrict received the denomination of *Aquenſes Taurini*. Theſe waters, at preſent, go under the name of *Bagni de Palazzi*, and are in the neighbourhood of *Civita Vecchia*. 5. The *Thermæ Cæretanæ* were ſome of the moſt celebrated baths in *Etruria*, according to [t] *Strabo*. Theſe medicinal waters were the ſame with thoſe now called *Bagni del Saſſo*, about three miles from *Cerveteri*, as has been obſerved by the learned *Lucas* [t] *Holſtenius*. They iſſue from two fountains, about half a mile diſtant from each other: the upper one on an hill is called *The Old Bath*, and the lower in a plain, *The New Bath*; and both of them are at preſent pretty famous amongſt the *Italians*. 6. The *Aquæ Calidæ* [u] of *Vetulonium* may likewiſe be eſteemed as one of the principal curioſities of *Etruria*; ſince, if we believe [w] *Pliny*, notwithſtanding the intenſe heat of theſe waters, there were fiſhes found alive in them. [x] *Buſbequius* ſaw ſuch a lake or fountain as this at *Buda* in *Hungary*; which, however incredible at firſt ſight it may ſeem, ſupports what has been advanced by *Pliny*, and merits the attention of the curious. 7. The [y] veins of braſs and iron in the iſle of *Ilva* above-mentioned. 8. The ruins and foundations of two towns formerly viſible in the *Lacus Ciminus* and *Lacus Sabatius*, according to the *Italian*, or rather *Tuſcan*, tradition mentioned by [z] *Sotion*. 9. The violent ſhock and prodigious elevation of the water near *Piſa*, occaſioned by the junction of the *Æſar* and the *Arnus*, as we learn from [a] *Ariſtotle* and *Strabo*. 10. The tower [b], or obſervatory, erected on the promontory of *Coſa*, from whence the inhabitants of that town could deſcry the tunny-fiſhes ſporting themſelves. 11. The [c] floating iſland in the *Lacus Statonienſis*, mentioned by *Seneca*. 12. The quarries near *The Lacus Volſinienſis*, and *The Lacus Statonienſis*, whoſe ſtone [d] was neither to be injured by fire nor time, and which, therefore, frequently ſerved for ſepulcral monuments, as well as moulds to caſt figures of braſs in. [e] This ſtone, a ſpecies of the *ſilex*, was black, red, and ſometimes white; and neither affected by heat nor cold. 13. The quarry

[m] SENEC. apud Juſt. Fontanin. ubi ſupra. [n] SOTION in fragment. de mir. font. fluv. & lac. inter Ariſtotelis opuſcula varia Græce edita à Frid. Sylburgio, Francof. apud Wechel. 1587. [o] PLIN. lib. ii. c. 95. SENEC. nat. quæſt. lib. iii. c. 25. [p] JUST. FONTANIN. ubi ſupra. [q] PLIN. ubi ſupra. [r] PLIN. lib. ii. c. 103. [s] DEMPST. de Etrur. regal. lib. i. c. 13. [t] STRAB. lib. v. & LUCAS HOLST. in not. ad Cluver. [u] PLIN. lib. ii. c. 103. [w] Idem ibid. [x] BUSBEQ. epiſt. i. p. 10. [y] ARISTOT. STRAB. PLIN. &c. ubi ſupra. [z] SOTION ubi ſupra. [a] ARISTOT. de mirab. STRAB. ubi ſupra. [b] STRAB. ubi ſupra. [c] SENEC. nat. quæſt. lib. iii. c. 25. PLIN. lib. ii. c. 95. [d] PLIN. lib. xxxvi. c. 22. [e] Idem ibid.

(H) The learned *Giuſto* (8) *Fontanini* in the ſame place alſo obſerves, that in the neighbourhood of *Nepet* there are ſeveral ſulphureous ſprings; which enables us to account clearly for the name: for (9) *nepet*, *napt*, or *napht*, in *Arabic*, ſignifies *bitumen*, *petroleum*, or *a ſulphureous ſpring*. Signior (1) *Mariani*, after (2) *Dempſter*, informs us, that the ſymbol of this city has from remote antiquity been a ſcorpion. Now, in the *Arabic* language, the verb נאף, or נוף, ſignifies *longa & elata fuit res*, and נאף, or נוף, *imminuit rei, vel eminuit ſupra eam*. The name, therefore, from either of theſe roots, might be given to the *flying ſcorpion* in particular; ſuch as, we ſuppoſe, is meant *Numb.* xxi. 6. In the *Hebrew* language, the verb עוף ſignifies *volavit*, &c. *Schindler*. Hence perhaps the ſcorpion, *i. e.* this ſpecies of it, was called נעוף, or נעף, from whence *napha*, *nepha*, or *nepa*: and that in the pronunciation the ע in the middle was loſt, appears, we think, from hence, that נוף in (3) *Schindler* is *levavit*, *elevavit*, and agrees exactly with the *Arabic nâph* above: ſo that in whatever view we conſider the word *nepe*, or *nepet*, it muſt be allowed to have come originally out of the Eaſt.

(8) *Juſt. Fontanin. antiquit. Hort. p.* 105. *Romæ*, 1723. (9) *Val. Schind. lex. pentaglot. p.* 1139. *Hanoviæ*, 1612. (1) *Franciſc. Marian. de Etrur. metrop. p.* 8. (2) *Dempſt. de Etrur. regal. tom.* ii. *p.* 116, 117. (3) *Schind. ubi ſupra, p.* 1293---1295. 1093, 1094.

of marble near [f] *Luna*, which ſubſiſts to this day, in that of *Carrara*. 14. The *Vada* [g] *Volaterrana*, for a deſcription of which, we muſt refer our readers to *Cluverius*. 15. The *Salinæ* [h], or *Salt-pits*, of *Volaterræ*, *Veii*, &c. which certainly deſerve a place in the natural hiſtory of antient *Etruria*.

Situation, extent, climate, &c. of Etruria.

ETRURIA lies in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth degrees of longitude from *London*; and in the forty-ſecond, forty-third, and forty-fourth degrees of north latitude. In the maritim parts the air is extremely noxious, and even ſometimes peſtilential; though no part of *Italy*, nor even *Europe*, can be deemed more ſalubrious than the mountainous and mediterranean diſtricts. Such alſo, antiently, was the temperature of the air, and the nature of the climate, as appears from [i] *Pliny*. With regard to the quality of the ſoil, as this country was beautifully diverſified [k] with craggy hills, fruitful valleys, and delicious plains; ſome parts were barren, whilſt others produced corn, wine, oil, fruits, *&c.* in vaſt abundance. The woods, likewiſe, [l] or foreſts, with which this region abounded, were plentifully ſtocked with all ſorts of game; as were the ſea and rivers appertaining to it [m] with fiſh. *In fine*, the tract we are now upon has always, even from the remoteſt antiquity to the preſent time, been [n] productive, not only of the neceſſaries, but even many of the elegancies of life; with which obſervation we ſhall beg leave to cloſe our deſcription of *Etruria*.

[f] STRAB. lib. v. SERV. ad Æn. viii. PLIN. nat. hiſt. lib. xxxvi. c. 5. CORN. NEP. VAR. SUET. NON. Vide etiam DEMPST. de Etrur. regal. lib. iv. c. 20. [g] PHIL. CLUVER. ubi ſupra, p. 468. [h] Idem ibid. p. 469, & alibi. [i] PLIN. epiſt. lib. v. ep. 6. & lib. ix. ep. 40. Vide DEMPST. ubi ſupra, lib. i. c. 13. [k] DEMPST. ubi ſupra, lib. i. [l] Idem ibid. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Idem ibid.

SECT. II.

The Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Language, and Learning of the Etruſcans.

Etruſcans, *a branch of the* Pelaſgi.

THE *Tyrſenians*, or *Etruſcans*, were a branch of the *Pelaſgi*, that migrated into *Europe* [a] not many ages after the diſperſion. Some of them marched by land as far as [b] *Lydia*, and from thence detached a colony under the conduct of *Tyrſenus* to *Italy*. *Tyrſenus* [c], having conſtructed a proper number of veſſels at *Smyrna*, ſet ſail from that port in queſt of new dominions; and, after ſuſtaining various hardſhips and fatigues, at laſt made a deſcent in that part of *Italy* called *Umbria*. Here he built many cities, which [d] remained even to the days of *Herodotus*. He alſo expelled the *Umbri* from a very conſiderable extent of territory, and took from them three hundred [e] towns. This firſt colony of *Tyrſenians*, from *Lydia*, ſeems to have been joined by a body of *Pelaſgi* [f] already ſettled in ſome of the iſlands of the *Archipelago*. For, that ſome of the *Pelaſgi*, in the neighbourhood of *Lemnus* and *Imbrus*, ſailed with *Tyrſenus* the ſon of *Atys* to *Italy*, we learn from *Anticlides* in [g] *Strabo*.

Lydian *and* Grecian Pelaſgi *the ſame people*.

IF this laſt point be admitted, it will follow, that the *Lydian Pelaſgi*, or *Etruſcans*, conducted by *Tyrſenus* to *Italy*, and the firſt *Pelaſgi* that inhabited *Greece*, were the ſame people. For the [h] *Pelaſgi*, mentioned by *Anticlides*, were undoubtedly ſome of the latter; and from the name *Tyrſenians*, given them by [i] *Thucydides*, they appear to have been of the ſame origin with the former. Nay, this may be inferred from *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis* [k], when he cites, with approbation, the paſſage we have here in view; tho' it muſt be owned, that this author afterwards [l] contradicts not only *Thucydides*, but himſelf; when, without any manner of reaſon, he makes the *Tyrſenians* and *Pelaſgi* two different nations.

Etruſcans *called themſelves* Raſeni.

WE have already obſerved, that the *Etruſcans*, from their leader *Raſen*, or *Reſen*, denominated themſelves *Raſeni*; and that *Tyrſenus*, or *Tyrſen*, is only the name *Reſen*, with the ſervile letter T ſuperadded. This ſeems clearly to evince, not only that the *Etruſcan* name of the people under conſideration agreed with that of the *Greeks*, but likewiſe that they were both of *Oriental* extraction [m].

[a] DION. HALICAR. antiquit. Rom. lib. i. [b] HERODOT. lib. i. DION. HALICAR. ubi ſupra. STRAB. lib. v. [c] HERODOT. ubi ſupra. [d] HERODOT. & DION. HALICAR. ubi ſupra. [e] PLIN. lib. iii. c. 14. [f] STRAB. lib. v [g] ANTICLIDES apud Strab. ubi ſupra. [h] STRAB. ubi ſupra. [i] THUCYDID. apud Dion Halican. lib. i. SOPHOCLES ibid. APOLLON. Argonaut. lib. iv. POLYÆN. ſtrat. lib. vii. [k] DION. HALICAR. ubi ſupra. [l] Idem ibid. [m] CUMBERL. connect. of the *Greek* and *Roman* antiquit. p. 318.

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THE *Pelasgi* must be allowed to have been one of the most antient nations in the world, and, as appears from their colonies, in the earliest times [n], very numerous and powerful. With regard to their origin, the learned are not agreed. Some [o] make them the descendents of *Peleg*, or *Phaleg*, who have very probable arguments on their side; others deduce them from the antient [p] *Canaanites* and *Phœnicians*, who have likewise much to urge in vindication of their opinion; and, lastly [q], others suppose them to have been of a *Celtic* original; which seems to be more remote from truth. However, that some of the posterity of *Javan* seated themselves, not many ages after the deluge, both in *Italy* and *Greece*, we think cannot well be denied.

Pelasgi, *one of the most antient nations of the world.*

THE reason of the name *Rasseni*, *Tyrseni*, or *Tyrrheni*, from what has been already advanced, is obvious and clear; nor is that of *Etruri*, or *Etrusci*, very perplexed. That *Etruri*, and even *Eturi*, was the antient name of the *Etruscans*, may be collected from [r] *Servius*. That the *Etruscans* likewise derived the appellation they went under from *Athuria*, or *Aturia*, that of their parental country, may be proved from *Dionysius* [s] *Halicarnassensis*, *Strabo*, and *Dio*. Now *Aturia* and *Assyria* differ only in dialect, the former being equivalent to the *Chaldæan* word אתוריא, and the latter to the *Hebrew* אשור, as may be evinced from [t] *Bochart*, and others. Since, therefore, nothing is more frequent than the permutation of A and E in *Oriental* words [u], especially when written in *Greek* letters, *Atura* and *Etura* must be looked upon as the same word, and as the [w] antient name of *Etruria*. Nor can this be wondered at, if we consider, that *Resen* [x] was a city of *Aturia* or *Assyria*, from whence, probably, the leader of the *Eturian*, or *Etruscan*, colony was denominated *Raseni*, or *Reseni*; and that, from the sacred historian [y], we may conclude *Ashur* to have been the brother of *Lud*, or great ancestor of the *Lydians*. All which, to omit other observations that occur in favour of what has been advanced, being maturely weighed, we think the etymons of *Tyrseni*, *Etrusci*, &c. as well as the true origin, and high antiquity, of the *Etruscan* nation, will appear in the clearest light (A).

Etymons of the words Raseni, Tyrseni, Etrusci, *&c.*

As for the word *Tusci*, or [z] *Thusci*, that is of a later date, and seems to have been given the *Etruscans* by the *Greeks*. The sacrifices, or use of frankincense, that prevailed amongst the *Tuscans* in after-ages, probably suggested this appellation to that people. However, be this as it will, that *Tusci*, or *Thusci*, was not the primitive name of the *Etruscans*, we find asserted by [a] *Pliny*, and has been evinced by other authors. This word frequently occurs in the *Eugubian tables*, and, consequently, proves those tables to be more modern than father [b] *Gori* seems willing to allow.

Etymon of the word Tusci.

A LATE celebrated author, thinking himself to have discovered some traces of an *Egyptian* original in *Etruria*, supposes a body of *Egyptians* to have passed to *Italy*, immediately after the irruption of the *Phœnician* shepherds into the *Lower Egypt*. But this we cannot readily assent to. For, supposing the *Etruscans* to have agreed

[n] HERODOT. HELLANICUS LESBIUS, DION. HALICAR. STRAB. PLUT. SOPHOCL. THUCYDID. POLYÆN. aliique quam plurim. script. Græc. & Latin. [o] HUGO GROT. in lib. de jure bell. &c. c. 3. CLAUD. SALMAS. de Hellen. STILLINGFL. orig. sacr. lib. iii. c. 4. p. 388, 389, &c. Cant. 1702. [p] SCIP. MAFF. orig. Etrusc. & Latin. c. 5, 6, 7, 8. Lips. 1731. ANTONIN. FRANCISC. GOR. mus. Etrusc. dissert. i. [q] Anonym. in nov. act. erudit. Lips. mens. Jun. 1744. [r] SERV. in Æn. lib. xi. v. 596. [s] DION. HALICAR. lib. i. STRAB. lib. xvi. Dio in Trajan. SUID. in voc. Νῖνος. [t] BOCHART. Phal. lib. ii. c. 3. JOANNES ANTIOCHENUS apud Cl. Salmas. in Solin. p. 1235. [u] STEPH. in voc. *Academia*. PLAUT. BOCHART. TURNEB. apud Franc. Marian. ubi supra, p. 13. [w] FRANC. MARIAN. ubi supra, p. 12, 13. [x] Gen. x. 12. [y] Ibid. 22. [z] PLIN. lib. iii. c. 5. [a] Idem ibid. [b] ANTON. FRANC. GOR. mus. Etrusc. in prolegom. ad interpret. Etrusc. tab. Eug. & alibi pass.

(A) From what we have observed, it must appear extremely probable, that different colonies might have been detached at different times out of the East, and even *Greece*, into *Italy*. Nor is it necessary to suppose, that these all came out of the same country. *Assyrians*, *Phœnicians*, *Pelasgi*, and other nations, might, in the earlier ages, make settlements in *Etruria*. Be this as it will, the famous *Scipio Maffei* has rendered it not a little probable, from the similitude of manners observable in the two nations, that the *Etruscans* were the descendents of the *Canaanites*, or *Phœnicians*. The learned Signor *Mariani* has likewise as strongly proved, that some at least of the *Etruscans* came from *Assyria*: and to deny, that the *Pelasgi* settled in *Etruria*, would be to run counter to the whole stream of profane history. We have not room to insert all the arguments brought by the authors here cited in support of their respective opinions; but take for granted, that the most curious of our readers, who are friends to the *Etruscan* antiquities, will peruse those authors with great pleasure and attention (1).

(1) *Scip. Maff. orig. Etrusc. & Latin. Franc. Marian. de Etrur. metrop. Anton. Francisc. Gor. mus. Etrusc. pass.*

with the *Egyptians* in ſeveral points, and even to have come from *Egypt*, yet we are inclined to believe, that they ought rather to be conſidered as *Phœnicians* than true *Egyptians*. For, to omit other argnments that might be produced, the true *Egyptians* never uſed human ſacrifices; whereas the *Phœnicians*, whilſt in *Egypt*, offered men to their fictitious deities, as did alſo the *Etruſcans*. It is therefore probable, that if any colonies came from *Egypt* to *Etruria*, they muſt have been *Phœnicians*, and, in all likelihood, ſome of thoſe who were forced by *Amoſis* to abandon the *Lower Egypt* [c].

AFTER the expulſion of the *Pelaſgi* from *Theſſaly*, or *Æmonia*, by the *Hellens*, many of them retired to *Italy*. Some of theſe ſeated themſelves at one of the mouths of the *Po*, and the reſt at *Croton*, or *Cortona*, in *Tuſcany*. This happened in the time of *Deucalion*, ſeveral ages before the deſtruction of *Troy*. For a farther account of this tranſaction, our readers may conſult *Hellanicus Leſbius*, and *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis* [d].

A WRITER of the firſt claſs in the learned world has clearly proved, that the *Etruſcans*, in many, not to ſay moſt, points, exactly agreed with the antient inhabitants of *Canaan* [e]. It likewiſe appears from [f] *Livy*, not to mention other authors, that the antient *Tuſcans* imitated the *Iſraelites*, in a cuſtom which was of divine inſtitution. They muſt therefore have had this cuſtom communicated to them after the time of *Moſes*, and that, as muſt naturally be ſuppoſed, by the *Phœnicians*; for, with the *Iſraelites*, it does not appear, that they had ever any manner of intercourſe. We may therefore preſume, that, after the expulſion of the *Phœnician* ſhepherds, conſiderable numbers of them took refuge in *Italy*; and that even in *Joſhua* and *David*'s time, both of whom, probably, expelled many *Canaanites* out of *Aſia*, ſeveral bodies of that people retreated to the ſame country.

THE cuſtom here hinted at was, that of the prieſthood's being in one family amongſt the *Iſraelites*, which [g] was of divine inſtitution. To which we may add, that *Etruria* conſiſted of twelve different tribes or cantons; which exactly correſponded with the primary and original diviſion of the *Iſraelite* nation. It can therefore ſcarce be denied, that a ſimilar form of government, at leaſt, in ſome reſpects, prevailed amongſt the *Iſraelites* and *Etruſcans*: which if we admit, it ſeems to follow, that ſome bodies of *Canaanites*, or *Phœnicians*, fled to *Italy*, after the *Iſraelites* had conquered the land of *Canaan* [h]. For, that the *Canaanites* imitated the *Iſraelites* in ſome things of divine inſtitution, and, conſequently, might communicate them to other nations, is a point that at this time will not be diſputed amongſt the learned [i].

ACCORDING to the moſt approved writers of the *Latin* affairs, the *Arcadian* colony under *Evander* [k] confined themſelves to a ſmall part even of *Latium*. However, it is probable they might intermix with the *Etruſcans*. But whether this be admitted or not, it will very little affect what has been already advanced. For, in the former caſe, it may be ſuppoſed, that they adopted the *Etruſcan* cuſtoms, as being too inconſiderable a body of men to new-model that powerful nation; in the latter, that they had ſcarce any manner of communication with them.

Government. THE *Etruſcan* government we have already, in ſome meaſure, given our readers an idea of. *Etruria* was divided [l] into twelve tribes, or cantons, called in the *Tuſcan* language lucumonies. Each of theſe was governed by its own prince or lucumo, and over (B) the whole [m] a king preſided. Every lucumo took upon himſelf the adminiſtration

[c] PHIL. BONARROT. ad monument. Etruſc. explicat. & conject. p. 103---107. MANETH. apud Porphyr. περὶ ἀποχῆς, lib. i. ſect. 35. EUSEB. præp. evang. lib. iv. c. 16. p. 155. Deut. xii. 31. Pſal. cv. 37, 38. 2 Kings xxiii. 10. & xvii. 31. DIOD. SIC. lib. xx. SIL. ITAL. CALMET, &c. PORPHYR. de abſtinent. & alibi. CUMBERL. orig. gent. ant. DEMPST. de Etrur. regal. lib. iii. HERODOT. lib. ii. c. 45. [d] HELLAN. LESBIUS apud Dion. Halicar. lib. i. ut & ipſe DION. HALICAR. ibid. STRAB. lib. v. [e] SCIP. MAFF. ubi ſupra. [f] LIV. lib. v. [g] Idem ibid. [h] SCIP. MAFF. ubi ſupra. Vide etiam PROCOP. S. AUGUST. HYD. not. in Peritſ. alioſque quam plurim. autor. [i] Univ. hiſt. lib. iii. c. 37. [k] DION. HALICAR. SERV. VIRG. CEDREN. Vide etiam PHIL. CLUVER. ubi ſupra, lib. iii. [l] DION. HALICARN. antiquit. Rom. lib. vi. & lib. viii. LIV. lib. iv. v. vii. &c. SERV. ad Æn. lib. vii. ſub init. [m] SERV. ad Æn. lib. ii. viii. x. xi. VARRO apud Serv. ibid. Vide PHIL. CLUVER. ubi ſupra, p. 434.

(B) The (2) king, or preſiding lucumo, ſeems to have been elected by the twelve *Etruſcan* tribes, or at leaſt the princes that governed them; and this in time of war chiefly, when he was created general of all the *Etruſcan* forces. Upon ſuch a ſuppoſition, our etymon of the word *lucumo* muſt be indiſputable.

(2) *Dion. Halicar. lib.* iii. *Vide Franc. Marian. ubi ſupra, p.* 196.

ſtration of affairs in his own province, and diſtributed juſtice to his ſubjects. The king, or chief potentate, was conſulted on all extraordinary occaſions, and convened the general diet of the twelve nations on all preſſing emergencies. This diet was held at the temple of *Voltumna* [n], where meaſures were concerted for making war upon, or concluding peace with, their neighbours. That the power of every lucumo was limited, muſt be naturally ſuppoſed; but the *Etruſcan* kings ſeem to have been veſted with a ſort of abſolute authority, conſonant to the firſt *Oriental* form of government. As the *Etruſcans* were a very warlike nation, and ſpoke, at firſt, a language not very different from the *Hebrew*, or *Phœnician*, the word *lucumo* might, poſſibly, have denoted a warrior, or captain. The *Hebrew* לחם *lochem* [o], or *luchem*, had undoubtedly ſuch a ſignification.

Laws. SOME of the principal *Tuſcan* laws we ſhall exhibit to our readers in the conciſeſt manner poſſible: 1. By the [p] original conſtitution of *Etruria*, no ſingle ſtate or lucumony could enter upon a war, or conclude a peace, with any neighbouring power, without the participation of the whole *Etruſcan* body. 2. The *Etruſcans*, by a particular law [q], admitted their women to all nocturnal entertainments; in which they were afterwards followed by the *Romans*. 3. They [r] obliged themſelves to treat all foreigners with the utmoſt humanity and politeneſs. 4. They gave [s] all poſſible encouragement, and that, as ſhould ſeem, by virtue of their conſtitution, to all polite arts and artificers. 5. In order to deter people from contracting larger debts than they were able to pay, the *Tuſcan* boys, by way of ridicule, followed all inſolvent debtors [t] with an empty purſe. 6. They muſt have had many good moral inſtitutions, ſince from them the *Romans* [u] received a ſupplement to their twelve tables. 7. The *jura fecialia* were firſt obſerved by the *Etruſcans*. 8. The *Etruſcan* polity, in general, ſeems to have been founded upon maxims of the moſt conſummate wiſdom, as may be collected from [w] *Ariſtotle*, and *Heraclides Ponticus* in *Athenæus*, to whom, for farther ſatisfaction in this point, we muſt beg leave to refer our curious and inquiſitive readers.

Religion. THE religion of the *Etruſcans* was a groſs and multifarious idolatry. They worſhiped, in common with the antient *Greeks* and *Phœnicians*, the *Cabiri*, or *Dii magni majorum gentium*. They were alſo initiated in the *Samothracian* or *Cabirian* myſteries, as appears not only from various authors, but likewiſe from a curious *Etruſcan* fragment of antiquity. Beſides the *Greek* and *Roman* deities, they had ſeveral peculiar to themſelves; ſome of which were confined to particular towns and diſtricts. Thus *Nortia* was a goddeſs held in the higheſt veneration at *Vulſinii* and *Volaterræ*; *Viridianus* at *Narnia*; *Valentia* at *Ocriculum*; &c. *Vertumnus*, *Voluumnus*, *Voluumna*, *Voltumna*, *Pilumnus*, or *Picumnus*, *Ancharia*, *Volturnus*, *Juturna*, *Portumnus*, *Vitumnus*, *Manturna*, *Vacuna*, &c. were ſome of the principal *Etruſcan* deities. The antient *Tuſcans* had likewiſe their *Dii Præſtites*, and *Indigetes*, as well as the *Latins*, and other *Italian* nations [x].

UNDER this head may be conſidered the divine ſervice, ſacred myſteries, holy-days, ſolemn proceſſions, ſupplications in honour of the gods, *&c.* as alſo the ſacred rites and ceremonies, the miniſtri ſacrorum (C), pontifices, ſacerdotes, ſalii, augures, haruſpices,

[n] LIV. lib. iv. [o] VAL. SCHIND. ubi ſupra, p. 944. [p] LIV. lib. v. ſub init. & alibi. DION. HALICAR. paſſ. [q] ATHEN. deipnoſoph. lib. i. p. 23. [r] HERACL. PONTICUS apud Athen. deipnoſoph. ut & ipſe ATHEN. ibid. lib. iii. p. 123. & lib. x. p. 700. [s] HERACL. PONTICUS, ubi ſupra, ut & ipſe ATHEN. ibid. Vide etiam DEMPST. de Etrur. regal. lib. i. c. 22, 23 [t] HERACL. PONTICUS ubi ſup. Vide etiam DEMPST. de Etrur. regal. c. 25. [u] SERV. in Æn. lib. vii. [w] ARISTOT. & HERACL. PONT. apud Athen. deipnoſoph. ubi ſupra. [x] DION. HALIC. LIV. STRAB. ARNOB. LACTANT. TERTUL. aliique quam plurimi ſcript. antiq. paſſ. Vide etiam DEMPST. SCIP. MAFF. MARIAN. GOR. &c.

putable. The *Greek* and *Latin* writers ſometimes call the inferior lucumoes (3) kings; but this is not to be wondered at, ſince they enjoyed a ſort of regal power in their reſpective territories. The earlieſt *Etruſcan* government we apprehend to have been of the ſame form with that of the country from whence the firſt *Atyrian* or *Tyrſenian* colonies came, and conſequently in many reſpects monarchical, if not intirely ſo. But the antients afford us ſo little light in this affair, that we cannot pretend to determine any thing abſolutely concerning it.

(C) It appears, from the following paſſage in (4) *Livy*, that the *Etruſcans* had a pontif, or high-prieſt, that was elected by the twelve lucumonies of *Etruria*; and that they had no notion of a regal government, when the *Romans* took *Veii*. The

(3) *Dion. Halicar. ubi ſupra. Serv. paſſ. Plutarch. in problem. Rom. Solin. c. 2. 8. Plin. lib.* iii. *c.* 12. *Vide etiam Franc. Marian. ubi ſupra, p.* 197. (4) *Liv. lib.* v *c* 1

paſſage

ruſpices, vates, hymnologi, *&c.* of the *Etruſcans*. To which may be added the tibicines, fidicines, and other perſons who aſſiſted in the divine muſic on all ſolemn occaſions; as alſo peculiar ſacrifices, the various kinds of luſtrations, donaria, temples, altars, auſpices, auguries, expiations of thunder, and oſtenta [y]. But a minute and particular deſcription of every one of theſe would ſwell us beyond the limits we have here preſcribed ourſelves. However, for the better illuſtration of ſeveral paſſages in the *Greek* and *Roman* writers, relating to the antient *Tuſcans*, our readers will expect us to touch upon them; which we ſhall do in the lighteſt manner poſſible.

1. THE divine ſervice and ſacred myſteries of the old *Etruſcans* agreed, in ſeveral points, with thoſe of the *Greeks*; but, in others, differed from them. Theſe they communicated to the *Romans*, long before that nation had any intercourſe with the *Greeks*. Notwithſtanding which, ſeveral *Etruſcan* myſteries were celebrated with ſo much ſecrecy, that they ſeem to have been but little known, even to the generality of the *Romans*. The principal of theſe were the SACRA SAMOTHRACIA, or CABIRIA, the SACRA MITHRIACA, and the SACRA ACHERONTICA. By an initiation in the SACRA CABIRIA, the antients believed men to become more holy, juſt, and pure; to be placed under the more immediate protection of the gods, eſpecially the *Dii Cabiri*; and to be delivered from all impending dangers. The SACRA MITHRIACA, inſtituted in honour of the *Sun*, a moſt celebrated deity amongſt the *Etruſcans*, required the perſons initiated in them not only to be baptized, or purified by water, but likewiſe to be purged or refined by fire. The SACRA ACHERONTICA were introduced firſt into *Etruria* by *Tages*, in order to appeaſe the *Dii Inferi*, or infernal deities, to render departed ſouls more divine, and, conſequently, to tranſlate them from the infernal regions to the manſions of bliſs. In order to which, it was thought requiſite to ſprinkle the altars and ſepulchres of the *Dii Manes* with human blood. But for a more particular and diſtinct account of all theſe religious myſteries, and the ſervice, ceremonies, *&c.* judged neceſſary, in order to a participation of the benefits ſuppoſed to flow from them, our readers muſt have recourſe to the authors here cited in the margin [z].

2. As the *Romans*, before they became acquainted with the *Greeks*, received every thing relating to religion, and even, as may be naturally ſuppoſed, their kalendar itſelf, from the *Etruſcans*; the feſtivals, holy-days, and ſtated times of public worſhip, of the two nations, muſt have agreed in moſt particulars. To omit many authors that might be produced on this occaſion, it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that a bare ſight of the antient *Roman* kalendar, wherein many of the principal *Etruſcan* deities, and their feſtivals, are exhibited to our view, puts the point here inſiſted on beyond diſpute [a].

3. THE *Etruſcans* borrowed of the *Egyptians*, or rather the *Phœnician* ſhepherds expelled *Egypt*, their public ſupplications, pomps, ſolemn proceſſions, *&c.* which happened on ſome of their principal feſtivals. They ſuppoſed the gods more particularly honoured to be always preſent at ſuch ſolemnities. Which notion they likewiſe received from the *Egyptians*, or, at leaſt, the *Phœnician* ſhepherds above-mentioned. This we learn from the *Menſa Iſiaca*, and from what has been advanced by the famous *Gori*, in a noble piece lately publiſhed, for which he juſtly merits the thanks and applauſe of the whole learned world [b].

[y] Idem ibid. & alibi paſſ. [z] CIC. DION. HALICAR. LIV. VIRG. STRAB. FEST. SERV. &c. Vide etiam DEMPST. de Etrur. regal. FRANC. MARIAN. de Etrur. metrop. SCIP. MAFF. orig Etruſc. & Latin. ANTON FRANCISC. GOR. muſ. Etruſc paſſ. [a] CIC. DION. HALICAR. LIV. STRAB. FEST. SERV. &c. ut & DEMPST. MAFF. MARIAN. GOR. ubi ſupra. [b] ANTON. FRANC. GOR. muſ. Etruſc. p. 22. 316---321.

paſſage being extremely curious, we ſhall give it our readers at large. "The *Veientes*, being quite "weary of the annual intrigues about the election, "which ſometimes occaſioned broils, choſe themſelves a king. This ſtep gave great offence to "the other *Etruſcan* ſtates, not more from an abhorrence of monarchy, than a particular diſlike "to the perſon of this king. As his haughty and overgrown power had formerly rendered him inſupportable to thoſe people: ſo he had violently "interrupted their yearly games, wherein they "thought it unlawful to make any intermiſſion. "For, as the twelve lucumonies had, in the election of an high-prieſt, preferred another to him, "in reſentment of this affront, he took the opportunity, when the celebration of the games was "half over, to carry off all on a ſudden the actors, a great part of whom were his own ſlaves." Hence it likewiſe appears, that the *Etruſcans* had actors, and therefore, as is natural to ſuppoſe, theatrical repreſentations, before the year of *Rome* 361.

4. THE

4. The rites and ceremonies used by the haruspices, augures, pontifices, *&c.* at *Rome*, were derived from the *Etruscans*. Nay, the *Etruscans* seem to have been the most celebrated nation, in the pagan world, for skill in augury and divination, as well as knowlege of the nature of sacrifices, to all which rites and ceremonies necessarily relate. At least, they had this character amongst the *Romans*, as appears from [c] *Cicero* and *Livy*. It is no wonder therefore, that the branch of literature, including every thing appertaining to the provinces of the augures, haruspices, pontifices, salii, sacerdotes, vates, hymnologi, *&c.* should have been emphatically [d] stiled at *Rome*, *Ars Etrusca*, and *Disciplina Etrusca*. Hence we find *Etruria* [e] called by *Arnobius*, the mother of superstition.

5. As for all the aforesaid sacred officers, their habits, instruments, *&c.* the tibicines, fidicines, and other persons who assisted in the divine music on all solemn occasions, the above-mentioned work of father *Gori* [f] gives us a clear idea of them. Those therefore, who desire to be farther instructed in this part of the *Etruscan* antiquities, will peruse it with great pleasure.

6. The same thing may be [g] said of the *Etruscan* temples, donaria, peculiar sacrifices, various kinds of lustrations, prodigies, altars, expiations, *&c.* which are there treated of with great accuracy and learning.

We have before hinted, that, in many points, the learned have discovered no small affinity between the antient *Etruscans* and the *Egyptians*. And, perhaps, they resembled each other in nothing more than their religious institutions; and, particularly, their sacrifices, and manner of public worship. Father *Gori* [h] seems to evince this most clearly in several places of the above-mentioned performance. This, we doubt not, will open a new scene in antiquity, and pave the way to many noble discoveries; for which we shall be intirely obliged to the unwearied labours of that very learned and ingenious gentleman.

That the *Phœnicians*, and neighbouring nations, were much addicted to augury and divination, may be collected from [i] Scripture. It is no wonder, therefore, that their descendents, the *Etruscans*, should have discovered the same disposition. Their writers pretend, that *Tages*, whom some have taken for a god, others for a man, but *Tully* [k] scarce knows in what light to consider him, was the inventor of every thing relating to augury and divination. To him, likewise, the *Etruscans* owed their *Acherontian books*, which were kept with as much care and vigilance, and held in as great repute, by them, as those of the *Sibyls* were at *Rome*. These they consulted on all dubious occasions, and looked upon the responses they received from them as infallible. In fine, *Tages* taught the *Etruscans* many useful arts and disciplines, as well as the knowlege of future events [l].

Neither the *Etruscans* nor the *Romans* had any magnificent temples in the earlier [m] ages. The *Etruscans* adorned the images of their gods with [n] wings, in the same manner as the *Egyptians*, and even the *Phœnicians*, according to [o] *Sanchoniatho*. In fine, the *Etruscan* images, statues, vases, *&c.* discover a taste and elegance different from those of all other nations, though, as has been already observed, they sometimes seem to favour of *Egypt* and *Phœnicia*. It is certain, that, in the main, the *Etruscan* artificers had a manner very different from those of *Greece* and *Rome*, as is fully demonstrated by many *Etruscan* images and vases still preserved in the cabinets of the curious [p].

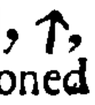
The *Etruscans* had some particularities in their religion, which distinguished it from that of every other nation; of which the various deities peculiar to them, the *Tuscan* names of those deities, the monster *Volta*, &c. are sufficient proofs. But the antient *Egyptian* and *Phœnician* modes of worship were the same with those, for many of the earliest ages, used in *Etruria*. Nor can any material difference be found between the oldest *Oriental* and *Etruscan* divinities [q].

[c] Cic. epist. familiar. lib. vi. ep. 6. Liv. lib. iv. Cic. de divinat. lib. i. Val. Max. lib. i. c 1. [d] Cic. ubi supra. Diod. Sic. lib. v. p. 316. Fest. lib. xviii. Dio, lib. xxxvii. Ammian. Marcell. lib. xxiii. Vide etiam Dempst. de Etrur. regal. lib. iii. c. 6. p. 255, 256. [e] Arnob. cont. gent. lib. vii. [f] Anton. Franc. Gor. mus. Etrusc. Florentiæ, 1737. [g] Idem ibid. pass. [h] Idem ibid. p. 310—322. & alibi pass. [i] Deut. xviii. 14. Isai. ii. 6. Vide Scip. Maff. orig. Etrusc. p. 20, 21. [k] Cic. de divin. Fest. [l] Serv. in Æn. lib. viii. v. 398. Anton. Franc. Gor. ubi supra, p. 43---49. [m] Phil. Bonarrot. ubi supra, p. 77. [n] Anton. Franc. Gor. ubi supra, p 3, & alibi. [o] Sanchoniath. apud Euseb. præp. evang. lib i. c. 10. [p] Dempst. Maff. & Gor. pass. [q] Dempst. Maff. Marian. Gor. pass.

Language. THE *Etruscan* language must have been the same, or nearly so, with the *Hebrew* and *Phœnician*. This will follow from what has been already delivered concerning the origin of the *Tuscan* nation. For, whether we consider them as descended from *Ashur*, *Peleg*, the *Egyptians*, *Phœnicians*, or even *Celtes*, and from some of these they undoubtedly descended, their language must have been either the same with the *Hebrew* and *Phœnician*, or nearly related to them. From what has been advanced, the first *Pelasgic* settlements in *Etruria* could not have been many centuries after the deluge, and very few after the dispersion; and at that time the languages, or rather dialects, of the *Egyptians*, *Assyrians*, *Babylonians*, *Celtes*, *Syrians*, *Arabs*, &c. must have approached extremely near to the *Hebrew* and *Phœnician*, which the learned allow to have been almost the same. With regard to the *Canaanites* or *Phœnicians* migrating into *Etruria*, after the first colonies of the *Pelasgi* or *Tyrsenians* settled there, it cannot be denied, that their language had received but little alteration from the primitive *Hebrew*. So that both sacred and profane history concur to evince the *Hebrew*, *Phœnician*, and *Etruscan* tongues to have been, in the earlier ages, nearly the same [r].

THIS likewise farther appears from the letters and manner of writing antiently used in *Etruria*. The [s] letters are almost the same with those of the earliest *Greeks*, brought by *Cadmus* out of *Phœnicia*. The manner of writing is purely *Oriental*, the letters [t] being drawn from the right hand to the left, consonant to the practice of the Eastern nations. The former point is rendered indisputably clear by the *Eugubian* [u] *tables*, in conjunction with the *Sigean inscription*, and the latter by a bare perusal of the generality of the *Etruscan* [w] inscriptions. Nay, the very remote antiquity of the first colonies that settled in *Etruria*, as well as of the *Etruscan* language and alphabet, may be easily inferred from these inscriptions. For as the *Pelasgic* alphabet, that prevailed in [x] *Greece* before the age of *Deucalion*, consisted of sixteen letters, the *Etruscan* or *Pelasgic* alphabet, first brought into *Italy*, composed of [y] only thirteen letters, must have preceded the reign of that prince. But we shall not expatiate upon this topic here, since the high, not to say almost incredible, antiquity of the *Etruscan* language and alphabet, has been clearly evinced in [z] two dissertations printed at *Oxford* in the year 1746.

FATHER *Gori* [a], in his *Museum Etruscum*, published at *Florence* in 1737. endeavours to give us the powers of all the *Etruscan* letters. M. *Bourguet* [b], professor of philosophy in the university of *Neufchatel*, did the same thing in a dissertation inscribed to count *Harrach*, in 1733. But the foundation on which both these gentlemen built, seems to have been laid by the senator *Buonarota* of *Florence* [c], in 1726. It seldom happens, that men of genius bring their discoveries to perfection; and therefore we are not to be surprised, that many mistakes have been committed by this triumvirate. In fine, as we apprehend the *Etruscan* alphabet drawn by Mr. *Swinton* [d] from a great number of inscriptions, which first saw the light lately at *Oxford*, is much more perfect and complete than any that has hitherto appeared, we hope an insertion of it here will not prove unacceptable to our learned and curious readers.

To these letters may be added the four following complex characters  , or and , which our readers will find decyphered in any of the above-mentioned dissertations.

WE cannot help believing the alphabetic characters, exhibited by some of the *Etruscan* inscriptions, to be the most antient of any now remaining. No *Phœnician* legends on coins, if we remember right, precede the time of *Alexander the Great*. All the genuine *Samaritan* coins, with legends upon them, are undoubtedly [e] posterior to that prince. The *Sigean inscription*, whose letters, probably, approached pretty near the *Cadmean* [f] alphabet, did not precede the *Christian æra* above six hundred years. M. l'Abbé de *Fourmont*'s *Lacedæmonian* [g] inscriptions, coeval with the com-

[r] Dissert. de ling. Etrur. regal. vernac. Oxon. 1738. [s] DEMPST. BONARROT. MAFF. GOR. pass. [t] Idem ibid. [u] Tab. Eugubin. apud Dempst. de Etrur. regal. tom. i. p. 91. Florentiæ, 1723. Inscript. Sig. Lond. 1721. [w] Vide DEMPST. MAFF. GOR. & Saggi di dissertazioni accademiche publicamente lette nella nobile accademia Etrusca dell' antichissima citta di Cortona, tom. ii. In Roma, 1735. 1738. [x] J. BOUHIER dissert. de prisc. Græc. & Latin. lit. ad calc. palæograph. D. BERN. DE MONTFAUCON. [y] Dissert. de primig. Etrusc. alphabet. Oxon. 1746. [z] Ibid. p. 4. [a] ANTON. FRANC. GOR. mus. Etrusc. p. 401—419. [b] Saggi di dissertaz. accad. di Cortona, tom. i. p. 1—23. In Roma, 1735. [c] PHIL. BONAR. ad monum. Etrusc. op. Dempst. addit. explicat. & conject. Florentiæ, 1726. [d] JOAN. SWINT. de primig. Etrusc. alphabet. dissert. Oxon. 1746. p. 4. [e] ADRIAN. RELAND. de nummis veterum Hebræorum dissert. ii. Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1709. [f] CHISH. inscript. Sig. p. 1, 2. Lond. 1721. [g] Memoir. de literat. de l'acad. roy. des inscript. & bel. let. tom. quinzieme, à Paris, 1743.

mencement

mencement of the first *Messenian war*, published in the last volume of the *Memoires de Literature de l'Academie Royale des inscriptions & belles lettres*, are drawn from the left hand to the right, and consequently later than the alphabet brought into *Etruria* out of *Asia*. Nay, the inscription copied by M. *Fourmont*, done in the reign [h] of *Sous* and *Echestratus* (D), and, consequently, scarce an hundred and sixty, or an hundred

[h] Memoir. de literat. tom. quinz. p. 400. à Paris, 1743.

(D) If we mistake not, this inscription will open a new scene both in grammar and antiquity. It seems greatly to shake, if not intirely to overthrow, the principles upon which Mr. *Chishul* proceeds, in his explication of the *Sigean* inscription. The remarks upon the *Lacedæmonian* inscriptions, discovered lately in *Greece* by M. l'Abbé *Fourmont*, and his companions, published in the literary (5) journal here referred to, certainly merit the attention of the curious. For, if these inscriptions are genuine, they will not only contribute towards evincing the very remote antiquity of some *Etruscan* inscriptions, but likewise correct several errors that have hitherto prevailed in the learned world. We say, if genuine: for as M. l'Abbé *Fourmont* has given us different (6) figures of the letters, that compose the three principal *Lacedæmonian* inscriptions, in the body of his remarks, and the plates he exhibits, we know not rightly what to make of them. It is to be hoped, that, for the benefit of the learned world, especially as so much depends upon this point, that learned and illustrious author will give us the ducts of those letters, as nearly as possible approaching the originals. Those inserted in the body of the (7) remarks, we take to be so, as being more rude, simple, and having a greater air of antiquity than the others; but, as these are extremely few, and not preferred to the others by M. l'Abbé, we want an explicit declaration on this head. In the mean time our learned readers will, we apprehend, think themselves obliged to us for the following short account of the two most antient of the *Lacedæmonian* inscriptions.

1. The first of these appears upon the ruins of an antient temple (8), which, it informs us, was consecrated to *Onga* by *Eurotas* king of the *Icetercratees*, which, as we learn from (9) *Hesychius*, was the most antient name of the *Lacedæmonians*. M. l'Abbé *Fourmont* has given us two words of this inscription (1); *viz.* ΔΝΑΙ *Ogai*, i. e. *Onga*, and ΙΚΕΤΕΡΚΕΡΑΤΕΕΣ the Ἰκετεοκρατεῖς of *Hesychius*. Now it appears from (2) the antients, particularly *Pausanias* (3), that *Eurotas*, the grandson of *Lelex*, must have been at least cotemporary with *Cadmus*. Supposing, therefore, this inscription to be genuine, many fine observations are deducible from it. We must not here omit informing our readers, (4) that *Onca*, or *Onga*, was the *Phœnician* name of *Minerva*; nor that *Bochart* (5) seems to have given us the true etymon of that name.

2. From the second inscription M. l'Abbé has extracted the following words:

ΙΚΤΕΟΚΡΑΤ
ΛΟΙΜΕΙΤΟΡΕΣ

(6), of which he gives us a very clear and satisfactory explication. The former seems equivalent to the above-mentioned Ἰκτεοκρατεῖς of *Hesychius*, and the latter to Φάμιοι, or Εὐφήμιοι, a sort of priests, who prayed for all the people, when they offered sacrifices to the gods. Nor can this interpretation of the last word admit of any dispute; when it is considered, that of these (7)

ΛΟΙΜΕΙΤΟΡΕΣ

one is said to belong to *Jupiter*, another to *Juno*, another to *Mars*, another to *Onga*, another to *Cleta*, another to *Mercury*, &c. deities that were held in great veneration amongst the antient inhabitants of (8) *Laconia*. Sous and Echestratus, with whom this inscription is supposed to be coeval by M. *Fourmont*, lived within 160, or (9) 170, years of the *Trojan* war: nor can we well refuse assenting to his supposition, since the names of those princes are at the head of the inscription, and the forms of the letters such as indicate a very remote antiquity. However, we hope M. *Fourmont*, for many reasons that might here be offered, and which he cannot be a stranger to, will, in due time, favour the learned world with a just delineation not only of these, but of all the other principal inscriptions he brought with him out of *Greece*.

Father *Gori* has (1) published an *Etruscan* inscription on a gem, which seems to be equally curious, and at least equally antient, with either of those here mentioned. The letters that compose it resemble those of the *Lacedæmonian* inscriptions; but appear more rude, and approach nearer to the primeval alphabet. We shall therefore beg leave to insert it here; especially, as every one, moderately versed in this branch of literature, will allow it to be a most noble and singular curiosity.

[illegible]ΑΙΙΜ *Mipapa* [illegible]*a*, seems to have consisted of two *Etruscan* words; some of whose letters, or, at least, some letters of one of which words, are apparently lost; for which reason it may, possibly, prove a difficult matter to explain it. Father (2) *Gori* owns, that he has not been able to arrive at such an explication. However, we doubt not, but this inscription will hereafter meet with a true interpretation. Be this as it will, the high antiquity of the inscription sufficiently appears from the forms and ducts of its letters, to say nothing of the *Oriental* manner of writing, to which they correspond. The Α differs very little in figure from the old *Icetercratian* and

(5) *Memoir. de literat. tir. des regist. de l'acad. roy. des inscript. & bel. let. tom. quinz. p.* 395—420. *à Paris*, 1743. (6) *Memoir. de literat. &c. ubi supra, p.* 397, 398, 399. (7) *Memoir. &c. ubi supra, p.* 398, 399, 400. (8) *M. l'Abbé Fourmont, ubi supra, p.* 403. (9) *Hesych. in voc.* (1) *M. l'Abbé Fourmont, ubi supra, p.* 403. (2) *Apollodor. lib.* iii. *Stephan. in voc.* Ταΰγετον. *Plut. de flumin. Scholiast. Euripid. ad Orest. Scholiast. Pind. Pyth. od.* iv. (3) *Pausan. lib.* iii. *p.* 158. *l.* 12, 13. *Hanoviæ*, 1613. (4) *Euphorion apud Stephan. Byzant. Nom. Dionysiac. l.* 44. *Hesych. in voc.* Ὄγγα. (5) *Sam. Bochart. in Chan. lib.* i. *c.* 16. *p.* 427. *& alibi. Vide etiam Seld. de diis Syr. syntagm.* ii. *c.* 4. (6) *M. l'Abbé Fourmont, ubi supra, p.* 401, 402. (7) *Idem ibid. p.* 401, 402. (8) *Pausan. pass. aliique complur. script. antiq.* (9) *Pausan. & Eusch.* (1) *Anton. Franc. Gor. mus. Etrusc. p.* 436, 437. *Tab. apud Gor.* clxxxviii. *n.* 6. (2) *Anton. Franc. Gor, ubi supra, p.* 436.

dred and seventy, years later than the *Trojan* war, is written in the *Boustrophedon* manner; and, therefore, as may reasonably be presumed, more recent than some of the *Etruscan* inscriptions. So that several of the literary monuments of *Etruria* may vie, for antiquity, with any at this time extant, not excepting even those of *Egypt*, which have been hitherto considered as the most antient in the world.

THE letters we are now upon were, undoubtedly, the first alphabetic characters of *Italy*. Nay, they prevailed at *Rome* [i], and every part of *Italy*, till after the regifuge. This has been fully proved in one of the above-mentioned dissertations, and, from it, many curious points are deducible. To omit others that occur, from hence it plainly follows, that those inscriptions on the *Eugubian tables*, consisting of *Latin* letters, or the more modern characters of *Italy*, are more recent than the regifuge. Nay, in one of the aforesaid dissertations, they have [k] been demonstrated inferior, in point of antiquity, to the *Duilian inscription*; and consequently Father *Gori* [l] must be egregiously mistaken, when he makes all the inscriptions on those tables some generations older than the *Trojan* war.

So great an affinity will be found between the sepulcral *Etruscan* inscriptions, that, when one of them is truly decyphered, it will serve as a key to most of the rest. As, therefore, in one of the above-mentioned dissertations, Mr. *Swinton* [m] seems to have hit upon the explication of them, we doubt not but the others will soon be interpreted; and all the literary fragments of antient *Etruria*, that have escaped the injuries of time, be perfectly understood by every member of the learned world.

MANY advantages will accrue to the republic of letters from such a discovery, a discovery that has been attempted, in vain, by many of the greatest geniuses for above three hundred years. For an interpretation of all the antient *Etruscan* inscriptions will not only most intimately connect the *Greek* and *Roman* antiquities, but illustrate several points both in sacred and profane history. By an explication of these curious relics, many difficult passages, in antient authors, relating to the *Hebrew*, *Phœnician*, *Egyptian*, *Chaldæan*, *Syrian*, *Arab*, &c. customs and antiquities, will be cleared up; several new discoveries made; and even some texts of Scripture, however strange this may at first sight appear, hitherto not understood, be truly explained. The mistakes of Father *Gori*, M. *Bourguet*, and other illustrious members of the *Etruscan* academy of *Cortona*, will likewise be frequently corrected. In fine, a new province will be added to the learned world, which may prove a source of more real benefits and advantages to the whole, than can at present be discerned.

IT may not be improper here to observe, that M. *Bourguet* and Father *Gori* seem to aave adopted a wrong hypothesis in their learned inquiries. They [n] suppose the antient *Etruscan* language to have been but little different from the *Greek*; which certainly runs counter to what has been advanced on this head by [o] *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* and *Herodotus*. Those noble historians, whose authority will undoubtedly bear down all that oppose them, must convince every sober and rational inquirer, that the *Greek* and *Etruscan* tongues were vastly different. Father *Gori*, in order to [p] support his hypothesis, confounds the *Pelasgi* with the *Hellens* and later *Greeks*, in direct contradiction to [q] *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, not to mention other celebrated writers. As for M. *Bourguet*, he brings scarce any historical proofs in favour of his opinion. Nor can it with any colour of reason be imagined, that the *Greek* tongue could have almost intirely agreed with the language of *Ashur*, *Peleg*, the *Hebrews*, *Egyptians*, *Phœnicians*, or even primitive *Celtes*. History is absolutely repug-

[i] De prisc. Roman. lit. dissert. Oxon. 1746. [k] De prisc. Roman. lit. dissert. sub fin. [l] ANTON. FRANC. GOR. proleg. ad interp. Etrusc. tab. Eugubin. Florentiæ, 1737. [m] JOAN. SWINT. de prim. Etrusc. alphabet. dissert. Oxon. 1746. [n] Dissertazione di LODOV. BOURGUET, &c. sopra l'alphabeto Etrusco, &c. In Roma, 1735. GOR. ubi supra, & alibi. [o] HERODOT. lib. i. sect. 57. edit. Gronov. DIONYS. HALICAR. lib. i. [p] ANT. FRANC. GOR. prolegom. ad interp. Etrusc. tab. Eugubin. & alibi pass. [q] HERODOT. DIOD. SIC. DION. HALICAR. pass.

Lacedæmonian Alpha; and the ⋀ is perfectly *Phœnician*. The | is no other than the *Iota* that occurs in M. *Fourmont*'s *Icetercratian* and *Lacedæmonian* inscriptions; but the *Tuscan* ⅂ is of a more rude and antient form than the *Pi* exhibited by those inscriptions. We must not omit observing, that the letters are drawn from the left hand to the right on the gem, which answers to the contrary manner of writing on paper, or impressing on wax.

We could with pleasure have dwelt longer upon M. *Fourmont*'s inscriptions, would the limits, we have prescribed ourselves, had permitted, and had not one of us written a dissertation upon them, which he intends, if the *French* will give us just and accurate delineations of the letters they exhibit, hereafter to make public.

nant

nant to ſuch a ſuppoſition. Nor can many of the *Etruſcan* words, without extreme violence and torture, be deduced from a *Greek* original.

THE learned [r] M. *Bochart*, it muſt be owned, has given a ſort of ſanction to the aforeſaid notion, by aſſerting, that the antient *Tuſcan* language bore no reſemblance to any of the *Oriental* tongues. But M. *Bochart* deſtroys his own authority in this particular, by [s] palpably contradicting himſelf; and the *Etruſcan* words he produces, as intirely remote from the languages of the Eaſt, have been proved agreeable to thoſe [t] languages. What he has advanced, therefore, on this head, muſt be exploded by all who have made any reſearches into the *Oriental* and *Etruſcan* antiquities.

A LEARNED *German*, in the *Nova Acta Eruditorum Lipſiæ*, ſeems [u] to have deviated ſtill farther from truth. For he would have the antient *Etruſcan*, and even modern *German* or *High-Dutch*, languages to be nearly the ſame. This muſt be owned a profound paradox, and, indeed, the reaſons he propoſes for the defence of it, deſerve likewiſe that appellation. The ſmall piece he publiſhed, was intended as a critique upon Mr. *Swinton*'s diſſertation *de lingua Etruriæ regalis vernacula*, printed at *Oxford* in 1738. However, as he behaves with good manners, and even politeneſs, all his objections will be anſwered in form. The *Germans*, eſpecially the gentlemen of *Leipſick*, are ſo paſſionately fond of their own country, and every thing that bears any relation to it, that we are not ſurpriſed to find ſuch a paradox come from that quarter. Nor ought ſuch a paſſion to be deemed criminal, as long as it is conducted by good manners and good-nature, and is not indulged at the expence of truth. We have good reaſon to believe, from ſeveral circumſtances, that the famous Dr. *Maſcou*, profeſſor of hiſtory in the univerſity of *Leipſick*, was the author of the performance here hinted at.

As the branch of literature we are now upon, is cultivated with great ardor in ſeveral parts of *Europe*, particularly *Italy*, and is like, hereafter, to make a very conſiderable figure, our readers of taſte and curioſity will not be diſpleaſed to ſee a catalogue of the pieces lately publiſhed for the promotion of it. But this is not ſo perfect or complete, as we could deſire.

1. THO. DEMPSTERI de Etruria regali lib. vii. edit. curante THO. COKE, Mag. Britan. Armig. &c. Florentiæ, 1723, 1724.

2. Ad monument. Etruſc. oper. Dempſt. addit. explicat. & conject. a Phil. Bonarrot. Florentiæ, 1726.

3. FRANCISCI MARIANI Viterbienſis Vatican. Baſilicæ benefic. & bibliothecæ ſcriptoris Græci de Etrur. metrop. &c. *Romæ*, 1728.

4. Bibliotheque Italique, tom. troiſiem. art. 1. p. 1—54. A Geneve, chez Marc-Michel Bouſquet, & compagnie, &c. 1728.

5. Scipionis Maffei origines Etruſcæ & Latinæ. Ex Italico ſermone in Latinum convertit Joannes Georgius Lotterus Auguſtan. Lipſiæ, apud Jo. Fried. Gleditſch. B. Fil. 1731.

6. Saggio delle tranſazione filoſofiche della Societa Regia dall' anno 1720. a tutto l'anno 1730. &c. In Napoli, 1733.

7. Diſſertazione di Lodovico Bourguet, &c. ſopra l'alphabeto Etruſco, in ſaggi di diſſertazioni accademiche publicamente lette nella nobile accademia Etruſca dell' antichiſſima città di Cortona. In Roma, 1735.

8. Muſeum Etruſcum, exhibens inſignia veterum Etruſcorum monumenta æreis tabulis 200. nunc primum edita, & illuſtrata obſervationibus Antonii Franciſci Gorii, publici hiſtoriarum profeſſoris, vol. ii. Florentiæ, anno MDCCXXXVII.

9. De lingua Etruriæ regalis vernacula diſſertatio. Autore Joanne Swinton, A. M. Coll. Wadh. Oxon. Soc. & R. S. S. Oxonii, è Theatro Sheldoniano, 1738.

10. Diſſertazione di Annibale degl' Abati Olivieri, Gentiluomo Peſareſe, ſopra alcuni monumenti Pelaſgi, diretta al Signor Marcello Franciarini Giuriſconſulto e Patrizio Eugubino. In Roma, 1738.

11. Diſſertazione di Annibale degl' Abati Olivieri, Gentiluomo Peſareſe, ſopra due medaglie Sannitiche. In Roma, 1738.

12. Diſſertazione del Cavalier Lorenzo Guazzeſi Aretino ſopra un' iſcrizione Etruſca. In Roma, 1738.

[r] SAM. BOCHART. Chan. lib. i. c. 33. [s] Idem in Phal. lib. i. c. 3. Vide etiam SWINT. de ling. Etruſc. reg. vernac. diſſert. p. 21. Oxon. 1738. [t] SWINT. ubi ſupra, p. 21—28. [u] Nov. act. eruditor. Lipſ.

13. Diſſertazione del Dottore Pierfranceſco Foggini Fiorentino ſopra una patera Etruſca. In Roma, 1738.

14. Ad diſſertationem de ling. Etrur. regal. vernac. annotatiunculæ J. G. W. Lipſiæ, 1744.

15. De primigenio Etruſcorum alphabeto diſſertatio. Autore Joanne Swinton, A. M. ex Æde Chriſti, Oxon. & R. S. S. Oxonii, è Theatro Sheldoniano, 1746.

16. De priſcis Romanorum literis diſſertatio. Autore Joanne Swinton, A. M. ex Æde Chriſti, Oxon. & R. S. S. Oxonii, è Theatro Sheldoniano, 1746 (E).

As for the principal authors who endeavoured, though ineffectually, to decypher the old *Etruſcan* inſcriptions, from the year 1444. when the *Eugubian tables* were diſcovered, to the year 1723. when the firſt part of *Dempſter*'s work was publiſhed, we have a ſort of literary hiſtory of their attempts, given us by the learned *Giuſto* [w] *Fontanini*, archbiſhop of *Ancyra*, in his admirable piece *de antiquitatibus Hortæ*. All our curious readers, therefore, who are deſirous of encouraging this branch of literature, ſtill in its infancy, will be fond of conſulting him.

The *Etruſcan* inſcriptions, of which a great variety has been already diſcovered, are of different ages, and therefore cannot be ſuppoſed to favour equally of the Eaſt. They approach nearer the *Oriental* languages, in proportion to their antiquity. Some of them conſiſt chiefly of words apparently deducible from thoſe languages, and therefore were the produce of the earlier ages. Others indicate a lower period, by the *Greek* words incorporated in them. And, laſtly, others demonſtrate an age not preceding the ſixth century of *Rome*, by ſeveral infallible criterions, as will very clearly appear to every ſagacious examiner of them. However, the *Etruſcan* alphabet was uſed in ſome parts of *Italy*, and the *Etruſcan* language ſpoken, till, at leaſt, very near the *Auguſtan* age. This we learn from the expreſs teſtimony of *Gellius* [x] and *Strabo*, and from two *Samnite* medals, whoſe *Etruſcan* legends have been lately explained by a [y] moſt ingenious *Italian* author.

That the moſt antient *Greek* tongue approached much nearer the Eaſtern languages than thoſe dialects of it uſed by even the oldeſt *Greek* claſſics, appears from the obſolete radices of that tongue, which, generally ſpeaking, diſcover a near relation to the Eaſt. If the *Etruſcan* reſembled any of the *Greek* dialects, it muſt have been the *Æolic*. Now, that the antient and later *Æolic* dialects were pretty widely different, has been evinced by [z] *Salmaſius*; and yet the laſt diſcovers a conſiderable affinity with the *Hebrew* and *Phœnician*. Suppoſing, therefore, the old *Etruſcan* language to have been related to the *Greek*, as M. *Bourguet* and Father *Gori* contend, every rational critic will underſtand this of the firſt dialects that prevailed in *Greece*; which, if admitted, will exactly coincide with what we have advanced; but will by no means hold true of the *Greek* tongue current in the claſſic times, at leaſt, not ſo ſtrongly as of the former. The proximity of the earlieſt *Greek* language to the *Oriental* tongues, was well known to *Iſaac* [a] *Caſaubon* and *Erpenius*, and may be ſo to any one who examines the *Greek* roots with proper attention. If therefore the learned men above-mentioned mean only, that the *Etruſcan* language agrees with that firſt ſpoken in *Greece*, we readily ſubſcribe to their opinion; but, if they are to be underſtood of the later or *Hellenical Greek*, we

[w] Just. Fontanin. antiquit. Hort. lib. i. c. 7. p. 120---147. Romæ, 1723. Phil. Bonar. ubi ſupra, p. 84, 85. [x] Aul. Gell. noct. Attic. lib. xi. c. 7. Strab. lib. v. [y] Diſſertazione di Annibale degl' Abbati Olivieri ſopra due medaglie Sannitiche. In Roma, 1738. [z] Salmas. in Hellen. [a] Mer. Casaub. de ling. Hebr. & Tho. Erpen. in orat. de ling. Hebr. ed. 1621.

(E) The following pieces of Father *Gori* were (3) in the preſs at *Florence*, in the year 1743. 1. *Diſeſa dell' alfabeto* Etruſco *degli antichi* Toſcani, *publicato nel* 1737. *dall' autore de muſeo* Etruſco, *diſapprovato dal Sig. Marcheſe* Scipione Maffei, *nel tomo* v. *delle ſue oſſervazione letterarie, date in luce in* Verona, *con tav.* ix. *e con monumenti inſigni. In* Firenze, *per* Anton. M. Albizzini. *Premette l'autore in principio la ſtoria letteraria del principio, e de progreſſi fatti ſino al preſento templo nello ſtudio ſopra le antichità degli* Etruſci. 2. *Oſſervazioni critiche ſopra alcuni paragrafi del ragionamento degl'* Itali *primitivi, in cui dal Sig. Marcheſe* Scipione Maffei *ſi vuole che gli* Etruſci *vengono dagli* Ebrei. *Si aggiungono altre oſſervazioni in diſeſa del muſeo* Etruſco. *In* Firenze, *per* Anton. M. Albizzini. 3. *Muſeum* Etruſcum, *exhibens inſignia veterum* Etruſcorum *monumenta, eaque præſertim, quæ in* Guarnacciano, *ceteriſque* Volaterranis *extant. Æreis tabulis* C. *nunc primum edita. Vol. tert. cum indicibus, &c. Accedunt diſſertationes tres* V. C. Jo. Bapt. Paſſerii, J. C. Piſauri, *&c.* As the *Nova Acta Eruditorum Lipſ.* which is the moſt univerſal literary journal, has not mentioned the publication of any of theſe pieces, we ſuppoſe none of them have yet ſeen the light.

(3) *Nov. act. eruditor. Lipſ. menſ. Jul.* 1743. *p.* 431, 432. *Lipſiæ*, 1743.

muſt beg leave to diſſent from them. Nor indeed can any thing more clearly demonſtrate the abſurdity of this laſt notion, than the forced and unnatural etymons M. *Bourguet* and Father *Gori* make uſe of in their interpretations of two of the inſcriptions exhibited by the *Eugubian tables*.

THE *Etruſcans* were extremely well verſed in all the arts of war and peace, as may be collected from an infinity of antient authors. Nay, from them the *Romans* learned thoſe arts and ſciences, that paved the way to the empire of the world. The beſt writers agree, that theſe arts and ſciences were moſt conſpicuous in *Rome*, before its citizens had any intercourſe with the *Greeks*. Luxury, effeminacy, and the indulgence of many criminal paſſions, ſucceeded that intercourſe; which indeed rendered the *Romans* more polite, but at the ſame time more vitious, than their anceſtors. Of courſe, therefore, in the beſt ages of *Rome* the *Romans* imitated the *Etruſcans*. However, it muſt be owned, that in after-ages the *Etruſcans* became throughly debauched both in principle and practice, as may be inferred from *Athenæus* [b]. But, to deſcend to particulars, the beſt way to come at the knowlege of the arts and ſciences the *Etruſcans* were famous for, is pointed out to us by thoſe authors, who have informed poſterity what this nation communicated to the *Romans*. *Arts*, &c.

AUGURY, and divination of all kinds, obſervations of thunders and prodigies, expiations, *&c.* ſeveral of the antients ſuppoſed to have been invented by *Tages*. His ſcholar *Bacchetis* likewiſe excelled in theſe; and committed all the rules, precepts, and obſervations relating to them to writing. The *Libri Acherontici* of *Tages*, as well as the obſervations of *Bacchetis*, were held in great repute among the *Etruſcans*, who formed their ſyſtem of augury and divination upon them. This ſyſtem, the articles of which we have not room to expatiate upon, paſſed from the *Etruſcans* to the *Romans*. The ſame may be ſaid of ceremonies, the parentalia, ſalii ſacerdotes, *Samothracian* myſteries, and all the principal religious inſtitutions. Temples likewiſe, ſtatues of the gods and heroes, the manner of building cities, and raiſing them, pomœria, the æras of cities, their walls and fortifications, conſecrations, nuptial rites, *&c.* amongſt the *Romans*, were derived from the ſame ſource [c].

THE enſigns of royalty, diſtinction of nobles from plebeians, the bulla prætexta, and other marks of ſuch diſtinction, the celeres, ſecures, and faſces, the lictors, ſella curulis, and, in fine, almoſt every thing that bore any relation to the civil government at *Rome*, has been conſidered by the beſt writers in the ſame light [d].

RINGS of all kinds, arms, inſtruments of military muſic, every ſpecies of accoutrements and military decorations, trophies, triumphs, triumphal chariots, triumphal crowns, feciales or heralds, form of declaring war, and, in ſhort, every thing of moment belonging to the art of war, or military exerciſes that prevailed at *Rome*, undoubtedly came out of *Etruria* [e].

MONEY, locks and keys, lamps, candleſticks, glaſſes and cups, or drinking-veſſels of moſt kinds, banquets and entertainments, as well as the laws or cuſtoms appertaining to them, not to mention other ſocial amuſements and recreations, ſome good writers ſuppoſe the earlier *Romans* to have received from the antient inhabitants of *Tuſcany* [f].

AGRICULTURE, planting of vines, all kinds of inſtruments requiſite thereto, mills, architecture, particularly that order called the *Tuſcan*, muſic, and a great variety of muſical inſtruments, many ſorts of plays and diverſions, eſpecially tragedies, various kinds of garments, and even the rudiments of phyſic, at leaſt, ſeem to have been introduced into *Italy* by the *Etruſcans* [g].

SCENICAL diverſions, maſks, pantomimes, the ſchools of geſticulators, *bigæ* and *quadrigæ*, wreſtlers, and the cuſtom of anointing their bodies, the uſe of wool, plaſtic, ſtatuary, the *fabulæ Oſcæ*, or *Atellanæ*, nuptial verſes, or *verſus Feſcennini*, the art of making earthen ware, *&c.* the *Romans* owed to the *Etruſcans* [h].

THE art of conſtructing ſhips, and navigating them, which from ſmall beginnings arrived at a great degree of perfection, the various branches of naval exerciſe and diſcipline, the method of equipping of fleets, the forming of magazines, and all kinds of armaments, nay, even the fitting out of corſairs, the *Etruſcans* ſeem to have been acquainted with before the birth of *Romulus* [i].

[b] ATHEN. deipnoſoph. lib. xii. [c] DEMPST. MAFF. MARIAN. GOR. paſſ. [d] Iidem ibid.
[e] Iidem ibid. [f] Iidem ibid. [g] Iidem ibid. [h] Iidem ibid. [i] Iidem ibid.

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THIS nation, therefore, must have been a maritim power, and consequently have enjoyed an extensive commerce in the earlier ages of the world. And, indeed, this sufficiently appears from antient history. For from hence it is not only apparent, that the *Etruscans* made a great figure at sea, but likewise that they were a most luxurious and opulent nation. From whence we may rationally conclude, that they carried on a great and flourishing trade. But this will more naturally fall under the following article [k].

Power. WE have already observed, that the *Etruscans* were once in possession of all *Italy*, or, at least, by far the greatest part of that country. Nay, some of their colonies spread themselves over the *Alps*, and even occupied the region known afterwards by the name of *Rhætia*, but called now the country of the *Grisons*. As *Livy*'s testimony [l] is very clear and express in this particular, and fully proves the *Etruscans* to have been a most potent nation long before the *Romans* made any considerable figure, we shall beg leave to extract the whole passage containing it, from that excellent historian. "For, be-
" fore the *Roman* empire, the *Tuscan* dominions extended very far both by sea and
" land, even to the upper and lower sea, by which *Italy* is surrounded in form of an
" island. Their very names are an argument of the vast power of this people; for
" the *Italian* nations call the one the *Tuscan* sea, from the common name of the
" people; and the other the *Adriatic*, from *Adria*, a *Tuscan* colony. The *Greeks*
" call them the *Tyrrhenian* and *Adriatic* seas. This people, in twelve cities, inha-
" bited the country extending to both seas; and by sending out colonies equal in
" number to their mother cities, first on this side the *Apennines*, towards the lower
" sea, and afterwards as many on the other side, possessed all the tract beyond the
" *Po*, even to the *Alps*, excepting the corner belonging to the *Venetians*, who dwelt
" round a bay of the sea. Nor can it be questioned, that this was the original of the
" *Alpine* nations, especially of the *Rhæti*, who by the situation of their country are
" grown so barbarous, that they retain nothing of their original, but some remains of
" their language, and even that is corrupted." Which famous passage, especially in conjunction with the epitomizer of [m] *Stephanus*, *Pliny*, and *Justin*, sets the point here insisted on beyond dispute.

BUT, had all those authors been silent on this head, that the *Etruscans* were a very formidable power in the remoter ages of antiquity, may be clearly evinced from [n] *Homer*, *Herodotus*, *Heraclides*, *Aristides*, and *Diodorus Siculus*. For, that they possessed territories of a vast extent, is intimated by the three [o] former; and that they were extremely potent in their flourishing state, may be inferred from the two latter [p] of those writers. Nay, *Diodorus* [q] *Siculus* tells us in plain terms, that they were lords of the sea; and *Aristides* asserts the *Indians* to have been the most powerful nation in the East, as the *Etruscans* were in the West. But then this was in very remote times, even when *Bacchus*, that early conqueror, aspired almost to universal monarchy. For, afterwards, to the commencement of the *Roman* grandeur, they gradually declined. In fine, one would almost imagine, from what has been advanced by [r] *Aristides*, that the world was divided between the *Indians* and the *Etruscans*; the former assuming to themselves the eastern, and the latter the western, division of the globe. But this cannot be considered as any thing more than an hyperbolical description of the immense power, most flourishing commerce, incredible resources, and prodigious wealth, of both those nations.

Learning. A TOLERABLE idea of the *Etruscan* learning (F) may be formed from what has been already advanced. However, as it is a curious topic, we shall be a little more explicit and

[k] DEMPST. MAFF. MARIAN. GOR. pass. [l] LIV. lib. v. c. 33. [m] STEPH. PLIN. lib. iii. c. 20. JUST. lib. xx. [n] HOM. apud Herodot. & in Odyss. HERODOT. in lib. de vit. Homer. HERACL. περὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν. DIOD. SIC. lib. v. ARISTID. orat. in Bacch. dict. [o] HOMER. HERODOT. HERACL. ubi sup. [p] DIOD. SIC. ARISTID. ubi sup. [q] DIOD. SIC. ubi sup. [r] ARISTID. ubi sup.

(F) That the *Etruscans* were famed for literature, as well as their civil and religious institutions, may be collected from the antients. The *Romans* (4) sent their sons for instruction into *Etruria*, in the earliest ages of the republic, as we learn from *Cicero* and *Livy*. This country, therefore, at that time, must have been considered by them as the principal seat of literature. *Aristotle*, according to (5) *Athenæus*, wrote a particular treatise upon the *Etruscan* institutions. *Theophrastus* also, according

(4) *Cic. de legib. lib.* ii. *Liv. lib.* ix. *Val. Max. lib.* i. *c.* 1. (5) *Athen. de philosoph. lib.* xii.

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and particular on this head. Augury, and divination of all kinds, the ancestors of the *Tuscans* seem to have brought out of the [s] East. The augural discipline had [t] for its object both the celestial and terrestrial globes; and, in order to facilitate the augural [u] operation, the heavens were divided into sixteen parts. Several small images or statues of *Tages* with the [w] augural symbols have been discovered of late years in *Tuscany*, as appears from *Giusto Fontanini*, Father *Gori*, and others. We find several particulars in *Cicero* and *Pliny*, not to mention other authors, relating to the *Etruscan* augury and divination [x].

With regard to the theological notions of the *Etruscans*, they believed one supreme Being, whom they called *Juve*, or *Jove*. They considered him as the great governor of the universe, as the principle of life and motion. This we learn from [y] *Seneca*, who informs us, that the *Etruscans* entertained very rational notions of the Deity. But this, we apprehend, must be understood of the philosophers amongst them. The immortality of the soul they were firmly persuaded of; and therefore believed a future state of rewards and punishments; tho', in later times, they seem to have followed the system of *Pythagoras*, and consequently to have adopted the *metempsychosis* of that philosopher. But this is not to be wondered at, since [z] *Pythagoras* himself was an *Etruscan*. However, the generality of the *Tuscans* adhered to the *Sabian* superstition, as did most of the inhabitants of the East.

[s] Scip. Maff. orig. Etrusc. c. 5. p. 19, 20, 21. Lipsiæ, 1731. [t] Anton. Franc. Gor. mus. Etrusc. clas. i. p. 45. [u] Cic. & Plin. apud Anton. Franc. Gor. ubi supra. [w] Just. Font. de antiquit. Hort. p. 146. Romæ, 1723. Phil. Bonar. ad monument. Etrusc. oper. Dempst. addit. explicat. & conject. p. 23. Anton. Franc. Gor. ubi supra. [x] Tib. Grac. apud Cic. de nat. deor. ut & Cic. ibid. Cic. de divinat. l. ii. & alibi pass. Plin. l. ii. c. 52, 53. & alibi. Vide etiam Anton. Franc. Gor. ubi supra. [y] Senec. nat. quæst. l. ii. c. 45, 46. Vide etiam tab. Eugubin. pass. [z] Clem. Alexand. stromat. l. i. Diog. Laert. in vit. Pyth. Vide etiam Anton. Franc. Gor. mus. Etrusc. tom. ii. dissert. i. xxviii.

to the scholiast (6) on *Pindar*, composed an intire book concerning the *Tuscan* nation; as did *Sostratus*, if we will believe (7) *Stobæus* and *Plutarch*. The emperor *Claudius* finished a piece of the same kind, which (8) consisted of twenty books: this, and a treatise on the *Carthaginian* republic, he commanded to be (9) read every year alternately at *Alexandria*. *Volumnius* (1), or, as some call him, *Volnius* (2), was a writer of *Tuscan* tragedies. *Livy* (3) represents *Cincius Alimentus* as a diligent researcher into the *Etruscan* monuments. *Suidas* (4) mentions a *Tuscan* author, who wrote an history of the creation of the world, and a dissertation upon the completion of it in six days. *Censorinus* (5) from *Varro* cites several *Etruscan* historians, who described every age of the *Etruscan* empire, and predicted its destruction in the tenth. Great numbers of books (6) relating to the *Tuscan* mysteries and superstitions, seem to have been burnt and destroyed by the earlier *Christians*. Amongst these were, probably, the pieces containing the *Disciplina Ectispicii*, written by the *lucumones* of *Etruria* (7), according to *Censorinus*, and the books of *Tages* and (8) *Bacchetis*, which, *Labeo* and *Fulgentius* say, consisted of fifteen volumes. Some of these were extant in the days of (9) *Pliny*. *Festus* (1) takes notice of the *Libri Rituales* of the *Etruscans*, as *Censorinus* (2) does of their *Libri Fatales*; which seem likewise to have been mentioned (3) by *Tully*. The *Sacra Acherontia*, or, (4) as some will have it, *Aruntia*, and the *Libri Haruspicinæ*, are mentioned by (5) *Servius* and *Arnobius*. *Carminius* in (6) *Macrobius* cites the *Sacra Trajectitia*. *Ammianus Marcellinus* (7) and *Fulgentius* speak of the system of divination formed by *Tages*. *Pliny* (8) and *Seneca* refer to the books of *Umbritius Melior*, *Ju. Aquila*, and *Cecina*. *Servius* (9) relates the nymph *Bygois* to have written a piece, intitled, *Ars Fulgitrarum*. *Tarquitius* (1) *Tuscus* composed several pieces, particularly the *Ostentarium Etruscum*, the *Ostentarium Arborarium*, a treatise *de Rebus divinis*, and an history of several illustrious men. The (2) *Jus Pontificium* was a book likewise mentioned by *Macrobius*. The *Etruscan* augurs and aruspices were in such repute at *Rome*, that the (3) *Romans* were injoined by law to consult them on all extraordinary occasions. To the authors already mentioned, may be added *Aristides Milesius*, *Alexarchus*, *Theotimus*, *Clitonymus*, *Theophilus*, *Pithocles*, *Dorotheus*, *Aristocles*, *Myrsilus Lesbius*, *Chrysippus*, *Agesilaus*, *Aristobulus*, *Dositheus*, *Dercillus*, and *Alexander Polyhistor*, every one of whom, if we will believe *Plutarch* (4), at least touched upon the *Tuscan* affairs.

(6) *Scholiast. Pind. in Pyth. od.* 2. (7) *Stob. ser.* 105. *Plut. in parallel.* (8) *Sueton. in Claud. c.* 41. (9) *Idem ibid.* (1) *Var. de ling. Lat. l.* iv. (2) *Franc. Marian. de Etrur. metrop. p.* 198. *Romæ*, 1728. (3) *Liv. l.* vii. *c.* 2. (4) *Suid. in voc.* Τυρρηνία. (5) *Censorin. de die nat.* (6) *Franc. Marian. ubi supra.* (7) *Censorin. ubi supra.* (8) *Labeo apud Fulgent. de prisc. serm.* (9) *Plin. l.* ii. *c.* 52. (1) *Fest. pass.* (2) *Censorin. ubi supra.* (3) *Cic. in orat. de aruspic. respons.* (4) *Francisc. Marian. ubi supra, p.* 199. (5) *Serv. in Æn.* viii. *ad verba* Nec pater omnipotens, &c. *Arnob. adv. gent. l.* ii. (6) *Carminius apud Macrob. Saturn. l.* v. (7) *Ammian. Marcell. l.* vii. *Fulgent. de prisc. sermon. in voc.* Præsegmina. (8) *Plin. pass. Senec. quæst. natur. l.* i. ii. (9) *Serv. in Æn. l.* vi. (1) *Plin. l.* ii. *Macrob. Saturn. l.* iii. *c.* 7. 20. *Ammian. Marcell. l.* xxv. *Lactant. l.* i. *c.* 10. *Vide etiam Scalig. Pontan. & Morhof. apud Francisc. Marian. ubi supra.* (2) *Cecina Albinus apud Macrob Saturn. l.* vii. *c.* 13. (3) *Cic. de leg. l.* iii. *Liv. aliique script. pass.* (4) *Plut. in parallel.*

As the *Etruscans*, at least in our opinion, seem to have been followers [a] of *Pythagoras*, they, undoubtedly, must be supposed to have cultivated, with great ardour, the principles of the *Italic* [b] philosophy. *Pythagoras* himself was an improver, but not the founder, of that philosophy. Music they considered [c] as a divine art, and seem to have been greatly delighted with it. They were likewise famous for their curious [d] researches into the productions, operations, and phænomena of nature, and consequently well versed in natural philosophy and [e] astronomy. Nor, indeed, could less than this be expected from their profound skill in augury [f] and divination. They were [g] also acquainted with poetry, frequently celebrating the praises of their gods, and relating the great atchievements of their heroes, as well as describing the arcana of astronomy, philosophy, *&c.* in verse. Tragedy, in particular [h], owed its birth to this nation; or, at least, they first communicated it to the *Romans*. *Varro* [i] mentions one *Volumnius*, whom he represents as a famous writer of tragedies in the *Tuscan* language. Nay, the people we are considering, had a peculiar taste for all kinds of theatrical representations, as may be inferred from several [k] authors. To which we may add, that they abounded with actors, who danced not ungracefully [l], after the *Tuscan* manner; and that the first actors, who appeared upon the stage at *Rome* [m], were sent for from *Etruria*.

It cannot be conceived, that the followers and disciples of *Pythagoras* were ignorant of geometry. The shining figure that philosopher made, according to [n] some good authors, in the mathematical world, will not admit of such a supposition. Nor can it be imagined, that any people tolerably versed in astronomy and astrology, as the *Tuscans* are allowed to have been, should be totally unacquainted with the elements of geometry. We may therefore conclude, from what has been already observed of the *Etruscan* literature, that the antient *Tuscans* were no strangers to geometry, nor indeed to any of the mathematical sciences [o].

Military learning they were famous for [p], especially that branch relating to the drawing up an army in battalia, and making the proper dispositions for an engagement. That the formation of the phalanx [q], and manner of fighting consequent thereupon, was invented by the *Etruscans*, at least borrowed of them by the *Romans*, we learn from *Athenæus*. This, likewise, most evidently appears, from what may be collected from the antients concerning the *Tuscan* naval and military inventions [r].

That history was cultivated in *Etruria*, we have no reason to doubt. The very genius of the *Tuscan* nation evinces this, as well as several hints that have been given us by the antients. *Suidas* mentions [s] a *Tuscan* historian, who treated largely of God, and of the creation of the world completed in six days by him. *Censorinus* [t], from *Varro*, cites some *Etruscan* histories, which described the several ages of the *Etruscan* empire, and predicted its destruction. Lastly, *Cincius*, an [u] author quoted by *Livy* with great marks of approbation, seems to have consulted the historical monuments of *Etruria*, as may be inferred from the express words of that excellent historian.

In fine, the *Etruscan* literature, politeness, and genius, will most clearly appear from the following observations: 1. The [w] *Greeks* themselves received several ceremonies and religious institutions from the *Etruscans*. 2. The *Romans* [x], as has been remarked, were obliged to the same nation for most of their religious institutions. 3. *Romulus* [y] was instructed in some important points by the *Etruscans*. 4. The *Romans*, in the [z] earlier ages, sent their children, to be liberally educated, into *Etruria*. 5. Six of the most noble [a] *Roman* youths were sent to as many states in *Etruria*, in the more remote ages of *Rome*, to be instructed in religious matters. 6. *Diodorus Siculus* represents *Etruria* [b] as the source of learning and philosophy. 7. *Pythogoras* himself, that [c] prodigy of

[a] Iidem ibid. [b] Clem. Alexand. ubi supra. Anton. Franc. Gor. mus. Etrusc. tom. ii. dissert. i. xxviii. [c] Strab. l. x. Anton. Franc. Gor. ubi supra, p. 161. [d] Diod. Sic. l. v. p. 219. Vide etiam Gor. ubi sup. [e] Plin. l. i. c. 52, 53, 54. Vide etiam Gor. ubi sup. [f] Plin. & Gor. ubi supra. [g] Anton. Franc. Gor. ubi supra, p. 161. [h] Tertul. de spectac. Var. de ling. Lat. l. iv. Liv. l. vii. sub init. [i] Var. ubi supra. [k] Liv. & Tertul. ubi supra. Gor. ubi supra, p. 391. Vide & tab. apud Dempster. lxxiii. tab. apud Gor. clxxxvi. clxxxvii. clxxxviii. &c. [l] Liv. ubi supra. [m] Idem ibid. Vide etiam Gor. ubi supra, p. 391. [n] Tertul. de anim. l. xi. Suid. Diog. Laert. in præfat. Apollod. epigr. apud Plut. Vide etiam Dempst. de Etrur. regal. l. iii. c. 44, 45. [o] Dempst. & Gor. ubi supra. [p] Athen. deipnosoph. l. iv. Vide etiam Dempst. ubi supra, l. iii. c. 62--65. [q] Nicias apud Athen. deipnosoph. l. vi. Vide etiam Dempst. ubi supra. [r] Vide Dempst. & Gor. pass. [s] Suid. in voc. Τυρρηνία. [t] Var. apud Censorin. de die natal. [u] Cinc. Alimentr. apud Liv. l. vii. sub init. [w] Plat. de legib. l. v. [x] Dion. Halicar. Liv. Fest. & Serv. pass. [y] Plut. in Romul. [z] Cic. de divinat. l. i. Vide Scip. Maff. orig. Etrusc. p. 13. Lipsiæ, 1731. [a] Cic. ubi supra. Liv. l. ix. [b] Diod. Sic. l. v. [c] Diog. Laert. & Clem. Alexand. ubi supra. Plut. in sympos. l. viii.

learning,

learning, was an *Etruſcan*. 8. In every thing relating to the military art [d], both by ſea and land, the *Etruſcans*, at firſt, excelled all other *European* nations. 9. This nation ſhone in almoſt all arts and ſciences, according to [e] *Heraclides Ponticus*. 10. The *Tuſcan* mechanics and artificers were in high repute [f] amongſt the *Greeks*. 11. When *Tarquin* reſolved to build a [g] temple for *Jupiter Tarpeius*, he ſent to *Etruria*, not to *Greece*, for workmen. 12. *Atria*, or courts, were originally owing [h] to the *Tuſcans*. 13. The *Doric* [i] *epiſtylium*, at firſt, likewiſe proceeded from that people. 14. The [k] moſt grand and ſuperb amphitheatres in the world were thoſe of the *Tuſcans*. 15. The *Etruſcans* [l] had brought painting to great perfection before the birth of *Romulus*. 16. The celebrated ſtatue [m] of *Jupiter Capitolinus* was made by a *Tuſcan* ſtatuary. 17. The colours on many *Etruſcan* [n] vaſes, lately diſcovered, appear as freſh and recent as if done not many years ago. 18. *Tertullian* [o] deduces plays and theatrical repreſentations from *Etruria*. 19. Horſe-races and gladiators paſſed to *Rome* from *Etruria* [p], according to *Tacitus* and *Athenæus*. 20. The golden crown uſed in triumphs [q] had likewiſe the ſame origin. 21. The vaſt extent of the *Tuſcan* dominions, the great atchievements of the *Etruſcans*, the glory they acquired by their numerous diſcoveries and inventions, their very remote antiquity, their ſtupendous wealth and power, their writers and learned men, and laſtly, the excellent form of government prevailing in *Etruria*, all which are atteſted by many reputable authors, rendered the antient *Tuſcans* as celebrated a nation as almoſt any that made a figure in profane hiſtory during the mythic period of time [r].

[d] Nicias apud Athen. deipnoſ. l. vi. ut & ipſe Athen. l. iv. Plin. l. vii. c. 56. Hygin. fab. 134. Vide etiam Scip. Maff. ubi ſupra, p. 14, 15. [e] Heraclid. Pontic. in fragment. ad calc. Ælian. vulgat. [f] Pherecrates apud Athen. deipnoſ. l. x. [g] Liv. l. i. [h] Var. & Fest. [i] Leo Bapt. Albert. architect. l. vii. c. 6. [k] Maffei degli anfiteatri, l. i. c. 1. [l] Plin. l. xxxv. c. 2. [m] Plin. l. lv. c. 12. [n] Scip. Maff. orig. Etruſc. p. 17. [o] Tertul. de ſpectac. c. 2. Liv. l. vii. ſub init. [p] Tacit. ann. l. xiv. c. 21. Athen. deipnoſoph. l. iv. [q] Tertullian. de coron. milit. c. 3. [r] Vide autor. ſupra laudat.

SECT. III.

The Hiſtory of the Etruſcans, *to the Conqueſt of their Country by the* Romans.

Several eaſtern colonies ſettle in Etruria *not many centuries after the deluge.*

IT has been already obſerved, that ſome *Aſiatic* colonies ſettled in *Etruria* not many centuries after the deluge. Theſe were probably followed by others at different periods of time. *Aſſyria*, *Egypt*, *Phœnicia*, *Lydia*, and other countries, in all likehood, contributed to people *Italy*, which was antiently ſubject to the *Etruſcans*. Some of the poſterity of *Javan*, likewiſe, undoubtedly ſeated themſelves here, not long after the diſperſion, which happened in the days of *Peleg*. Nay, we may venture to pronounce it not improbable, that the leader of the ſons of *Javan* was the *Janus* of the *Latins*, who ſeems [a] to have been the firſt king of *Etruria*, and the moſt antient of the *Italian* [b] deities. As *Javan*, in the original, is יון, which may be read *Jon*, and *us* in *Janus* is a *Roman* termination, ſuch a ſuppoſition may be eaſily admitted from the affinity of names. It has alſo other proofs to ſupport it. For *Eliſha* [c] and *Kittim*, *Javan*'s ſons, or at leaſt ſome of their poſterity, have left footſteps of their ſettlement here: and that the (A) *Iſles of the Gentiles*, i. e. *Greece*, including the iſles of the *Ar-*

[a] Arnob. cont. gent. l. iii. Macrob. Saturn. l. i. c. 7. Serv. ad Æn. l. x. Tertul. apol. c. 10. Vide etiam Dempst. de Etrur. regal. l. i. c. 16. p. 64, 65. & l. ii. c. 3. p. 112--117. [b] C. Lucil. ſat. Lactant. inſtit. divin. l. iv. c. 3. Ovid. metamorph. l. xiv. Dempst. ubi ſupra, l. i. c. 16. p. 66, 67. [c] Boch. Phal. l. iii. c. 4, 5. p. 155--161. Stillingfl. orig. ſacr. l. iii. c. 4.

(A) Biſhop *Stillingfleet* has (1) proved, that *the iſles of the Gentiles*, mentioned by *Moſes*, *Gen.* x. 5. comprehended both *Greece* and *Italy:* and indeed this has been clearly evinced by M. *Bochart* (2), who has demonſtrated, that ſome, at leaſt, of the deſcendents of *Kittim* migrated to *Italy*. We have alſo (3) rendered it extremely probable, that *Aleſus*, the founder of *Alſium*, or *Aliſium*, was the אלישה *Aliſa*, or *Eliſha*, of *Moſes*. It can ſcarce, therefore, be denied, that ſome of *Javan*'s poſterity fixed their habitations in the country of which we are ſpeaking.

(1) *Stillingfl. orig. ſacr. l.* iii. *c.* 4. *p.* 384. *Cambr.* 1702. (2) *Bochart. Phal. l.* iii. *c.* 5. *p.* 157--161. (3) *See the account we have given of the very antient town of* Alſium, *in the firſt ſection, p.* 12.

chipelago,

chipelago, as is generally allowed, in the neighbourhood of *Italy*, received some of *Javan*'s sons, we find asserted by the sacred historian [d]. Nay, *Javan* himself might come to *Italy*, immediately out of the East, and send a considerable part of his family to *Greece*, and the aforesaid islands. Be this as it will, *Janus* fixed monarchical government in *Etruria* [e], and was in after-ages deified there for being a singular benefactor to his [f] subjects. He was supposed by [g] some of the antients to have erected a town or castle on one of the seven hills of *Rome*, from him called *Janiculum*, and there to have held his residence. These writers represent him as having first inspired the [h] *Etruscans* with proper sentiments of religion. He was also, according to them, the inventor of agriculture, and first taught the people of *Italy* the use of wine. But the last event proved fatal to him. For, after he had civilized his subjects, he was destroyed by a body of them intoxicated [i] with wine, who imagined themselves to be poisoned by him. *Numa Pompilius* paid a great regard both to his civil [k] and religious institutions, and from him denominated the first month of the year *Januarius*. [l] As he first introduced money into *Italy*, and came thither from *Asia* in a ship, some of the most antient pieces struck in *Etruria*, *Latium*, and *Rome*, alluded to both those events. The faces exhibited the double head of *Janus*, and the reverses a sort of ship. *Ovid* [m] intimates, that he was superior to all the *Greek* deities in point of antiquity.

The Janigenæ. As for *Venilia*, this prince's wife, and *Cameses* (B) his sister, of them we have not much to say. The antients have told us, that the former bore *Janus* a child; and that from the latter who reigned jointly with her brother, the tract about *Janiculum* received the (C) name of *Camesene*. As little can we say, with any appearance of probability, of the *Janigenæ*, or descendents and successors of *Janus*. Some inform us, that *Janus* had (D) one son, and four daughters; that his son, whose name was *Tiberinus*, succeeded him; that *Vertumnus*, or *Vadimon*, mounted the *Tuscan* throne after *Tiberinus*, and had for his successor *Aunus*. But how far this short relation may be depended upon, we shall not take upon us to determine. Thus much is, however, certain, that the fabulous lists of the *Janigenæ*, or *Etruscan* princes of *Janus*'s line, founded upon the spurious fragments of *Annius*, deserve not the least attention [n].

Janus *and* Oenotrus *not the same person.* Some take the *Oenotrus* of *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* to be the same person with *Janus*; and consequently the *Oenotri*, so denominated from him, to be no others than the *Janigenæ*. These authors suppose *Janus* to have deduced his name from יין *wine*, the radix of which is יין *Jon*, or *Jan*; which they insinuate to be probable enough, as *Janus* was the first who discovered the art of making that liquor. If this be admitted, it will follow, that *Janus* and *Oenotrus* are words of the same import, the one denoting in *Hebrew* what the other does in *Greek*; which, they believe, will amount to a pretty strong presumption, that *Janus* and *Oenotrus* [o] were the same person. But to this conjecture, however ingenious, we cannot readily subscribe. For, as *Janus* is supposed to have discovered other things of far greater importance to society than wine,

[d] Gen. x. 5. [e] Arnob. ubi supra. Dempst. ubi supra, l. iii. c. 20. p. 298, 299. [f] Cat. de re rust. c. 134, 141, &c. Xenon. rer. Ital. l. i. Cic. de nat. deor. l. ii. Fest. in voc. *Chaos*. Vide etiam Dempst. ubi supra, & alibi. [g] Plin. l. iii. c. 5. Draco Corcyræus apud Athen. deipnosoph. l. xvi. Serv. ad Æn. l. viii. [h] Plut. problem. Roman. [i] Idem ibid. [k] Plut. ubi supra, p. 274. [l] Draco Corcyræus apud Athen. ubi supra. Ovid. fast. l. iii. v. 228. Var. Ver. Flac. Macrob. &c. [m] Ovid. fast. l. i. Vide etiam Franc. Marian. de Etrur. metrop. p. 11. 152, 153, &c. [n] Ovid. metamorph. l. xiv. v. 333. Hyginus & Protarchus Trallianus apud Macrob. Saturn. l. i. c. 7. Serv. ad Æn. l. viii. Draco Corcyræus apud Athen. ubi supra. Pier. Valerian. hieroglyphic. p. 527. Sil. Ital. l. v. Vide etiam Dempst. ubi supra, l. ii. c. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. [o] Ad. Littlet. in voc. *Oenotrus*. Franc. Marian. ubi supra, p. 186.

(B) The antients did not agree in their sentiments of *Cameses*. Some (4) took her to have been a foreigner, whom *Janus* invested with the royal dignity; others (5) affirmed, that she was both his sister and his wife; and lastly, others (6) believed this person to have been *Janus*'s brother. But, at such an immense distance of time, we cannot pretend even to guess, which of these were in the right.

(C) *Bochart* (7) makes *Camesene*, or *Camas*, *Kittim*, and *Latium*, words of the same signification in different languages; though, in (8) another place, he does not seem intirely consistent with himself in this matter.

(D) *Arnobius* (9) mentions *Fontus* the son of *Janus*, who had divine honours paid him after his death. The memory of this prince was long preserved at *Rome*, (1) as appears from the *Fontinalia* celebrated there the thirteenth day of *October*.

(4) *Macrob. Hygin. & Protarchus Trallianus.* (5) *Draco Corcyræus apud Athen. l.* xv. *Serv. in Virg. Æn. l.* viii. (6) *Cat. in origin.* (7) *Boch. Phal. l.* iii. *c.* 5. *p.* 157--161. (8) *Boch. Chan. l.* i. *c.* 33. *p.* 588. *l.* 44. (9) *Arnob. cont. gent l.* iii. (1) *Var. de ling. Lat. l.* iv.

we cannot ſee why ſome of them ſhould not rather have ſupplied him with a name. Beſides, the reaſons already offered in ſupport of another etymon intirely overturn the probability of ſuch a notion; eſpecially, as ſome of *Javan*'s, *Jou*'s, or *Jan*'s deſcendents [p] undoubtedly ſettled in *Italy*, and its neighbouring country *Greece*. To which we may farther add, that what *Dionyſius* has related of *Oenotrus* [q] will by no means quadrate with the above-mentioned ſuppoſition. However, we think it not improbable, that *Italy*, in the earlieſt ages, might have gone under the appellation of *Ionia*, *Jaonia* [r], or *Jania*, any one of which words may be fairly derived from יון *Jon*, or *Jan*. This ſeems to appear from that part (E) of the *Mediterranean* in the neighbourhood of *Sicily* and *Magna Græcia*, which was called the *Ionian* [s] ſea. Now, as יין in the firſt *Pelaſgic*, or *Etruſcan* tongue, probably ſignified wine; the *Greeks* afterwards might convert it into *Oenotria*, a word of nearly the ſame import in their own language, not conſidering that יון *Javan*, *Jaon*, *Jon*, or *Jan*, was originally the proper name of a man. Thoſe who have peruſed the learned *Bochart* [t] with proper attention, will ſee nothing forced or unnatural in what is here advanced.

THAT the *Etruſcans*, or *Pelaſgi*, were deſcended from the *Curetes*, we learn from [u] *Valerius Maximus*. Now the *Curetes*, *Cretans*, *Crethites*, or *Cerethites*, and *Philiſtines*, were [w] undoubtedly the ſame people. Of courſe, therefore, the *Cretans*, *Cerethites*, or *Crethites*, *Philiſtines*, *Pelaſgi*, and *Etruſcans*, or, at leaſt, ſome part of theſe laſt, as being the progeny of *Mizraim*, muſt have had *Ham* for their common progenitor. In this they agreed with the *Canaanites* or *Phœnicians*, part of whoſe country the *Philiſtines* poſſeſſed for ſo many ages. The people, therefore, under conſideration, muſt have agreed in their religion, form of government, cuſtoms, manners, language, arts, learning, *&c.* with the *Phœnicians*, who were one of the moſt famous nations in the Eaſt. They muſt likewiſe have derived many religious and civil inſtitutions, cuſtoms, arts, *&c.* from *Egypt*; ſo that it is no wonder the learned [x], of late, ſhould have diſcovered ſuch an agreement, in many points, between the *Etruſcans* and the *Egyptians*. The famous Father *Calmet* [y] has moſt clearly ſhewn the iſle of *Caphtor*, from whence the *Philiſtines* came to the land of *Canaan*, to be *Crete*. Now, as the *Philiſtines* had been ſettled in the land of *Canaan*, a conſiderable time before [z] *Abraham*'s arrival there, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe the *Philiſtines*, *Crethites*, or *Pelaſgi*, to have detached a colony from *Crete* to *Italy* in *Abraham*'s days. This may be conſidered as an additional proof, that *Etruria* was not void of inhabitants four hundred years after the deluge. But, not to found what has been here advanced ſolely upon the authority of *Valerius Maximus*; that the *Philiſtines*, and, at leaſt, one part of the *Pelaſgi*, had the ſame origin, appears from the names themſelves. For *Philiſtines* and *Phelaſges*, or *Pelaſgi*, are words that reſemble one [a] another in ſound, and they [b] all denote wanderers or ſtrangers. Nor can any word be applied with greater propriety to that people, who had ſeated themſelves in *Greece*, *Italy*, ſeveral parts of *Aſia*, and *Crete*, before the [c] *Trojan* war. But we would not be underſtood as aſſerting here, that *Italy*, or *Etruria*, received all the firſt colonies from *Crete*; for we have intimated above, that theſe ſallied from different parts. However, that ſome of them came from that iſland, we think has been rendered abundantly clear. From the authors

The Etruſcans deſcended from Mizraim.

[p] SAM. BOCHART. & STILLINGFL. ubi ſupra. Gen. x. 5. [q] DION. HALICAR. antiquit. Rom. l. i. [r] ARISTOPH. ſcholiaſt. HESYCH. STEPH. BYZANT. de urbib. HOM. il. B. DIONYS. perieg. v. 416. Vide etiam STILLINGFL. orig. ſacr. l. iii. c. 4. p. 384, 385. [s] DION. HALICAR. antiquit. Rom. l. i. BOCHART. Phal. l. iii. c. 3. Vide etiam PHIL. CLUVER. Ital. antiq. l. ii. c. 1. p. 430. [t] SAM. BOCHART. in Phal. & Chan. paſſ. Vide etiam STILLINGFL. ubi ſupra, c. 5. [u] VALER. MAXIM. l. ii. c. 4. [w] 1 Sam. xxx. 14. 16. ZEPHAN. c. ii. v. 5. Vide etiam SAM. BOCHART. l. i. c. 15. p 420--425. [x] PHIL. BONAR. ad monum. Etruſc. oper. Dempſt. addit. explicat. & conject. ſect. xlvii. p. 103--106. Florentiæ, 1726. ANTON. FRANC. GOR. muſ. Etruſc. paſſ. Florentiæ, 1737. [y] Diſſertation ſur l'origine, & ſur les divinitez des Philiſtins, & commentaire litteral ſur tous les livres de l'Ancien & de Nouveau Teſtament, par R. P. D. AUG. CALM. &c. tom. ii. p. 321--325. A Paris, 1724. [z] Gen. xx. 2. [a] D. ALG. CALM. ubi ſupra. [b] Idem ibid. [c] BOCH. STILLINGFL. CALM. ubi ſupra.

(E) That the part of this ſea waſhing the *Italian* ſhores was called the *Ionian* ſea, or the *Ionian* gulph, appears from (2) *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis*, who ſays, that the river or mouth of the *Po*, called *Spines*, was in the *Ionian* gulph. Since therefore (3) *Bochart* infers from the name of this ſea, that the *Greeks* in general antiently went under the name of *Ionians*, we may with as much reaſon, from *Dionyſius*'s words, conclude, that the *Italians* likewiſe in the earlier ages had the ſame appellation.

(2) *Dion. Halicar. antiquit. Rom. l.* i. *Vide etiam Phil. Cluver. Ital. antiq. l.* ii. *c.* 1. p. 430. (3) *Bochart. Phal. l.* iii. *c.* 3.

here cited, it more fully appears, that a migration of the *Pheleſges*, *Pelaſgi*, *Peletheates*, or *Philiſtines*, from the iſle of *Caphtor*, into *Etruria*, may fairly be ſuppoſed to have happened as early as the days of *Abraham*.

Their firſt form of government.

THAT the *Philiſtines*, like all the other eaſtern nations, were, at firſt, under the domination of one prince, we learn from the ſacred [d] hiſtorian. Their government was perfectly monarchical, when *Abraham* and *Iſaac* ſojourned amongſt them, tho' afterwards it aſſumed a different form. When the firſt *Pelaſgic* ſettlement in *Etruria* therefore happened, the conſtitution introduced into *Italy* by *Janus* ſtill prevailed. But, ſoon after the arrrival of the *Lydian* colony under the conduct of *Tyrſenus*, this received a very conſiderable alteration, as [e] we learn from *Strabo*. *Tyrſenus* [f], or *Tarchon* his cotemporary, divided *Etruria* into twelve dynaſties, over which their reſpective princes preſided, who, in extraordinary emergencies only, were ſubject to [g] one ſupreme head; and that head ſeems to have been choſen by the ſuffrages of thoſe princes. We are, therefore, firmly perſuaded, that *Tyrſenus*'s expedition happened after *Iſaac*'s death, and conſequently not in the year of the world 2011. as the learned biſhop [h] *Cumberland* has fixed it.

The Pelaſgi *migrate from* Æmonia *into* Italy.

THE ſame thing may be obſerved of the expulſion of the *Pelaſgi* out of *Æmonia* by *Deucalion*. *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis* tells us, that, after this expulſion, the greateſt part of the *Pelaſgi* went to their old kindred about *Dodona*, who enjoyed peace, becauſe they were protected from the calamities of war by the temple there. But, afterwards, finding the country too ſmall for them, they were admoniſhed by the oracle to retire to *Italy*. They therefore equipped a fleet, with an intention to land at the next port of *Italy*; but were, by ſtreſs of weather, forced up the *Adriatic*, till they came to one of the mouths of the *Po* called *Spines*. Some of them remained here, and built a city, which they denominated *Spina*. But others advanced farther, and penetrated into the inland parts of *Italy*. Thoſe left at *Spina* fortified themſelves, got great ſupplies of proviſions by ſea in a ſhort time, became maſters of the *Adriatic*, and long poſſeſſed the ſovereignty of that [i] ſea. Now this part of the primitive *Etruria*, ſtiled by *Dempſter* [k] *Etruria Tranſpadana*, was, long before the *Trojan* war, divided into twelve lucumonies [l], as well as the *Proper Etruria*. Nor has the leaſt intimation been given in antient hiſtory, that it was ever under abſolute regal government. From whence it may, not unjuſtly, be inferred, that this colony of *Pelaſgi*, who planted themſelves at *Spina*, and met with conſiderable ſucceſs in the *Interior Etruria*, were by no means acquainted with ſuch government. Nay, from hence it ſeems farther to follow, that abſolute monarchy was not then known in *Æmonia*, at leaſt, not when that country was in their occupation. But we have no need to puſh this argument, ſince even biſhop [m] *Cumberland* himſelf does not place the flood of *Deucalion* higher than the year of the world 2475. which is almoſt two centuries lower than the abovementioned period.

They join the Umbri *againſt the* Siculi

HOWEVER, the *Pelaſgi*, tho' expelled *Æmonia*, were not obliged totally to abandon *Greece* in the reign of *Deucalion*. They remained in ſeveral parts of this country, and the adjacent iſlands, long after the death of that prince. The *Pelaſgi*, who left their brethren at *Spina*, firſt advanced to *Reate*, where they entered into an alliance with the *Aborigines* againſt the *Umbri*. This was followed by an irruption into *Umbria*. The firſt place taken by the allies was *Croton*, or *Cortona*, a fortreſs of great ſtrength, which they carried by aſſault. But their ſucceſs was, in a good meaſure, owing to ſurprize. *Croton* being extremely well fortified, the *Pelaſgi* and *Aborigines* formed their principal magazine there, and made it a place of arms. They alſo reduced many other *Umbrian* towns. Some time after they undertook an expedition againſt the *Siculi*, ſeized upon ſeveral of their towns, and, at laſt, forced them to retire to *Sicily* [n].

Moſt of them return to Greece.

MANY years muſt have elapſed between the firſt junction of the *Æmonian Pelaſgi* with the *Aborigines*, and the retreat of the *Siculi*. For, according to [o] *Hellanicus Leſbius*, that retreat happened about three generations before the *Trojan* war. And [p] *Philiſtus* of *Syracuſe*, a writer of good authority, makes it about eighty years older

[d] Gen. xx. xxvi. [e] STRAB. l. v. Vide etiam FRANC. MARIAN. ubi ſupra, p. 185. [f] Iidem ibid. [g] SERV. ad Æn. l. viii. & l. x. [h] CUMBERL. connect. of the *Greek* and *Roman* antiq. p. 336. [i] DION. HALICAR. antiquit. Roman. l. i. [k] DEMPST. de Etrur. regal. l. iv. c. 8. p. 40. [l] Tho. DEMPST. SCIP. MAFF. ANTON. FRANC. GOR. &c. Vide etiam PHIL. CLUVER. ubi ſupra, p. 435--438. [m] CUMBERL. chronological table for the ages ſucceeding the flood. [n] DION. HALICAR. antiquit. Rom. l. i. [o] HELLAN LESBIUS apud Dion. Halicar. l. i. [p] PHILIST. SYRACUS. apud Dion. Halicar. ubi ſupra.

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than that war. The *Æmonian Pelaſgi* had a large extent of ground granted them by the *Aborigines*, for the important ſervices they had rendered them in the preceding wars. The *Aborigines* alſo adopted many of the *Pelaſgic* cuſtoms, and religious ceremonies. As for the *Æmonian Pelaſgi*, they did not long remain in a flouriſhing ſituation. For, if any credit may be given to *Myrſilus* [q] *Lesbius*, about two generations before the *Trojan* war, the country they inhabited was ſo parched by an immoderate drought, that it produced ſcarce any thing for the ſuſtenance either of man or beaſt. In conſequence of which, the fountains, ſprings, and rivers, being in a manner dried up, a great mortality enſued; nor had animals of any kind ſtrength to bring forth their young. In fine, not being able to bear up againſt the infection of the air, occaſioned by the exceſſive heats, and divers other calamities, with which they were afflicted, they, for the moſt part, returned to *Greece*. Here they retained the name of *Tyrſeni*, or rather *Tyrſenian Pelaſgi*, which they had gained by being in the neighbourhood of that nation, if not intermixed with part of them, during their ſtay in *Italy* [r].

Some remain in Etruria.

HOWEVER, ſome of the *Æmonian Pelaſgi* remained in *Etruria* till very near the commencement of the *Trojan* war. Nay, *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis* ſeems to intimate, that their poſterity continued in poſſeſſion [s] of *Cortona*, the antient *Croton*, almoſt to his time. This branch of the *Pelaſgi* ſpoke a dialect of the old *Pelaſgic* tongue, ſomething different from that uſed by the *Tyrſeni* in the days of *Herodotus*. Nor can any thing more than this be inferred from the paſſages of *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis* and *Herodotus* [t], now before us. For, as the *Æmonian Pelaſgi* and the *Tyrſenians* were originally branches of the ſame nation, and had in the firſt ages the ſame language, we cannot ſuppoſe their tongues to have been vaſtly different even in the age of *Herodotus*. The *Pelaſgi* of *Cortona* had all along, probably, kept themſelves more unmixed with ſtrangers than their neighbours. And this might have been the reaſon why their language, in the main, was preſerved more pure and inviolate. We ſay, more unmixed with ſtrangers than their neighbours; ſince the *Etruſcans*, in general, had had an intercourſe for ſome ages with the *Romans* and *Hellenical Greeks*, when *Herodotus* wrote [u] his hiſtory. Nor can it be doubted but that ſuch an intercourſe muſt have greatly contributed to a depravation and corruption, or, at leaſt, an alteration, of their primitive language. The *Etruſcan* inſcriptions of the *Herodotean* age, of which ſeveral are ſtill extant, put this point beyond diſpute.

The Etruſcans *were a maritim power before the* Greeks.

THAT the *Etruſcans* were a maritim power in the time of the *Argonauts*, we find intimated by *Poſſis* [w] *Magneſius*. For that writer mentions a bloody engagement between them and the *Argonauts*, when the god *Glaucus* appeared, in order to animate *Jaſon*. This engagement probably happened in the *Adriatic*, not far from *Tergeſte*, the *Trieſte* of the moderns; ſince that *Jaſon* paſſed by that place, may be inferred from [x] *Pliny* and *Strabo*. This notion ſeems likewiſe to be countenanced by *Valerius Flaccus* [y]. From theſe authors it appears, that the *Etruſcans* demanded reſpect on the watry element a generation before the *Trojan* war, nay, much earlier, according to [z] *Ariſtides* cited above, and made a figure at ſea before the *Greeks*.

The Latin *kings deſcended from the* Etruſcans.

Now we approach ſo near the commencement of the *Trojan* war, it may not be improper to inſert what we find related of *Anius*, an antient king of the *Tuſcans*, by *Alexander Folyhiſtor* [a] and *Ariſtides Mileſius*. That prince, according to theſe authors, had a beautiful daughter, whoſe name was *Salia*; with whom one *Cathetus*, an *Etruſcan* nobleman, fell deſperately in love. The lady, in all probability, had no diſlike to *Cathetus*, as ſhe gave him an opportunity of carrying her off. *Anius* purſued the fugitives; but, not being able to come up with them, he threw himſelf into a river, which, from him, was afterwards called the *Anio*. *Cathetus* had by *Salia* two ſons *Latinus* and *Salius*, the heads of two moſt noble families. This fragment of hiſtory is the more remarkable, as it clearly evinces king *Latinus* himſelf to have been of *Etruſcan* extraction.

[q] MYRSILUS LESBIUS apud Dion. Halicar. lib. i. [r] DION. HALICAR. antiquit. Rom. lib i. [s] Idem ibid. [t] HERODOT. in Clio. DION. HALICAR. ubi ſupra. [u] DION. HALICAR. LIV. aliique ſcript. antiq. paſſ. [w] POSSIS MAGNESIUS apud Athen. deipnoſ. lib. vii. [x] PLIN lib. iii. c. 18. STRAB. lib. i. [y] M. VAL. FLAC. Argonaut. lib. iv. Vide etiam DEMPST. ubi ſupra, lib. i. c. 9. p. 32, 33. [z] ARISTID. orat. in Bacch. [a] ALEX. POLYHIST. & ARIST. MILES. apud Plut. in parallel. p. 315. Lutet. Pariſ. 1624.

The Etruſcans *take poſſeſſion of the cities abandoned by the* Æmonian Pelaſgi.

WE have already obſerved, that, according to [b] *Myrſilus Lesbius*, the greateſt part of the *Æmonian Pelaſgi* left their habitations in *Italy*, about two generations before the *Trojan* war, and retired to *Greece*. The *Tyrſenians*, with ſome of whom the *Æmonian Pelaſgi* ſeem to have been intermixed, reaped conſiderable advantage from their departure. For they poſſeſſed themſelves of the cities and towns the *Pelaſgi* had abandoned, and remained maſters of them till they were obliged to ſubmit to the *Roman* yoke. They probably made a conſiderable figure, during the interval between this period and the concluſion of the *Trojan* war, tho' we find little ſaid of them in antient hiſtory. Nor ought this to be greatly regretted by the learned. For *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis* ſeems to intimate, that all accounts of the *Pelaſgic* and *Tuſcan* affairs in theſe early ages muſt be conſidered as pretty ſtrongly tinctured with fable [c].

Mezentius joins the Rutuli *againſt the* Trojans *and* Latins.

MEZENTIUS king of *Etruria*, being alarmed at *Æneas*'s arrival in *Italy*, entered into a league with the *Rutuli* againſt that prince [d]. He beheld, with a jealous eye, the numerous ſettlements made in *Italy* by colonies from the eaſtern nations, and the incroachments they were going to make upon the lands of the moſt antient inhabitants. In purſuance therefore of his engagements, he took the field with a powerful army. But, finding no enemy to oppoſe him, he marched towards *Lavinium*, then the reſidence of *Æneas* and his queen, with an intention either to beſiege it, or draw the king of *Latium* to a general action. *Æneas*, at the head of the *Latin* and *Trojan* forces, marching out of the town, gave *Mezentius* battle in the neighbourhood of *Lavinium*. Both ſides behaved with great bravery, and night alone put a ſtop to their obſtinate fury. However, *Mezentius* ſeems to have had the advantage, if he did not give the enemy a defeat. For *Æneas*, being puſhed to the banks of the *Numicius*, was drowned in that river; upon which the army he commanded thought proper to retire to *Lavinium* [e]. *Livy* ſays [f], that at this time *Etruria* was a very powerful ſtate; and that the whole continent of *Italy*, from the *Alps* to the ſtreights of *Sicily*, was filled with the fame of its great exploits. *Mezentius* preſided immediately over the lucumony of *Cære*, tho' it plainly [g] appears, that he was the ſupreme head of the *Tyrſenian* body. *Cornificius* in *Feſtus* [h] affirms king *Latinus* himſelf to have been ſlain in the battle of the *Numicius*; which, if admitted, will give us reaſon to believe, that the *Latins* were worſted in that battle. Several of the *Roman* writers repreſent [i] *Mezentius* as a cruel and inhuman tyrant, as a prince of the greateſt impiety. This may be true; *but that it really is ſo*, becauſe atteſted by thoſe writers, we can by no means bring ourſelves to believe.

Aſcanius makes overtures to Mezentius *for an accommodation.*

MEZENTIUS, after the late action, drew near with his army to *Lavinium*, and fortified himſelf at a ſmall diſtance from it. This ſeems to have terrified the young king of *Latium*, who, according to *Livy*, was not fourteen years of age. For, upon ſo near an approach, he made overtures to *Mezentius* for an accommodation. *Mezentius*, elevated by his late ſucceſs, preſcribed to the *Latins* the ſevereſt conditions; which, perhaps, was not good policy. Amongſt other things, he demanded of them all the wine produced every year in the territory of *Latium*. This ſo incenſed the *Latins*, that neither they, nor their poſterity, ever forgave him. In conſequence of which, they gave out, that he was guilty of ſacrilege, and a contemner of the gods; ſince, after this demand, they offered their wine to *Jupiter*. Notwithſtanding, therefore, a body of *Etruſcans*, under the command of *Lauſus*, *Mezentius*'s ſon, were intrenched cloſe to the very gates of *Lavinium*, *Eurileon*, *Æneas*'s ſucceſſor, broke off the negotiation, and made all the neceſſary diſpoſitions for vigorouſly carrying on the war [k].

Aſcanius continues the war, and at laſt concludes a peace with Mezentius.

EURILEON, ſurnamed *Aſcanius*, having rejected the conditions preſcribed by *Mezentius*, aſſembled a conſiderable army, in order to attack the *Etruſcans*. His firſt view was to diſlodge *Lauſus* from the poſt he had occupied, the vicinity of this prince to *Lavinium* threatening the *Latins* with immediate deſtruction. *Lauſus*, having more courage than precaution, had not taken care to ſecure himſelf againſt a ſurprize [l]. The *Latins*, therefore, falling upon him in the night, after an obſtinate diſpute, forced his intrenchments; and this put the whole *Etruſcan* army into diſorder; which *Aſca-*

[b] MYRSILUS LESBIUS apud Dion. Halicar. ubi ſupra. [c] DION. HALICAR. ubi ſupra. [d] DION. HALICAR. ubi ſupra. LIV. lib. i. ſub init. JUST. lib. xliii. [e] Iidem ibid. [f] LIV. ubi ſupra. [g] DION. HALICAR. LIV. & JUST. ubi ſupra. [h] CORNIFICIUS apud Feſt. in voc. *Oſcillum*. [i] SERV. ad Æn. lib. x. CAT. apud Macrob. Saturn. lib. iii. c. 5. VIRG. paſſ. [k] DION. HAL. LIV. VIRG. CAT. SERV. MACROB. ubi ſupra. [l] DION. HAL. ubi ſupra, p. 52. LIV. ubi ſupra, c. 3.

nius

nius taking advantage of, puſhed *Mezentius* to a conſiderable diſtance from *Lavinium*, and remained maſter of the field of battle. As *Lauſus* was killed in the action, and probably by his own men, the confuſion into which they were thrown, and the obſcurity of the night, rendering them incapable of diſtinguiſhing between friends and foes, the loſs ſuſtained on this occaſion was very conſiderable to the *Etruſcans*. The *Latins* likewiſe, the next morning, preſented themſelves before a little hill, whither *Mezentius*, with a body of troops he had rallied, thought proper to retire; and cloſely inveſted him there. This reduced the *Etruſcan* monarch, who was greatly dejected by the untimely death of *Lauſus*, to ſome ſtreights. He therefore, as ſhould ſeem, at the ſolicitation of *Aſcanius*, however inflexible he might have been before, concluded a peace with that prince: we ſay, at the ſolicitation of *Aſcanius*; for, as the principal article of this treaty was, that the *Tiber* ſhould be the common boundary of *Etruria* and *Latium*, the peace muſt be conſidered, in the main, as honourable to the [m] *Etruſcans*. *Livy* informs us, that the antient name of the *Tiber* was [n] *Albula*, and that it was ſo called at the concluſion of this treaty. But we cannot help thinking, with *Servius* [o], that *Tiber* was the primitive name.

THE *Etruſcans* obſerved ſo religiouſly the aforeſaid treaty, that from the concluſion of it they never interfered with the *Latin* affairs. From hence, therefore, we may judge, notwithſtanding the ſilence of the *Roman* writers, that they were good friends and allies to that people. For, had they been inclined to attempt diſturbing their repoſe, what power could have prevented them, or fruſtrated ſuch an attempt? From the account [p] *Livy* himſelf, partial as he is, has given us of the *Etruſcans*, in the reign of *Mezentius*, no neighbouring nation, nor even combination of ſuch nations, was at that time capable of coping with them. This, we ſay, upon ſuppoſition that all the *Etruſcan* lucumonies had acted under the direction of one common head. For, upon the contrary ſuppoſition, they muſt have been as incapable of invading their neighbours, or even defending their own territories, as the LAUDABLE *Germanic* body have of late years ſhewn themſelves to be.

The Etruſcans *obſerve religiouſly this treaty.*

FROM the death of *Æneas* to the birth of *Romulus*, hiſtory is profoundly ſilent as to the *Tuſcan* affairs. But as it cannot in the leaſt be doubted, that the *Etruſcans* had good hiſtorians, and even pontifical annals, ſince the *Romans* [q] received the cuſtom of keeping ſuch annals from that people, ſuch a chaſm is not to be imputed to them, but to the *Romans*. That haughty nation deſtroyed all monuments, as far as in them lay, that evidenced the brave and upright behaviour of the nations they enſlaved, as well as their own oppoſite conduct. Of this barbarous diſpoſition we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter in the hiſtory of the *Carthaginians*; and to that hiſtory we beg leave to refer our readers. Nor can any thing be a greater indication of a mean and ungenerous ſpirit. Notwithſtanding this, two late [r] *French* authors affirm, "That it is hard "to determine whether the bravery, policy, or civil virtues of the *Romans* contributed "moſt to the inlarging of their empire." But this obſervation, however it might be intended, conſidering the quarter from whence it came, is ſo far from being a panegyric, that it is in reality a ſatire upon the *Romans*.

A chaſm in the Etruſcan *hiſtory.*

THAT the *Etruſcans* were a powerful and polite nation when *Romulus* founded, or rather reſtored *Rome*, appears from ſome good authors. That prince could not carry the deſign he had formed into execution, without the aſſiſtance [s] of the *Etruſcans*. This, certainly, does great honour to that nation. From them he derived all his civil and religious inſtitutions [t]; which could not but induce him to give all the *Etruſcans*, diſpoſed to ſettle in his new city, a kind and favourable reception. *Cæle* [u] *Vibenna*, a *Tuſcan* general, being appriſed of this diſpoſition, led a body of *Tuſcan* troops under his command to *Rome*. *Romulus*, upon his arrival, either out of policy, or for want of room, placed him upon an hill near the city, which had then no name; but ever ſince has been called *The Hill Cælius*, from the *Tuſcans* taking poſſeſſion of it, to build and ſettle there. *Tacitus* ſays, that this hill, when uninhabited, was covered with [w] oaks,

The Etruſcans *were a powerful and polite nation in the time of* Romulus.

[m] Iidem ibid. [n] LIV. ubi ſupra. [o] SERV. ad Æn. lib. viii. Vide etiam DEMPST. ubi ſupra, lib. ii. c. 17. p. 149. [p] LIV. ubi ſupra, c. 3. [q] JUST. FONTAN. de antiquit. Hort. lib. i. c. 7. p. 133---137. Romæ, 1723. [r] The Fathers CATROU and ROUILLE' in the beginning of their *Roman* hiſtory. [s] ALCIM. vetuſtiſſ. hiſtor. & CUMAN. hiſtor. aut. apud Feſt. PLUT. in Romul. [t] DEMPST. SCIP. MAFF. MARIAN. ANTON. FRANC. GOR. aliique ſcript. paſſ. [u] TACIT. annal. lib. iv. Inſcript. vet. Lugdun. apud Gruter. p. 502. DION. HALICAR. lib. ii. VAR. de ling. Lat. lib. iv. FEST. in voce *Cælius*. Vide DEMPST. ubi ſupra, lib. ii. c. 46. p. 195, 196. [w] TACIT. ubi ſupra.

and from thence called *Mons Querquetulanus*. But, from several circumstances that have been suggested in a former section, this seems absolutely improbable.

An Etruscan *lucumo assists* Romulus *against the* Sabines.

When the *Sabines* made preparations to attack the *Romans* for the rape of their daughters, an *Etruscan* lucumo marched with a body of troops to assist the latter. The *Romans* and *Etruscans*, at the approach of the *Sabines*, divided their forces into two bodies. *Romulus*, with the former, took possession of the hill *Esquilinus*; and the lucumo, with his troops, posted himself on the hill since called *Quirinalis*. They came at last to a general action with the *Sabines*. *Romulus* commanded the right wing, and the lucumo the left. Both the generals behaved with great bravery, and repulsed the *Sabines*. But *Romulus*, being wounded, fell down senseless; and whilst his men were carrying him to the city, the *Sabines* recovered their courage, took the advantage of his absence, and fell with fury upon the right wing of the *Romans*, which had lost its commander. The lucumo, in the mean time, did more than make a brave resistance: he penetrated into the *Sabine* legions; till, at length, being pierced with a javelin, he died upon the spot. In fine, he kept the enemy in play till *Romulus* recovered himself, and rallied his troops; some time after which, the *Sabines* were driven back to the capitol. So that the preservation of *Rome*, in its infancy, as well as the foundation of it, may, in a great measure, be ascribed to the *Etruscans* *.

It deserves to be remarked, that *Livy* takes not the least notice of the succours the *Etruscans* afforded *Romulus* in the *Sabine* war. That historian was afraid it would reflect too much honour upon the *Etruscans*, to mention them on this occasion. A signal proof this of his great partiality, which we shall hereafter have occasion to touch upon, as well as of the *Roman* disposition above-mentioned! But it carries with it, besides, an instance of ingratitude, which does not much redound to the honour of the *Romans*.

The Etruscans *greatly concerned at the* Romans *taking* Fidenæ.

The hill *Cælius*, occupied by *Cæle Vibenna* [x], was but thinly inhabited; which renders it probable, that the greatest part of the *Tuscan* troops, under the command of the aforesaid lucumo, perished in the late action. For, had many of them survived it, they would undoubtedly have settled upon this hill. Be that, however, as it will, the *Romans*, some years after, by the reduction of *Fidenæ*, drew new enemies upon themselves. Tho' that town stood on this side the *Tiber*, it was looked upon as appertaining to the *Etruscans*, or, at least, a city in alliance with them. The whole *Tyrsenian* body, therefore, were extremely uneasy at its being taken by the *Romans*. But the city of *Veii*, thinking itself more affected by this event than any of the other *Etruscan* states, immediately declared against the conquerors. The *Veientes* sent an embassy to *Rome*, to demand the restoring of the *Fidenates* to their liberty, the withdrawing the foreign garison, and the reinstating of that people in the lands which had been taken from them [y].

The Romans *defeat the* Veientes.

This conquest was too convenient for the *Romans* to dispossess themselves of it; and therefore they refused to comply with the demands of the *Veientes*. Upon this refusal, the *Veientes* had immediately recourse to arms. They blocked up *Fidenæ*, and encamped within sight of its walls. *Romulus*, being apprised of this, advanced with part of his army to support the new colony. He first entered the city with succours, and then marched out to attack the *Veientes*. The first day neither side could boast of any great advantage; but the second the *Veientes* were put to the rout. The slaughter was not great during the action; but the *Veientes* lost a very considerable number of men in the pursuit. Many of them were forced headlong into the *Tiber*, and there found that death from the waters, which they had escaped from the sword [z].

Overthrow of them in a second battle.

Dionysius Halicarnassensis informs us [a], that *Veii* at this time was as large and populous as *Athens*. It is no wonder, therefore, that the late defeat did not lessen the courage of its citizens. They raised another army, solicited succours of their allies, and returned to *Fidenæ*, to make a second attempt upon it. They likewise plundered the lands of the *Romans* contiguous to their territories, and carried their booty to *Veii*. These motions [b] brought on, at last, a second engagement, which ended in the total overthrow of the *Veientes*. Few of the particulars of this battle have reached us: only *Livy* [c] assures us, that *Romulus* got the victory without any stratagem, by the strength and bravery of his troops; and [d] *Plutarch*, that of fourteen thousand

* Dion. Halicar. antiquit. Rom. lib. ii. Plut. in Rom. Luc. Piso apud Dion. Halicar. ubi supra. Aur. Vict. [x] Dion. Halicar. ubi supra. [y] Idem ibid. Liv. ubi supra, c. 14, 15. Plut. in Romul. [z] Dion. Halicar. & Liv. ubi supra. Plutarch. in Romul. [a] Dion. Halicar. lib. ii. [b] Dion. ibid. [c] Liv. ubi supra, c. 15. [d] Plut. in Romul.

men

men who remained dead upon the ſpot, *Romulus* killed half with his own hands. That general purſued the fugitives to the walls of *Veii*; but as the city was ſtrongly fortified by nature and art, he did not offer to inveſt it. In his return he ravaged the lands of the enemy, more through a deſire of revenge, than greedineſs of plunder. Great treaſures were found in the *Veientine* camp, and a conſiderable number of priſoners taken. The old king of *Veii* fell into the hands of the *Romans*, and was conducted, with the other priſoners, in boats down the *Tiber* to *Rome*. It is intimated by ſome authors, that the *Veientine* captives were ſold for ſlaves; and that, during the ſale, the king was dreſſed in a child's coat, and people cried all around him, *Sardians to ſell*. By which cries and ceremony, *Plutarch* ſays, the *Romans* alluded to the weak conduct of the old king of *Veii*, and to the *Lydian* extraction of the *Etruſcans*. Be that as it will, as often as the *Roman* people offered ſacrifices to the gods, in thankſgiving for any victory, this cuſtom ever after prevailed [e].

Romulus concludes a peace with Veii.

VEII was built upon a ſteep rock, which it was extremely difficult to aſcend. Tho' *Romulus* therefore preſented himſelf before the town, he was not able to attack it. However, in order to intimidate the *Veientes*, he threatened to return in a ſhort time, and reduce their city to aſhes. This, with the two ſevere blows they had already received, had the deſired effect. The *Veientes* ſent deputies to *Rome*, to ſue for peace; and peace the conqueror granted them upon his own terms. In conſequence of the treaty, the citizens of *Veii* ſurrendered up to *Romulus a little* diſtrict upon the banks of the *Tiber*, in which were ſeven ſmall towns. They alſo reſigned to him their right in ſome ſalt-pits, which were near the mouth of the river. He obliged them likewiſe to give hoſtages for their fidelity; and fifty of their chief citizens were ſent to *Rome*, as ſecurities for the treaty. And in return for the ceſſion they had made to him of part of their territories, he granted them a truce of an hundred [f] years. Thus ended the firſt war the *Romans* had with any of the *Etruſcan* ſtates. A war that was more than ſufficient to give the lucumonies a taſte of what they had one day to expect from a neighbour, that already diſcovered marks of a boundleſs ambition.

The Veientes *and* Fidenates *form a deſign againſt the* Romans *and* Albans.

IN the reign of *Tullus Hoſtilius*, the third king of *Rome*, the *Veientes* and *Fidenates* formed a deſign to render themſelves intirely independent on the *Romans*. The diſputes between the *Romans* and the *Albans* at this juncture, which were upon the point of breaking out into an open rupture, gave riſe to and favoured that deſign. The two *Tuſcan* cities took care, underhand, to form alliances with the neighbouring nations, and aſſembled a good body of troops, to be ready on occaſion. The plot was fully formed, and their intention was to watch the time of the engagement between the *Romans* and *Albans*, whoſe armies were drawn up in battalia with a view to a deciſive action, and force both the conquerors and conquered to a freſh battle with them. Had a general action between the *Romans* and *Albans* enſued, the *Veientes* and *Fidenates* would, in all probability, have carried their point, and have cut off, or taken priſoners, the remainder of both armies. And this muſt have been attended with a perfect recovery of their independency. But an unforeſeen event prevented this ſalutary deſign from taking effect; of which our readers will find a full and ample account in the *Roman* hiſtory [g].

The Fidenates *refuſe to ſubmit to* Tullus.

HOWEVER, as the *Romans* had got intelligence of their deſign, the two *Tuſcan* cities thought proper to keep together their forces. Nor was this meaſure imprudent. For *Tullus*, after having ſuſpended the effects of his reſentment about a year, ſummoned the *Fidenates* to appear before the ſenate, to give an account of their artful conduct at the time the *Romans* and *Albans* were ready to engage. But they refuſed ſuch a ſubmiſſion, as incompatible with the liberty they imagined themſelves to enjoy [h].

Tullus *defeats the* Etruſcans.

FUFFETIUS, the *Alban* general, had motives to enter into a ſecret league with *Fidenæ* and *Veii* againſt the *Romans*. He promiſed thoſe cities, that he would deſert the *Romans*, when they ſtood in the greateſt need of his aſſiſtance. He repreſented them as an imperious colony, which made it her glory to reduce her neighbours to ſlavery; and proteſted that he was ready to contribute as much as in him lay towards their extirpation. Upon the hopes therefore, that he gave them, the *Veientes* and *Fidenates* took up arms againſt *Rome*. They raiſed freſh troops by public edicts, and, depending

[e] PLUT. in Romul. CIC. fam. epiſt. lib. vii. ep. 25. PLUT. in problem. Rom. [f] DION. HALICAR. LIV. & PLUT. ubi ſupra. [g] DION. HALICAR. antiquit. Rom. lib. iii. [h] Idem ibid. [i] Idem ibid. LIV. ubi ſupra, c. 27.

on the defection of the *Albans*, took the field. At last, after several movements, the two combined armies faced each other in the plains of the *Anio*, not far from the confluence of that river and the *Tiber*. The *Fidenates*, who were posted in the left wing, extended themselves to the hills: the *Veientes*, who formed the right wing, had the river in flank. In the disposition of the *Roman* forces, *Tullus* opposed himself to the *Veientes*, and ordered *Fuffetius* to encounter the *Fidenates*. Before the beginning of the action, *Fuffetius* left the place he was posted in open to the *Fidenates*, who immediately took possession of it. This step might have proved the total ruin of the *Roman* army, had not *Tullus*, with great presence of mind, immediately given out, that this motion was made by his order. Such a declaration did not only prevent the *Roman* soldiery from desponding, but encouraged them to exert themselves in an extraordinary manner. It likewise struck terror into the *Etruscans*, who began to suspect the sincerity of *Fuffetius*. In fine, this lucky stratagem threw the victory into *Tullus*'s hands, and of course riveted the *Roman* chains upon the *Fidenates* more strongly than ever [i].

The Fidenates *forced to submit to the* Romans.

But the *Fidenates*, notwithstanding this misfortune, were resolved not to submit to the *Roman* tyranny, till their affairs were absolutely desperate. They found means to replenish their city with provisions, and to hire troops for their defence. Having made these dispositions, they waited for the *Romans* under their walls, in order to give them a warm reception. But, being overpowered by numbers, and deserted by their allies, they retired within the gates of *Fidenæ*, which they immediately shut, with a resolution to hold out a siege. *Tullus*, for the present, contented himself with blockading it, and drawing a line round it, in order to cut off all succours and provisions. But, at last, he reduced this unfortunate people to so great extremities, that they were obliged to surrender at discretion. They were therefore fixed in their dependency on *Rome*; but *Tullus*, after he had taken off some of the principal heads of the revolt, suffered them to live under the same form of government as before [k].

Ancus Marcus *seizes upon the hill* Janiculus.

Ancus Marcius, successor to *Tullus Hostilius*, seized upon the hill *Janiculus*, which belonged to the *Etruscans*. This was done in contempt of the faith of treaties. His pretext for violating these treaties was, that the *Etruscans* made frequent incursions upon the banks of the *Tiber*, that the *Roman* merchants had been by them often plundered there, and that they had rendered the navigation up and down the river very unsafe. *Dionysius* adds, that *Ancus* thought this slight encroachment upon the *Etruscans* necessary for the public good, and the common safety. By the same way of reasoning, the *Romans* doubtless, in after-ages, vindicated all those barbarous and unjustifiable measures they made use of to enslave their neighbours on every side [l].

The Fidenates *revolt.*

This iniquitous procedure, and the more iniquitous principle avowed, in order to support it, in all probability, gave great disgust to the neighbouring nations. Be that as it will, we find that the *Fidenates* revolted a second time, a few years after this affair happened. But *Ancus* laid siege to their city, penetrated into it, and took it by sap. This is the first instance of such an attack, which we meet with in the old *Roman* story. *Ancus* actually dug a way under-ground, from his camp quite under the walls of *Fidenæ*; which way was probably divided into several branches. Through these subterranean passages some *Roman* soldiers passed quite under the ramparts of the city: and, when the works of the miners were sufficiently advanced, *Ancus* led up the bulk of his army to the foot of the wall, as if he intended to scale it, in places which were at a distance from those which he had undermined. And it is probable, that they attempted to scale the walls in several places at the same time, in order to keep all the forces of the *Fidenates* in play. When therefore the besiegers and the besieged were most hotly engaged, the *Roman* miners started up out of the subterranean passages they had dug, which opened into the city. And they no sooner entered it, but they immediately ran to the gates, which they opened to their companions, and put *Ancus* in possession of the city. This account we have from *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, and we have given it our readers here at large, because it is extremely curious. *Ancus* treated the citizens with tolerable lenity, but left a strong garison in the place to keep them in awe [m].

The Veientes *defeated by* Ancus Marcius.

About five years after, the *Veientes* made an incursion upon the *Roman* territories, and put many people to the sword. *Ancus*, therefore, having received strong reinforcements from his allies, and assembled all his troops, took the field with a powerful

[i] Idem ibid. Liv. ubi supra, c. 27. [k] Dion. Halicar. ubi supra. [l] Idem ibid. Liv. ubi supra, c. 33. [m] Dion. Halicar. antiquit. Rom. lib. iii.

army,

army, and entered the territories of *Veii*. The firſt action happened between the *Tuſcan* and *Roman* cavalry, wherein the latter had the advantage. Fluſhed with this ſucceſs, the king of *Rome* attacked the *Veientine* camp, and, after a ſharp diſpute, carried it. The year following, the army of *Veii* advanced as far as the ſalt-pits, that had been ceded to *Romulus*; but were defeated there by *Ancus*, who made a great carnage of the *Veientine* ſoldiery. This produced a peace, which was concluded upon the baſis of former treaties. *Tarquin*, an *Etruſcan* by birth, now in the ſervice of *Ancus*, and his ſucceſſor, diſtinguiſhed himſelf, at the head of the *Roman* cavalry, in this war [n].

We might here give our readers an account of the parentage, birth, and education of this *Tarquin*, as likewiſe of the adventures that befel him and his wife *Tanaquil*, before he mounted the *Roman* throne. But as this will come in more naturally in the *Roman* hiſtory, notwithſtanding he was born in *Etruria* [o], we muſt beg leave to refer our readers to the *Roman* hiſtory for ſuch an account.

The Etruſcans, Latins, and Sabines, are overthrown by Tarquin.

The *Latins*, ſeeing the aſpiring genius of the *Romans* bent upon extending their dominions, and apprehending that they ſhould ſoon fall under the yoke of that imperious people, applied to the *Etruſcans* for ſuccours, to enable them to aſſert their liberty and independency. This happened in the year of *Rome* 146. They likewiſe ſolicited the *Sabines* for aſſiſtance at the ſame time. The intire body of the *Sabines* united themſelves with the *Latins*; but of the *Etruſcans* only five cantons joined them. Theſe were *Cluſium*, *Ruſellæ*, *Volaterræ*, *Aretium*, and *Vetulonia*. Upon the arrival of the *Etruſcan* reinforcement in the *Latin* camp, a general action enſued. The right wing of the *Roman* army, commanded by *Tarquin* himſelf, had ſome advantage over the *Etruſcans*; but the left wing was roughly handled by the *Latins*. However, by his own good conduct, and the bravery of his troops, *Tarquin*, at laſt, gained a complete victory, and made himſelf maſter of the enemy's camp. This proved a deciſive ſtroke; ſo that the *Latins* had no refuge left, but to ſubmit to the clemency of the victors. Upon which the *Etruſcans* thought proper to retire with their ſhattered forces into their own country [p].

The Gauls drive the Etruſcans out of a large extent of territory.

We have already obſerved, that the *Etruſcans* antiently poſſeſſed all the tract between the *Alps* and the *Apennines*. From part of this the *Gauls* diſlodged them, towards the beginning of the forty-fifth *Olympiad*, in the reign of *Tarquinius Priſcus*. They gave them a defeat upon the banks of the *Ticinus*, and afterwards ſeized a large extent of territory without oppoſition. Upon this, the *Etruſcans* found themſelves obliged to retire farther into the interior part of *Italy*. Soon after, another body of *Gauls* defeated the *Umbri* and *Etruſcans*, drove them over the *Po*, and extended their conqueſts [q].

The Etruſcans take Fidenæ.

It has been already remarked, that *Etruria* was divided into twelve ſtates, each of which was governed by a lucumo, or prince, who aſſumed to himſelf a ſort of ſovereign authority. Theſe princes, therefore, ſometimes ſingly made war upon their neighbours, as is evident from what paſſed between *Rome* and *Veii*. But, in all preſſing and extraordinary emergencies, when the intereſt of the whole nation was concerned, they acted in conjunction under one common head. As the *Etruſcans*, therefore, took it for granted, after the late defeat, that, unleſs they could humble the *Romans*, they ſhould ſoon fall a prey to their overgrown power, and inſatiable ambition, they convened a national diet, to deliberate upon the meaſures to be purſued at ſo critical a conjuncture. The reſult of theſe deliberations was, that *Rome* ſhould be attacked with the whole power of *Etruria*. To which it was added, that if any city preſumed to ſtand neuter, it ſhould never, for the future, be intitled to the protection of the *Etruſcan* body. Having ſettled the plan of military operations, they paſſed the *Tiber*, and advanced to the gates of *Fidenæ*, with a powerful army. That fortreſs ſoon ſurrendered to them; and from thence they made incurſions almoſt to the very gates of *Rome*. In the mean time, *Tarquin* not being able to make head againſt them the firſt campaign, they fortified themſelves at *Fidenæ*, and ravaged all the adjacent country in a dreadful manner [r].

[n] Dion. Halicar. antiquit. Rom. lib. iii. Halicar. ubi ſupra. Liv. ubi ſupra, c. 35. [o] Idem ibid. Liv. ubi ſupra, c. 34. [p] Dion. ubi ſupra. [q] Liv. lib. v. c. 34, 35. [r] Dion. Halicar.

The Etruſcans *ill uſed by the* Romans.

BUT it was not an apprehenſion of future evils from the *Roman* power and ambition only, that prompted the *Etruſcans* to this war. They complained of a want of juſtice and equity in the king of *Rome*. They had ſent embaſſadors to him, to demand back their priſoners, who had not been admitted to an audience. On the contrary, the *Romans*, according to *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis*, thought it proper, *in point of policy*, to detain them, as ſo many hoſtages for the fidelity of the *Etruſcans*. Such a procedure could not fail of extremely irritating a free people, as the *Etruſcans*, at that time, took themſelves to be [r].

The Etruſcans *defeat* Egerius.

THE following ſpring *Tarquin* appeared at the head of all his legions, and the ſuccours ſent him by his allies. This formidable army he divided into two bodies; the command of the *Romans* he took upon himſelf, and gave that of his allies to his couſin *Egerius*, called alſo *Collatinus*. *Egerius* inveſted *Fidenæ*, and at the ſame time ſent out ſeveral conſiderable detachments to plunder the country; which greatly weakened his army. The *Etruſcans*, having received reinforcements, made a ſally out of the town with all imaginable ſucceſs. They ſurpriſed *Egerius*'s camp, put a conſiderable number of his men to the ſword, and then eaſily defeated his detachments, that were diſperſed about the country in ſmall parties [s].

The Etruſcans *are worſted by* Tarquin.

IN the mean time, *Tarquin* himſelf advanced into the lucumony of *Veii*, where he committed dreadful depredations. This occaſioned a general engagement between the *Romans* and the *Etruſcans*, in which the *Romans* are ſaid to have had all the advantage. But we cannot find, that *Tarquin* reaped any other fruit from this advantage, than that it enabled him to carry off the booty he had acquired to *Rome*. However, he worſted the *Etruſcans* a ſecond time under the walls of *Cære*; but could not form the ſiege of that place. He therefore contented himſelf with ravaging the country about it, and then retired into his own dominions [t].

Tarquin *reduces* Fidenæ.

THE reduction of *Fidenæ* appeared to be a matter of ſo much conſequence to *Tarquin*, that he was reſolved to attempt it with all his forces. But as the *Etruſcans* were no leſs concerned in intereſt, to maintain themſelves in the poſſeſſion of a poſt, which was a ſort of blockade to *Rome*, and a great inducement to the *Sabines* to join them on all occaſions, they took care to aſſemble a numerous army in its neighbourhood. The *Romans*, therefore, found it neceſſary to attack this army, in order to approach the place. *This they did, and intirely defeated it*; which opened them a way to *Fidenæ*. The ardour with which the *Romans* puſhed on their attacks, after they had laid ſiege to the town, ſoon rendered them maſters of it. The *Etruſcan* gariſon were made priſoners of war; all ſuch as had been ſuſpected of betraying the city to the enemy were whipped with rods, and beheaded; the lands of the *Fidenates* were diſtributed by lot amongſt the *Roman* ſoldiers left in gariſon at *Fidenæ*; and the remainder of the citizens ſent into perpetual baniſhment. This extreme ſeverity ſeems to have ſo incenſed the *Etruſcans*, that they were determined to make an extraordinary effort againſt *Rome*, in order to free themſelves from all future apprehenſions [u].

Tarquin *ſurpriſes and overthrows the* Etruſcans.

A FORMIDABLE army was for this purpoſe to have been raiſed out of all the lucumonies. The route of this army to *Rome* was ſettled through the country of the *Sabines*, that nation having granted the *Etruſcans* a free paſſage through their territories. But *Tarquin* ſurpriſed the enemy at *Eretum*, a ſmall city of the *Sabines*, about ten miles from *Rome*, before they had aſſembled all their forces, and gave them a total defeat. This blow, which was the greateſt the *Etruſcans* had ever received from the *Romans*, broke their ſpirits, and diſconcerted their whole plan. In a general aſſembly, therefore, of the *Tuſcan* body, they came to a determination to apply to the conquerors for peace; which, upon ſuch application, was granted them on reaſonable terms [w].

Tarquin *overthrows again the* Etruſcans *and* Sabines.

AFTER this war, which laſted nine years, the *Etruſcans* enjoyed ſome repoſe; which was very ſeaſonable, conſidering the great loſſes they had ſuſtained. But in the year of *Rome* 168. they ſent a body of troops to the aſſiſtance of the *Sabines*, with whom they were in alliance, againſt the *Romans*. Both the *Sabine* and *Etruſcan* armies were overthrown by *Tarquin* on the banks of the *Anio*, of which glorious action our readers will find in the *Roman* hiſtory a particular and diſtinct relation [x].

The Etruſcans *enable* Tarquin *to beat the* Sabines.

Two years after, in the ſame war, *Tarquin* received a reinforcement of *Etruſcans*, the command of which he gave to his nephew *Arunx*, or *Aruns*. In a general action

[r] DION. HALICAR. ubi ſupra. [s] Idem ibid. [t] Idem ibid. [u] Idem, lib. iii.
[w] Idem ibid. [x] Idem ibid.

with

with the *Sabines*, theſe *Etruſcans* were poſted in the left wing, and behaved with very great bravery. In fine, *Tarquin*, by their aſſiſtance, gave the *Sabines* a moſt memorable defeat; which enabled him to preſcribe conditions of peace to that warlike people [y].

THE *Veientes*, in the reign of *Servius Tullius*, refuſed to acknowlege the ſovereignty of *Rome*, and even treated ſome *Roman* deputies ſent to them with contempt. The diſſenſions between the king and ſenate of *Rome* excited them to ſuch a conduct. But, notwithſtanding they found means to draw the lucumonies of *Cære* and *Tarquinii* into their party, *Servius* ſoon obliged them to lay down their arms. Some of theſe aggreſſors he deprived of their lands, and transferred the property of their eſtates to ſuch of the new citizens of *Rome*, as had yet no lands of their own [z].

The Veientes *obliged to ſubmit to* Servius Tullius. *Year of* Rome 182.

NOR was another attempt of the *Etruſcans* to diſturb the repoſe of the *Romans*, in the year of *Rome* 186. more ſucceſsful. For *Servius* ſoon broke and diſperſed the body of troops that nation brought into the field againſt him [a].

Servius *diſperſes an* Etruſcan *army.*

WE find from *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis*, and the *Faſti Capitolini*, that, ſome years after, all the lucumonies of *Etruria* combined to diſtreſs the *Romans*, but without any effect: for *Servius* overthrew them in ſeveral battles. This ſo exhauſted [illegible] they were obliged to ſend deputies to *Rome*, as they had done [illegible] order to prevail upon the *Romans* to grant them an honourable peace. [illegible], and the ſenate, upon this deputation, concluded a treaty with them; the conditions of which were little different from thoſe vouchſafed them by *Tarquin*. But ſome of the firſt aggreſſors *Servius* puniſhed in the ſame manner as he had before done thoſe of *Veii* [b].

THAT the *Etruſcans* made a conſiderable figure at ſea about this time, may be inferred from *Herodotus*. According to that author, a *Phocæan* ſquadron, after a bloody engagement, put to flight a ſtrong fleet compoſed of an *Etruſcan* and a *Carthaginian* ſquadron, in the ſea of *Sardinia*. Archbiſhop *Uſher* places this event in the year before *Chriſt* 543. which coincides with the year of *Rome* 208. And that the learned primate approaches, at leaſt, pretty near the truth in this point, may be evinced from ſeveral authors. *Thucydides* informs us, that this action happened not long after the foundation of *Maſſilia*, now *Marſeilles*, which was built by the *Phocæans*. Now *Timæus Siculus* aſſerts, that *Maſſilia* was founded by the *Phocæens* an hundred and twenty years before the battle of *Salamis*, which falls in with the firſt year of the forty-fifth *Olympiad*; and this is confirmed by *Solinus*. The foundation, therefore, of *Maſſilia* happened in the year of *Rome* 148. and 600 years before the birth of *Chriſt*. So that in the year of *Rome* 208. before *Chriſt* 543. that city might be ſaid to be in its infancy, in agreement with what has been advanced by *Thucydides*. That *Maſſilia* was built by the *Phocæans*, about the time mentioned by *Timæus*, ſeems likewiſe to be rendered inconteſtable by *Ariſtotle*, *Harpocration*, *Scymnus Chius*, *Juſtin*, *Athenæus*, and others. We hope, therefore, that we ſhall not be cenſured for endeavouring to ſupport the authority of *Euſebius*, and archbiſhop *Uſher*, in the point before us [c].

The Etruſcans, *at this time, make a conſiderable figure at ſea.*

THE *Etruſcans*, inhabiting the coaſt of the *Ionian* ſea, in conjunction with the *Umbri*, *Daunii*, and other *Italian* nations, undertook an expedition againſt the city of *Cumæ* in *Campania*. But their efforts, as we learn from *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis*, were not attended with ſucceſs. This happened in the laſt year of the ſixty-fourth *Olympiad*, and about two hundred and twenty-eight years after the foundation of *Rome*. From hence it may be inferred, that the *Tuſcan* dominions, at this time, extended beyond the boundaries of the proper *Etruria* [d].

The Etruſcans *undertake an expedition againſt the city of* Cumæ, *without ſucceſs.*

IN the year of *Rome* 242. the *Etruſcans* renewed the treaty with *Tarquin the ſecond*, which they had concluded with *Servius Tullius*, his predeceſſor. The ſame year *Tarquin* ſent for architects and workmen out of *Etruria*, to finiſh the famous temple of the *Capitol*, dedicated to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva* [e].

They renew with Tarquin *the ſecond the treaty formerly concluded with* Servius Tullius.

[y] DION. HALICAR. ubi ſupra. [z] Idem ibid. FAST. CAPITOLIN. ad A. U. C. 182. [a] FAST. CAPITOLIN. ad A. U. C. 186. [b] DION. HALICAR. antiquit. Roman. lib. iv. FAST. CAPITOL. ad A. U. C. 199. [c] HERODOT. lib. i. THUCYDID. lib. i. TIMÆUS SICULUS apud Marcian. in perieg. SOLIN. c. 8. EUSEB. in chron. ad Olymp. xlv. 1, &c. ARISTOT. apud Harpocrat. in voce Μασσαλία. ATHEN. deipnoſoph. lib. xiii. JUST. lib. xliii. STRAB. lib. iv. SCYMN. CHI. AMMIAN. MARCEL. lib. xv. c. 23. AUL. GELL. noct. Attic. lib. x. c. 16, &c. [d] DION. HALICAR. antiq. Rom. lib. vii. [e] Idem, ubi ſupra.

AT

The Etruſcans attempt to reinſtate Tarquin in his dominions.

AT the expulſion of the *Tarquins*, the *Etruſcans* were in abſolute poſſeſſion of their liberty, and as independent on the *Romans* as in the time of *Romulus*. But the confederacy between thoſe two nations was of vaſt importance to *Rome*. This harmony, however, met with ſome interruption from the conduct of the *Veientes* and *Tarquinienſes*, who made an effort to reinſtate *Tarquin*, the laſt king of *Rome*, in his dominions. By the ſuccours they afforded that prince, he was enabled to make a bold puſh for his crown. The *Romans*, being appriſed of his approach, paſſed the *Tiber*, and poſted themſelves in a meadow bounded by a foreſt, that was conſecrated to an hero named *Arſius*. When the two armies were in ſight of one another, the generals ordered a motion to be made on both ſides, to begin the onſet. Never was the ſucceſs of a battle more dubious; never was the number of ſlain on both ſides more equal; till at length night came on, and left the two camps uncertain to which victory inclined. But the *Etruſcans* had, at this juncture, leſs conſtancy and reſolution than the *Romans*. For they abandoned their camp, and returned in great confuſion to their own country. So that the *Romans* remained maſters of the field of battle, and plundered the enemy's camp. This proved a deciſive blow, and fixed the conſular government at *Rome*. Our readers will eaſily perceive, that we have reſerved a minute and particular account of this action, as well as a relation of the conſequences of it, for the *Roman* hiſtory, to which ſuch an account and relation more properly belong [d].

Year of Rome 244.

Porſena *threatens the* Romans.

WE learn from *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis*, that *Porſena* king of *Etruria*, who held his reſidence at *Cluſium*, ſent an haughty and threatening embaſſy to *Rome*, in favour of the *Tarquins*. He required the *Romans* either to reſtore that family to the throne, or, at leaſt, to give them back their eſtates. But they abſolutely refuſed to grant the firſt of thoſe articles, and found means to evade a compliance with the ſecond, under the pretence, that thoſe eſtates had been conſecrated to the god *Mars*. Immediately after the late defeat, *Tarquin* had taken refuge at *Cluſium*, and, by his artful inſinuations, diſpoſed that formidable lucumony, and, as there is reaſon to ſuppoſe, the whole *Etruſcan* body, to favour his pretenſions. *Porſena*, therefore, not being ſatisfied with the anſwer his embaſſadors brought him from *Rome*, took a reſolution to place *Tarquin* upon the throne by force of arms [c].

Porſena *advances againſt the* Romans.

THAT prince, to whom ſome give the *prænomen Lar*, or *Lars* (F), and others that of *Claras*, having finiſhed his military preparations, marched from *Cluſium* with the moſt formidable army that had ever yet appeared in the neighbourhood of *Rome*. The ſenate was under inexpreſſible terror on this occaſion; and, indeed, with the greateſt reaſon, ſince the power of the ſtate of *Cluſium*, and the riches of *Porſena*, were ſufficient to make *Italy* tremble. Nor did they only dread the enemy, but even their own citizens, being apprehenſive that the common people, through exceſs of fear, would receive the *Tarquins* into the city. To prevent which, the ſenate, at that critical juncture, in order to ſooth their minds, made many conceſſions; and the conſuls made all the neceſſary diſpoſitions, both in city and country, to give the enemy a proper reception. The lucumo took with him his ſon *Arunx*, or *Aruns*, a young prince of great valour, and an extraordinary genius. The *Tarquins*, who followed *Porſena*, by their experience in the military art, aſſiſted him in regulating his marches and battles, and diſciplining his forces. So ſay the partizans of *Rome*; but we cannot help believ-

[d] DION. HAL. lib. v. LIV. lib. ii. VAL. MAX. PLUT. in Poplicol. [c] DION. HAL. ubi ſup.

(F) From the *Genitive caſe* (4) 𐤋𐤓𐤕𐤍𐤀𐤎, or 𐤕𐤍𐤀𐤎, it is plain, the moſt antient word was, 𐤕𐤀𐤎, or rather, 𐤔𐤕𐤍𐤀𐤎. That it was originally appropriated to kings, and perſons of the firſt diſtinction, may be evinced from ſeveral authors: but that it was afterwards applied to perſons of inferior rank, appears from many *Etruſcan* (5) ſepulcral inſcriptions. As this was, probably, a common title, ſuch as *Don* in *Spain*, in after ages, the *Romans* ſeem to have miſtaken it for a *prænomen*. Hence *Valerius Maximus* affirms *Lar*, or rather *Larte* (as the *Roman* name *Lartius* renders evident), to have been a *prænomen*, or *cognomen*, communicated by the *Etruſcans* to the *Romans*. This (6) ſeems equivalent to להר, להראת, להראתה, *Lear*, *Lar*, *Lart*, *Larte*, *Learatte*, *Laratte*, *Larate*, i. e, *You are our king*, *we have choſen you for our king*, or ſimply, *our king*. This was an expreſſion (7) well known in the Eaſt, and therefore probably in uſe amongſt the *Etruſcans*. This etymon ſeems to be rendered extremely probable by *Livy*, when he tells us, that the twelve (8) nations of *Etruria*, in a general diet, choſe their king, and each of them aſſigned him a lictor; which gave occaſion to that number of lictors among the *Romans*. Other reaſons might be offered in ſupport of our opinion.

(4) *Liv. lib.* iv. *c.* 17, 19. *Val. Max. lib.* iii. *c.* 2. *Liv. lib.* ii. *c.* 9. *Plut. in Poplicol. Dion. Hal. lib.* iii. *Vide etiam Priſcian. Serv. Chariſ. & Turneb.* (5) *Tab. apud Dempſt. & Gor. paſſ.* (6) *Val. Schind. lex. pentaglot. in lit.* ל, *ſub init.* (7) *Gen.* ii. 22. 1 *Kings* xiv. 2. (8) *Liv. lib.* i. *c.* 8.

ing the *Etruscans* to have been, at this time, as well versed in every branch of the art of war as the *Romans*. *Mamilius* was at hand to join the *Tuscans* with a considerable body of *Latins*, drawn out of the cantons of *Tusculum*, *Cameria*, and *Antemnæ*. The others refused to declare themselves in favour of the *Tarquins* [f].

WHETHER *Porsena*'s design was really to place upon the *Roman* throne a prince of *Etruscan* extraction, or to make himself king of *Rome*, as two *French* authors insinuate, is a point that may easily be determined. *Livy*, as has been hinted above, was no friend to the *Etruscans*, nor indeed to any nation who opposed the ambitious schemes of his republic; and yet he expressly affirms, that *Porsena* thought it would be an honour to establish at *Rome* a king, and more especially one that belonged to the *Tuscan* nation. From hence it may be inferred, that *Porsena*'s principal motives to this expedition were, an high regard for regal government, and an anxious concern for the honour of his country. Motives these so generous, that they seem not to have the least tincture of avarice or ambition! Nor can we doubt of the sincerity and purity of this prince's intentions, or the excellency of his disposition, when we have perused what *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, *Livy*, and *Plutarch*, have related of him [g].

PORSENA, with his numerous forces, being arrived on the banks of the *Tiber*, made the proper dispositions for passing that river. The first post he attacked was the fort *Janiculum*, which he carried sword in hand, and obliged the *Roman* garison to retire over the bridge into the city with great precipitation. This first shock put the *Romans* into a consternation. Upon which the consuls passed the river with the utmost expedition, and drew up their army in order of battle beyond the bridge. *Porsena* advanced towards them with great alacrity, and prepared to begin the battle. The right wing of his army was commanded by *Mamilius*, at the head of the *Latins*. The left wing was led by the *Tarquins*, who commanded a body of *Roman* and *Gabinian* troops; and the main body, composed of *Etruscans*, observed the orders of *Porsena*. The *Roman* right wing, under the command of *Sp. Lartius* and *T. Herminius*, faced the *Tarquins*. *M. Valerius* and *T. Lucretius*, who had been consul the year before, at the head of the left wing, opposed themselves to the *Latins* under *Mamilius*. And *Poplicola*, with his collegue, was to engage *Porsena* in the centre. The battle was fought with great obstinacy; but, at last, *Valerius* and *Lucretius* being both wounded at the same time, the left wing of the *Romans* gave way, and fled over the bridge *Sublicius* into the city. This threw both the right wing and the main body into such confusion, that they could never afterwards be rallied. In short, they followed the example of the others, and made such haste to get into the town, that *Rome* was in the most imminent danger of falling into the hands of the *Etruscans* [h].

Porsena defeats the Romans.

AT this critical juncture *Horatius Cocles*, *Sp. Lartius*, and *T. Herminius*, not being able to stop the runaways, opposed themselves to the whole *Etruscan* army. By the assistance of the two latter, *Horatius*, for a short time, stood the first shock of danger, and the severest brunt of the battle. But, when the demolition of the bridge was nearly effected, *Horatius* obliged his companions to withdraw on a few planks that yet remained. Then he singly sustained the attack of the *Tuscan* troops, till the *Romans* completed the demolition of the bridge *Sublicius*. After which he threw himself into the *Tiber*, and rejoined his countrymen in their metropolis [i].

Horatius, Lartius, and Herminius defend the bridge Sublicius.

THIS bold action gave *Porsena* an high idea of *Horatius*; but the shameful flight of the *Romans* encouraged him to continue the war. Having fixed his head-quarters upon the hill *Janiculus*, he sent some detachments under *Mamilius*, and the *Tarquins*, over the *Tiber*, in barks, to the opposite shore. Here they formed a camp, and ravaged all the territory about *Rome*. The *Etruscans*, therefore, being masters of both sides the river, and having thoroughly plundered the country, it became extremely difficult for the city to be supplied with provisions. As for the corn-vessels, few of them escaped the vigilance of the enemy, who were posted on both banks of the *Tiber*. But, tho' a famine began to be felt in *Rome*, and *Porsena* pressed the citizens to receive the *Tarquins*, the *Romans* could not be brought into this measure: they were determined either to preserve their liberty, or to a man lose their lives in the defence of it [k].

Porsena reduces the city of Rome to great straights.

THEY were confirmed in this resolution by the success of a stratagem formed by the consuls. It was given out, that all the cattle, brought from different parts of the *Roman* territories, would be sent to pasture under a guard, through the gate *Esquilina*; which

The Romans draw the Etruscans into an ambuscade.

[f] Liv. l. ii. c. 9. Plut. in Poplic. Dion. Hal. ubi supra. [g] Idem ibid. [h] Dion. Hal. & Liv. ubi sup. [i] Idem ibid. [k] Idem ibid.

being communicated by ſome ſlaves to the *Tuſcan* camp, *Porſena* ſent a large detachment to ſeize upon them. But, in purſuance of the ſcheme concerted between the *Roman* generals, and executed with great ſucceſs, the *Romans* ſurrounded the *Etruſcans*, to the number of five thouſand men, and put every one of them to the ſword. After this, *Porſena* never attempted to diſturb the *Romans* on that ſide, nor diſperſed his detachments over the country in ſmall parties.

Mucius Cordus *attempts to aſſaſſinate* Porſena.

THE attempt *Mucius Cordus* made upon the life of *Porſena*, when he aſſaſſinated that prince's ſecretary inſtead of him, and the more than human intrepidity he ſhewed after that attempt, has been already related at large in the *Roman* hiſtory. In the mean time it may not be improper to obſerve, that ſeveral circumſtances given us by the antients, who were either *Romans*, or ſtrongly attached to them, in the ſtory of *Mucius Cordus*, ſavour more ſtrongly of fiction than true hiſtory. And indeed this ſeems to be allowed by the Fathers *Catrou* and *Rouillé* themſelves, however unreaſonably prejudiced they may frequently appear to be in favour of the *Romans* [l].

THE ſame thing may be obſerved of what *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis*, *Livy*, and *Plutarch*, relate of the hoſtages ſent with the *Roman* deputies to the *Etruſcan* camp. Theſe hoſtages were ten boys and ten girls of the moſt illuſtrious of the *Roman* nobility. The girls, at the inſtigation of *Clælia*, ſwam over the *Tiber*, and made their eſcape to *Rome*: they were ſent back to the *Etruſcans*, and *Porſena* ordered them to be brought into his preſence. Here *Clælia* behaved with as much intrepidity and heroiſm, as *Mucius* had done before: nay, the *Etruſcan* king extolled her adventure above the atchievements of even *Cocles* and *Mucius*. In fine, this ſtory has ſo much the air of a *romance*, that it ſcarce deſerves the notice of any ſerious hiſtorian. Nevertheleſs it has merited the attention of the two above-mentioned *French* writers; who have not only ſhewn an high regard for the authority of *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis* and *Plutarch*, in this particular, but have even greatly embelliſhed the original [m].

Porſena *raiſes the ſiege of* Rome.

PORSENA was convinced by the *Roman* deputies of the equity of *Tarquin*'s expulſion; and therefore abandoned the intereſt of that prince. He required, however, of the *Romans* a reſtitution of the diſtrict ceded to *Romulus* by the people of *Veii*; which the ſenate agreed to without heſitation. As the occupation of the fort *Janiculum* not a little incommoded the city, *Porſena* quitted that poſt, and encamped at ſome diſtance from the *Tiber*. Upon the concluſion of a peace, which ſoon followed, *Porſena* made a preſent of his camp, well ſtored with all kinds of proviſions, to the *Romans*, in the moſt generous manner. As the city was in great diſtreſs, by reaſon of the long blockade, the goods were ſold, to prevent the people's breaking into the camp. And the *Romans*, to ſhew their gratitude for ſo ſeaſonable a preſent, when the moveables and corn of the *Etruſcans* were ſold to private perſons by auction, made proclamation by an herald in the following words: *Theſe are* Porſena's *goods*. And this cuſtom, whenever any effects belonging to the public were to be ſold, ever afterwards prevailed: the meaning of which was, that the goods of the republic were *Porſena*'s, and that to him ſhe was indebted for all ſhe poſſeſſed. This is a fine portrait of the *Tuſcan* prince, as well as of the *Tuſcan* genius and diſpoſition at this time; eſpecially ſince *Aruns*, the king's ſon, reſembled his father in all his amiable qualities. Nor is it impoſſible, that the *Roman* virtue, if ſo exalted as ſome authors make it, in the earlier ages of *Rome*, might have been an imitation of the *Etruſcan* [n].

Aruns *is defeated and killed by the* Aricians *and* Cumæans.

PORSENA, not being willing to return home without ſome laurels, ſent his ſon *Aruns* with a body of troops to reduce *Aricia*. The attack being unexpected, the *Aricians* were at firſt put into diſorder; but, upon receiving a reinforcement from *Cumæ* and *Latium*, they recovered their ſpirits, and gave the *Etruſcans* battle. The *Etruſcans* in this action ſo furiouſly charged the enemy, that they broke them at the firſt onſet: but the *Cumæan* troops, being commanded by good officers, made a motion, that wreſted the victory out of their hands. They gradually drew off from the main body, which was warmly attacked by the enemy, and thereby left the field clear for them: upon which *Aruns* fell with great fury upon the routed *Aricians*, and purſued them with ſuch eagerneſs, that his ſoldiers left their ranks in the purſuit; which being obſerved by the *Cumæan* troops, they charged the *Etruſcans* in the rear, overpowered them, and cut moſt of them in pieces. The brave *Aruns* himſelf, who deſerved a better fate, to the great regret of the *Romans*, was killed in this unfortunate action [o].

[l] Liv. l. ii. c. 11. Plutarch. in Poplic. Liv. ubi ſup. [m] Dion. Hal. & Plut ubi ſupra [n] Idem ibid. [o] Dion. Hal. l v.

THE ſcattered remains of *Aruns*'s army took refuge in the territory of *Rome*. Here they were received with great humanity, and conducted to *Rome*, by order of the conſuls, with the moſt cordial affection gratitude could inſpire. They had quarters allotted them, were maintained, and cured of their wounds, at the expence of the public. The kind reception they met with was publiſhed all over *Etruria*; and it had ſuch an effect upon them, that many of them choſe to incorporate with the *Roman* citizens. That part of the town aſſigned them to dwell in, was ever afterwards called the *Tuſcan* or *Etruſcan* ſtreet [p]. *His troops retire into the territory of* Rome.

IN the year of *Rome* 255. the *Etruſcans* were ſolicited by the *Latins* to enter into an alliance with them againſt the *Romans*. The *Romans* alſo, it is probable, deſired their aſſiſtance againſt the *Latins*. But, 'tho' they wavered between an alliance with *Rome*, and the protection which they owed to the *Tarquins*, originally of their country, a neutrality was the reſult of their deliberations [q].

THE *Romans*, in the conſulate of *T. Geganius* and *P. Minutius*, were threatened with a famine. In this extremity, the *Etruſcans* were the only people that ſhewed any diſpoſition to relieve them. This they did by ſending conſiderable quantities of proviſions down the *Tiber* to *Rome* [r]. *Year of* Rome 261.

A FEW years after, the conſul *Servius Cornelius*, with a ſtrong body of forces, made an irruption into the territories of *Veii*, where he committed dreadful devaſtations. In ſhort, he carried off all the effects the inhabitants had left there, and made ſome ſlaves, without any oppoſition from the enemy. But the *Veientes*, by ſending ranſoms for the redemption of their captives, and by diſtributing a ſum of money wiſely amongſt the leading people at *Rome*, obtained a truce for a year [s]. *Some diſputes between the* Veientes *and the* Romans.

THE *Veientes*, taking advantage of the diſturbances in the republic, about three years after, committed devaſtations in the territory of the *Romans*: for which injury when the ſenate demanded ſatisfaction, the people of *Veii* anſwered, that this incurſion ought not to be ſo much aſcribed to them in particular, as to the whole nation of the *Etruſcans*. The ſenate therefore ſent two bodies of troops, under the command of the conſuls, to chaſtiſe the *Veientes* for their depredations. The enemy retired into their ſtrong places at the approach of the *Romans*: ſo that the conſuls, being maſters of the open country, plundered it, and then returned to *Rome* [t]. *The* Veientes *make incurſions upon the* Roman *territory.*

THOUGH the *Etruſcan* nation did not directly join the *Veientes* in this war, yet ſeveral of the lucumonies ſent them reinforcements, by which they were enabled to bring a conſiderable army into the field. With this they threatened to lay ſiege to *Rome* itſelf. To prevent their putting this menace in execution, the conſul *Fabius* faced them with a body of troops, and brought them to a general action. After a ſharp diſpute the *Veientes* were put into diſorder, and might have been intirely defeated, had the infantry done their duty: but that corps being determined not to ſupport the cavalry, who were in purſuit of the enemy, the troops of *Veii* rallied, routed their purſuers, and plundered the *Roman* camp. Here they found a vaſt quantity of proviſions amaſſed for the reſt of the campaign; which they carried to *Veii*: then they made incurſions into the *Roman* territory, and pillaged it without oppoſition [u]. *The* Veientes *defeat a body of* Roman *troops.*

THIS great ſucceſs ſo animated the *Etruſcans*, that the next year every canton ſent a body of troops to act in conjunction with the army of *Veii*. They reſolved now to make an extraordinary effort to ſubdue the *Roman* republic. When they had aſſembled all their forces, which made a very formidable appearance, they poſted them at the bottom of the rock of *Veii*. The *Romans* ſent two conſular armies this year into the field, to act againſt the *Etruſcans*. The conſuls, each at the head of his army, paſſed the *Tiber*, and encamped near *Veii*. As they were at a ſmall diſtance from the *Etruſcans*, and continued in a ſtate of inaction within their camps, the *Tuſcan* cavalry often came to reconnoitre them: and then they never failed to bid defiance to their troops; notwithſtanding which, they had orders not to make the leaſt motion [w].

IN the mean time lightning fell upon *Manlius*'s camp, pierced that general's tent, and ſhattered it to pieces: conſiderable damage was likewiſe done there: ſome of his ſervants, on an horſe, were alſo ſtruck dead with it. The *Roman* augurs from this phænomenon inferred, that *Manlius*'s camp would be taken by the enemy; upon which the conſul decamped that night, and joined his collegue *Fabius*. The *Etruſcans* *The* Romans *prepare for an engagement.*

[p] Idem ibid. [q] DION. HAL. ubi ſup. [r] LIV. l. ii. c. 34. [s] DION. HAL. antiquit. Roman. l. viii. [t] Idem ibid. [u] DION. HAL. l. ix. LIV. l. ii. c. 43. [w] DION. HAL. ubi ſupra. LIV. l. ii. c. 45

inter-

interpreted the preſage in their own favour, and conſidered the taking of the camp of the two conſuls, as a thing certain. Full of this vain confidence, they poſſeſſed themſelves of the camp *Manlius* had quitted; which the *Roman* augurs took to be a completion of their prediction, and all that the prognoſtic of the lightning imported. However, the *Etruſcans* were ſo animated by this event, or rather their augurs interpretation of it, that they inſulted the *Romans*, and upbraided them with cowardice, for hiding themſelves within their intrenchments. This made them extremely eager to come to blows with the enemy; but, that they might be thereby more inflamed, the conſuls ſtill reſtrained their impetuoſity. The *Etruſcans* then called them a parcel of women, and ſaid, that ſuch defenders ought to make their republic abate much of her pride. Upon which they came in great numbers to the *prætorium*, and begged, that the ſignal for the battle might be given. The *Roman* generals, after a pretended conſultation, in order to increaſe the eagerneſs of the ſoldiery, denied their requeſt: but at length, the *Roman* ſoldiery being ready to mutiny for not being permitted to attack the enemy, and the *Etruſcans* making preparations to force the *Roman* camp, the conſuls gave way to the ardour of the troops. And, to prevent all ſuſpicion the conſuls might entertain of the courage or fidelity of the army, one *Flavolcius*, the firſt centurion in one of the legions, took an oath either to conquer or die; and was herein followed by the conſuls, lieutenant-generals, inferior officers, and all the common ſoldiers. After which the *Romans* marched out of their fortified camp, took poſſeſſion of an advantageous ſpot of ground, and made all the neceſſary diſpoſitions for a general engagement [x].

A bloody battle between the Etruſcans *and the* Romans. *Year of* Rome 273.

THE *Etruſcans* were ſurpriſed to ſee the *Romans*, who had behaved extremely ill not long before, move out of their lines, and offer them battle. As they thought themſelves ſure of overthrowing them, almoſt without ſtriking a ſtroke, they had not had the precaution to unite their two camps. As for the *Roman* army, the conſul *Manlius* commanded the right wing, *Q. Fabius* the left, and *M. Fabius* the main body. Both armies advanced with great ſhouts, and came to a cloſe engagement. The *Tuſcan* right wing attacked the left of the *Romans*, under the command of *Q. Fabius*, with great bravery; and, *Q. Fabius* being killed in the beginning of the action, forced it to give way; but *M. Fabius*, and his brother *Cæſo*, immediately repairing to that ſide, the *Romans* recovered the ground they had loſt, and repulſed the *Etruſcans*. The left wing of the *Etruſcans* the *Roman* right, for ſome time, drove before them; but, the conſul *Manlius* being dangerouſly wounded, they were put into diſorder. The preſence of *M. Fabius*, however, ſo animated them, that they recovered themſelves. Hence it appears, that hitherto, whatever the *Roman* hiſtorians may ſeem to advance to the contrary, neither ſide had any great reaſon to boaſt.

The Romans *remain maſters of the field of battle.*

IN the mean time the *Veientes*, who had taken poſſeſſion of the camp *Manlius* had deſerted, did not continue idle during the action. They attacked the other *Roman* camp, defended only by a few veterans; and, after a vigorus reſiſtance, forced it. However, *T. Siccius*, one of the lieutenant-generals of the conſular army, found means to retake it. After which, the *Etruſcans* left the *Romans* maſters of the field of battle, and retired into their intrenchments [y].

SUCH was the ſucceſs of the battle of *Veii*, a battle that was far from being deciſive, or even very advantageous to the *Romans*. It continued from noon to ſun-ſet, and coſt them a vaſt number of men. A conſul and a lieutenant-general fell in it; and a greater number of tribunes and centurions were killed than in any former action. Nay, the *Romans* could ſcarce have conſidered it as a victory, had not the *Etruſcans* quitted their camp the night following, and retired farther into the country. However, as it does not appear, that the *Romans* reaped any conſiderable advantage from this action, we think both the *Roman* hiſtorians, and the above-mentioned *French* authors, carry the matter rather too far, when they repreſent the advantage gained as a glorious victory, as one of the moſt memorable victories the *Romans* ever obtained.

The Veientes *gain ſeveral advantages over the* Romans.

THE *Veientes*, being informed, the year following, that *Virginius*, with a conſular army, was marching againſt them, ſhut themſelves up in their places of ſtrength, affecting to be greatly afraid of the *Romans*. But when they obſerved, that a conſiderable body of that nation diſperſed itſelf in parties over the country, in order to plunder it, they fell upon theſe parties, and put many of them to the ſword. In fine, *Virginius*'s troops had been either cut to pieces, or forced to ſurrender at diſcretion, had not *Sic-*

[x] Idem ibid. [y] DION. HAL. ubi ſup. a. LIV. ubi ſup. c. 46.

cius

cius ſeaſonably joined him with a reinforcement; and both *Siccius*'s reinforcement and *Virginius*'s army had been afterwards deſtroyed by the *Etruſcans*, had not *Fabius*, in the very critical moment, relieved them [z].

The Veientes make incurſions as far as the hill Janiculum.

UPON the retreat of the *Roman* army into their own territories, which happened ſoon after, the *Veientes* made incurſions as far as the hill *Janiculus*, and inſulted *Rome* itſelf. Nor had the *Romans* then any forces to oppoſe them, having juſt diſbanded their legions. The *Fabian* family therefore, at their own expence, raiſed a body of troops, to repel ſuch incurſions, and keep the *Veientes* employed on their own frontiers. This ſeems to be a farther proof, that the victory over the *Etruſcans* the preceding campaign, was not ſo complete and glorious as the above-mentioned authors pretend [a].

The Fabii erect a fort on the frontiers of Etruria.

THE forces raiſed by the *Fabian* family carried on the war with ſucceſs againſt the *Veientes* upon the frontiers. They erected a fort, in a ſteep place, upon (G) the *Cremera*, now the *Valca*, ſurrounded it with a double ditch, and built towers at certain diſtances. This terribly galled the *Veientes*, and the whole *Etruſcan* body. Nor could the *Veientes*, with all their power, make themſelves maſters of this fort. They, therefore, endeavoured to engage the whole *Etruſcan* nation in their quarrel. They repreſented in a general diet, that their lucumony was a barrier againſt the *Romans*; that, conſequently, if they were ſubdued, *Etruria* would be ſoon over-run; and that, therefore, they ought to be aſſiſted in demoliſhing a fort, which, if ſuffered to remain, might prove fatal to every lucumony in *Etruria*. This repreſentation made ſuch an impreſſion upon the general diet, that they granted them as many troops as they deſired [b].

Æmilius routs the Etruſcans, and concludes a peace with them.

THE conſul *Æmilius* the next year took the field againſt the *Etruſcans*, defeated them in a pitched battle, and made himſelf maſter of their camp. The plunder of this camp, which he gave to the ſoldiery, was ſo great, that they were enriched by it a long time. This blow broke the ſpirits of the *Veientes*, and therefore they ſued for peace. This was granted them upon reaſonable terms. They were not required to ſend hoſtages as ſecurities for their future fidelity; but only to ſupply the troops with corn for two months, and to pay the expence of the war for ſix. Whether this moderation was owing to generoſity and greatneſs of ſoul, or the ſituation of the *Roman* affairs at that juncture, a perſon moderately verſed in the *Roman* ſtory may eaſily perceive [c].

The Etruſcans attack ineffectually the city of Cumæ.

ABOUT this time, the *Etruſcans* attacked the city of *Cumæ* with a powerful army, attended by a fleet, to forward the operations of the land-forces. The people of *Cumæ*, at this juncture, being reduced to great ſtreights, applied to *Hiero* king of *Syracuſe*, for ſome naval ſuccours. That prince, in compliance with their requeſt, ſent a ſquadron of triremes to the aſſiſtance of *Cumæ*. So conſiderable a reinforcement enabled the *Cumæans* to engage the *Tuſcan* fleet; which they did with ſuch conduct and bravery, that they gained a complete victory. *Diodorus Siculus* [d] tells us, that, before this action, the *Etruſcans* enjoyed the ſovereignty of the ſea; but that they were greatly humbled by the blow now given them. It likewiſe delivered the people of *Cumæ* effectually from all terrible and deſponding apprehenſions.

The Etruſcans break the laſt treaty.

NOTWITHSTANDING the late treaty, the *Fabii* kept their poſt on the frontiers. The *Etruſcan* nation did not only reſent this, but were likewiſe offended at the ſeparate treaty the people of *Veii* had concluded with the *Romans*. As this was done without the conſent of a general diet, they cited the *Veientes* to appear in a national aſſembly, and declared their precipitation in reconciling themſelves to *Rome* criminal. They were therefore reduced to this dilemma, either to enter upon a war with the other lucumonies, or break the treaty made with *Rome*. The other lucumonies helped them to an expedient for rendering void the laſt peace, and that was to inſiſt upon either a demolition or reddition of the above-mentioned *Fabian* fort; which, they told them,

[z] DION. HAL. ubi ſupra. LIV. l. ii. c. 48. [a] Idem ibid. [b] Idem ibid. [c] DION. HAL. ubi ſupra, l. ix. [d] DIOD. SIC. l. xi.

(G) The Fathers *Catrou* and *Rouillé* affirm, that the modern name of the *Cremera* is *Baccano*; but without any foundation. We never heard of any river near *Rome* called *Baccano*; but are ready to allow, that the lake of *Baccano* is the ſource of the *Valca*: and that the *Valca* is the *Cremera* of the antients, we think, cannot well be denied by any one, who has peruſed what has been advanced in favour of this opinion by the learned *Lucas Holſtenius*. *Fabretti* and *Fontanini* likewiſe put this point beyond diſpute (9).

(9) *Luc. Holſten. in not. ad Cluver. p.* 55. *Juſt. Fontan. de antiquitat. Hort. p.* 77, 78. *Romæ*, 1723.

they might repreſent as uſeleſs in time of peace. This advice the *Veientes* were obliged to cloſe with; but the *Romans* were determined, at all events, to maintain the *Fabii* in the poſſeſſion of their fort. Both ſides, therefore, made all poſſible preparations for carrying on a vigorous war [d].

The Etruſcans *cut off the* Fabii, *and take the fort.*

THE firſt thing the *Etruſcans* propoſed was the reduction of that fort; in order to which, they aſſembled a good body of troops upon the *Cremera*. But, after repeated attacks, they made no progreſs in the ſiege, the *Fabii* always repulſing them with loſs. They, therefore, began to deſpair, either of carrying the place by ſtorm, or ſtarving it to a ſurrender. But what they could not effect by force, they accompliſhed by artifice. They laid an ambuſcade in a wood, and ſent all their cattle into a neighbouring valley, attended only by a ſlender guard. This tempted the *Fabii* to come out of the fort, after leaving only a few men in it to defend it from a ſurprize. They advanced in good order, and the herdſmen, with their guard, fled at their approach. Upon this, the centinels, poſted on all the eminences for that purpoſe, gave notice to the body lodged in the wood of what had happened. They immediately ruſhed out of their ambuſh, ſurrounded the *Romans* on all ſides, and cut in pieces all thoſe who were in purſuit of the booty. But the party ordered to ſuſtain them gained an eminence, and there waited for the *Etruſcans*; who, after a very warm diſpute, forced the poſt, and put every man of them to the ſword. Then the *Etruſcans*, with the heads of thoſe they had ſlain, on the tops of their lances, advanced towards the fort, in order to haſten the reduction of it. The *Romans* ſallied out upon them with great bravery; but, being overpowered, they were all killed upon the ſpot. The loſs of the fort, which was the conſequence of the late defeat, was conſidered as a great blow at *Rome* [e].

Several actions between the Etruſcans *and the* Romans.

THE conſul *Menenius* had an army committed to his conduct, to act againſt the *Etruſcans*. After the late misfortune, he entered the territory of *Veii*, and took poſt on the declivity of an hill. But he had not the precaution to incloſe the top of this hill within his intrenchments. So fatal a neglect gave the *Etruſcans* an opportunity of marching their forces to the ſummit of it, and forming a camp above the *Romans*. This reduced the conſul to the neceſſity either of fighting at a great diſadvantage, or of periſhing in his camp. He choſe the former of theſe; and therefore offered the *Etruſcans* battle. They readily accepted the challenge, puſhed the *Romans* down the hill, and made themſelves maſters of their camp. After this, they paſſed the *Cremera*, ſpread themſelves over the *Roman* territory, and ſeized the hill *Janiculus*, from whence they could ſee every thing that paſſed in *Rome*. As the city was greatly diſtreſſed, it muſt undoubtedly have ſuſtained a ſiege, had not *Horatius*, the other conſul, been recalled from the *Volſcian* war. His preſence a little revived the courage of the *Roman* ſoldiery. Soon after his arrival, there happened two briſk actions between the *Etruſcans* and the *Romans*. In the former, near the gate *Collina*, the loſs was pretty equal on both ſides; in the latter, near the temple of *Hope*, the *Romans* gained but little advantage, according to *Livy*. Both the authority, therefore, of the *Latin* hiſtorian [f], and the conſequences of that engagement, plainly evince the Fathers *Catrou* and *Rouillé* to have been too ſanguine, when they pronounced the laſt of theſe actions deciſive.

Year of Rome 346.

The Etruſcans *worſted in a general action, by the* Romans.

THO' the *Etruſcans*, for ſeveral reaſons, declined coming to a battle, they ſtill kept the city of *Rome* blocked up. They maintained themſelves upon the *Janiculus*, from whence they made incurſions that greatly incommoded the *Romans*. For this gradually introduced a famine, which, at laſt, came to be very ſenſibly felt in the city. This determined the new conſuls, either to drive the enemy from the poſt they had ſo long occupied, or periſh in the attempt. They paſſed the *Tiber*, therefore, about midnight, at the head of all the *Roman* forces, and took poſt at a ſmall diſtance from the *Etruſcans*. As ſoon as day appeared, they drew up in order of battle, and advanced towards the enemy. *Virginius* commanded the right wing, and *Servilius* the left. The engagement was very ſharp and bloody; but the *Etruſcans* loſt more men than the *Romans*. This induced them to retire to their camp on the top of the hill, which they ſeem to have done in good order. The *Roman* right wing would have purſued them; but *Virginius* wiſely put a ſtop to their impetuoſity. *Servilius* having, with the left, repulſed the *Etruſcans*, puſhed them to the foot of the hill. Here the *Etruſcans* rallied, and, being reinforced by a body of freſh troops from their camp, drove the *Romans*

[d] DION. HAL. ubi ſupra. [e] LIV. l. ii. c. 50. VAL. MAX. FLOR. AUREL. VICT. AUL. GELL. &c.
[f] LIV. ubi ſupra, c. 51. DION HAL. l. ix.

back

back in their turn with great ſlaughter. Nay, they had totally ruined that corps, had not *Virginius*, by his appearance, kept them in awe. The *Romans* ſuſtained ſo great a loſs in this action, that, at firſt, they ſeemed to have no great reaſon to boaſt of their ſucceſs. But the future motions of the *Etruſcans* amounted to a clear confeſſion of the ſuperiority of the *Romans*. For, ſoon after the concluſion of the battle, they abandoned their camp on the *Janiculus*, and by night retired to *Veii* [g].

The Sabines *and* Etruſcans *routed by* Valerius.

THE next year the *Sabines* declared war againſt the *Romans*. Their deſign was to join the *Etruſcans*, and after that junction form the ſiege of *Rome*. But the conſul *Valerius*, by his diligence and expedition, defeated this deſign. Having taken upon him the command of the army, that was to act againſt the *Etruſcans* and their allies, he entered the territory of *Veii*, before the enemy had any notice of his departure from *Rome*. As the *Etruſcans* and *Sabines* had not yet aſſembled all their forces, and were ſeparately encamped, he eaſily ſurpriſed the latter. He fell with great fury upon the *Sabine* intrenchments, and, as the attack was unexpected, eaſily forced them Then he marched towards the *Etruſcans*, whom he found drawn out of their lines, and ready to receive him. The engagement was ſharp, and the victory long conteſted. But, at laſt, the *Roman* cavalry charged the *Etruſcan* battalions with ſuch vigour, that they bore down all before them, and forced the enemy to retire into their intrenchments. Theſe the conſul afterwards attacked with ſo much bravery, that the *Etruſcans* found they could not long maintain them. At break of day, therefore, they marched out of their camp, and diſperſed; ſome flying to *Veii*, and others taking different routes [h].

Valerius *plunders the territory of the* Veientes.

VALERIUS, without giving the ardour of his troops time to cool, after one day's reſt, preſented himſelf before *Veii*. Here he offered the enemy battle a ſecond time; but they thought proper to decline it. As he was in no condition to undertake the ſiege of *Veii*, he pillaged the lands of the *Veientes*, and then turned his arms againſt the *Sabines* [i].

The Romans *force the* Veientes *to conclude a peace.*

MANLIUS, the conſul, entered the country of the *Veientes*, the beginning of the next campaign. But the inhabitants of this lucumony, being deſerted by their allies, were forced to ſhut themſelves up in *Veii:* ſo that, the *Romans* having pillaged all their lands, a famine began to rage in the city. This obliged the *Veientes to conclude* a peace, upon the terms the *Romans* thought fit to preſcribe. By order of the ſenate, they paid the expence of the war for one year, and furniſhed *Manlius* with corn to ſubſiſt his troops for two months. And, in return, the *Romans* granted the people of *Veii* a truce for forty years [k].

The Veientes *and* Fidenates *overthrown by the* Romans.

IN the year of *Rome* 315. the city of *Fidenæ* revolted from the *Romans* to *Lar Tolumnius*, king of *Veii*, and ſupreme head of the *Etruſcan* nation. The *Romans* ſent embaſſadors to *Fidenæ*, to know the reaſon of this revolt. Theſe the *Fidenates* maſſacred, contrary to the law of nations. *Tolumnius* paſſed the *Anio*, and advanced towards *Rome*. He was attacked by the conſul *Sergius*, who had ſome advantage over him; but the *Romans* loſt abundance of men. After this action, *Tolumnius* repaſſed the *Anio*, and encamped on the hills between that river and *Fidenæ*. Nor did he appear in the field, till he had received a reinforcement of *Faliſci*. Then the *Etruſcan* pitched his camp before the walls of *Fidenæ*. *Mamercus Æmilius*, the *Roman* dictator, alſo poſted himſelf at a ſmall diſtance from him, near the confluence of the *Anio* and the *Tiber*. On the angle formed by that confluence the dictator intrenched himſelf. He then offered the enemy battle; but they remained for ſome time in a ſtate of ſuſpenſe, not knowing what courſe to take. The *Faliſci* were for an engagement, but the *Veientes* and *Fidenates* againſt it. But *Tolumnius* at laſt found himſelf obliged to concur in ſentiment with the *Faliſci*. He therefore drew up his troops in the plain; and ſent a detachment to take a compaſs round the hills, and fall upon the *Roman* camp in the heat of the action. *Tolumnius* poſted himſelf at the head of the *Veientes* in the right wing, the *Faliſci* in the left, and the *Fidenates* in the centre. The dictator oppoſed *Quinctius Capitolinus* in his left wing to *Tolumnius*, he himſelf faced the *Faliſci*, and his general of the horſe in the centre was to encounter the *Fidenates*. The two armies were, for ſome time, in ſight of each other, before they began the attack. The *Etruſcan* and *Fidenatian* infantry were firſt broken by the *Romans*; but the horſe made a vigorous reſiſtance. King *Tolumnius*, who commanded the cavalry, flew like light-

[g] DION. HAL. ubi ſupra. [h] Idem ibid. [i] Idem ibid. [k] DION HAL. ubi ſupra. LIV. l. ii. c. 54.

ning from one part of his army to another, and behaved with great intrepidity. But he was at laſt engaged in ſingle combat, and diſpatched, by *Cornelius Coſſus*, a *Roman* knight of great bravery. Upon this the *Etruſcan* cavalry retreated, and the infantry took to their heels. The *Fidenates* diſperſed themſelves in the mountains, and thereby eſcaped the fury of the *Romans*. The dictator, after this action, ravaged the whole territory of *Veii*. A body of the *Veientine* troops, which had taken a compaſs round the mountains, and attacked the dictator's camp in the heat of the action, was vigorouſly repulſed by *Fabius*, a lieutenant-general, left to defend it. This campaign, therefore, proved very unfortunate to the *Etruſcans* [l].

THE year following, the conſuls again plundered the territory of *Veii*; took ſeveral priſoners, with ſome cattle; but could not reduce any of the towns, in which the enemy had ſhut themſelves up. So that the *Romans* did little againſt the *Etruſcans* this campaign [m].

The Veientes and Fidenates defeated near Nomentum. Year of Rome 318.

THE next year, the *Veientes* and *Fidenates*, having aſſembled all their forces, paſſed the *Anio*, and penetrated almoſt to *Rome*, taking poſt near the gate *Collina*. This motion greatly alarmed the *Romans*. *Quintus Servilius Priſcus*, the dictator, obliged the *Etruſcans* to retire farther from the city. Not content with this, he followed them with all his forces, and at laſt came up with them near *Nomentum*. Here he forced them to a battle, which ended in their defeat. The fugitives took refuge within the walls of *Fidenæ*. But, notwithſtanding the ſtrength of the place, the dictator, by means of a ſubterranean paſſage between his camp and the town, made himſelf maſter of it. The *Faliſci*, this year, could not be induced to take the field in favour of their allies [n].

The Etruſcan league refuſe to aſſiſt Veii.

THE reduction of *Fidenæ* filled the *Etruſcans* with terror, particularly the *Veientes* and *Faliſci*. Theſe laſt cantons feared the ſame fate would attend *Veii* and *Falerii*, their reſpective capitals. They therefore demanded of the *Etruſcan* body a general diet of the whole nation. This, at their requeſt, was aſſembled in the temple of *Voltumna*, or *Volturna*, a goddeſs of the *Etruſcans*. The reſult of their deliberations was, that as the *Veientes* had begun a quarrel with *Rome*, without imparting to the *Etruſcan* body their deſign, there ſeemed to be no reaſon why the whole nation ſhould involve themſelves in a war on the account of *Veii*; and that therefore, if the *Veientes* propoſed continuing the war, they ought to depend on their own ſtrength only, in the proſecution of it [o].

Year of Rome 321.

Two years after, the *Veientes* made a freſh effort to bring the *Etruſcan* nation to a declaration of war againſt *Rome*; but without effect. However, the *Tuſcan* ſtates referred what had been then propoſed by the lucumo of *Veii* to the next general aſſembly. The national diets of *Etruria* were held but once a year [p].

The Veientes gain an advantage over the Romans. Year of Rome 327.

THE *Veientes*, as we have already obſerved, had obtained of the *Romans* a truce of eight years, after their defeat near *Nomentum*. The *Roman* hiſtorians pretend, that, before the expiration of that truce, the troops of *Veii* made incurſions upon the *Roman* territories. They likewiſe greatly commend the moderation of the *Roman* ſenate, in not declaring war againſt them, without a previous demand of ſatisfaction. The *Veientes* were appriſed, that the three *Roman* commanders, who led an army into their country, had different views in carrying on the campaign. This they made an advantage of, and provoked the enemy to a general action, not far from the *Roman* camp. As the generals did not act in concert, this engagement proved fatal to the *Roman* troops. Nor is it to be wondered at, that an army ſo ill conducted ſhould be put to the rout. But the vicinity of the *Roman* camp ſaved the runaways from ſlaughter; ſo that no great carnage of them was made. However, the people of *Veii* were not a little elevated with this ſucceſs; and took an opportunity from thence to invite to a general alliance againſt *Rome* all the cantons of *Etruria*. But the lucumonies had no inclination to engage in their quarrel at this juncture; tho' they permitted a good number of volunteers to join them. As for the *Fidenates*, to the former maſſacre of the four *Roman* embaſſadors, they now added another piece of villainy; they murdered all the new inhabitants that had been ſent from *Rome*. Being therefore become deſperate, they joined the *Veientes*, who, after that junction, paſſed the *Tiber*, and encamped near *Fidenæ*. This obliged the *Roman* army to leave its poſt in the neighbourhood of *Veii*, and encamp near the gate *Collina*, almoſt under the walls of *Rome*. This ſtruck

[l] Liv. lib. iv. c. 17, 19. VAL. MAX. lib. iii. c. 2.
[m] Liv. ubi ſupra.
[n] Idem ibid.
[o] Idem, l. iv. c. 23.
[p] Idem ibid.

the

the inhabitants of that city with as much terror, as if they had been upon the point of ſuſtaining a ſiege [q].

ADVICE being received in the *Etruſcan* camp, that the *Roman* forces, under the command of the dictator *Æmilius*, were advanced to a poſt within fifteen hundred paces of *Fidenæ*, the *Veientes* immediately approached them with great intrepidity, in order to enter upon action. An engagement therefore enſued, which was very ſharp and bloody. In the heat of the action, a body of *Fidenates*, in ſuch habits as were generally given the *Furies*, ſallied out of *Fidenæ*, with lighted torches in their hands. Theſe fell with great violence upon the left wing of the *Romans*, terrified it, and forced it to retire. The dictator flew inſtantly thither, and commanded *T. Quinctius* to come down from an hill he had poſted himſelf upon, with a body of horſe, behind the enemy, and advance with his cavalry. At the ſame time *Coſſus*, with his cavalry, ruſhed upon thoſe battalions of the enemy, where the greateſt number of torches appeared, and mowed down all that oppoſed him. The *Etruſcans* then were attacked both in front and in the rear, and found a retreat impracticable. The troops of *Veii* therefore made it their buſineſs to gain the *Tiber*, and the *Fidenates* their city. Some of the former were killed on the banks of the river, and many more drowned in it. The *Fidenates* were ſo cloſely purſued by *Quinctius*, that he entered with them into the town. In fine, the *Roman* general gave up both the *Etruſcan* camp and *Fidenæ* to be plundered by his troops. This blow ſo terrified the people of *Veii*, that in a ſuppliant manner they deſired a truce with the *Romans* for twenty years [r]. *The* Veientes *and* Fidenates *receive a great overthrow from the* Romans.

IN the conſulate of *C. Sempronius Abratinus*, and *Q. Fabius Vibulanus*, *Vulturnum*, a city of the *Etruſcans*, called afterwards *Capua*, was taken by the *Samnites*, who made themſelves maſters of it in the following manner. Having tired out the *Etruſcans* by a long and bloody war, they prevailed upon that nation to permit them to ſettle in this city, and its territory. Some time after, taking the advantage of a ſolemn feſtival, they fell upon the antient inhabitants, oppreſſed with ſleep and feaſting, and treacherouſly maſſacred them all in one night. From hence we may infer, that the *Etruſcans* had long and bloody wars with the *Samnites*, before the year of *Rome* 330. no particulars of which have been tranſmitted down to us by any antient hiſtorian; and that the *Etruſcan* nation was not at that time confined within the limits of the *Proper Etruria* [*].

IN the year of *Rome* 338. the *Veientes* made preparations for a new war with the *Romans*; but ſuſpended their hoſtilities out of a religious ſcruple. When they were upon the point of declaring war, the *Tiber* overflowed its banks, and did incredible damage upon their lands. Taking this therefore for an ill omen, in caſe they violated the truce granted them by the *Roman* republic, they, for the preſent, laid aſide all thoughts of a rupture [s].

UPON the expiration of that truce, the *Romans* meditated a war with *Veii*. They demanded ſatisfaction for the injuries done the republic by the people of that city during the truce. The *Veientes* repreſented, that their city was diſturbed with domeſtic broils, and would not be in a condition to comply with the ſenate's demand for a year to come. This ſatisfied the *Romans* for the preſent; which ſeems to be a proof, that the republic was then in a ſort of languiſhing condition. *Year of Rome* 276.

THE following year, the *Roman* embaſſadors were treated with great inſolence at *Veii*; which irritated the ſenate. That body even ſhewed a diſpoſition to enter upon a war with the *Veientes*; but the people diſapproved of ſuch a meaſure. However, they turned their arms againſt the *Volſci*, who were then conſidered as the greateſt enemies of *Rome* [t]. *The* Romans *turn their arms againſt the* Volſci.

BUT, the next year, the republic reſolved upon a war with *Veii*; and, in purſuance of this reſolution, raiſed a powerful army to act againſt that city. The *Veientes* declined an engagement with the *Roman* forces, and ſhut themſelves up in their capital. *Veii*, according to *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis*, was equal, when in its ſplendor, both in extent, and number of inhabitants, to *Athens*. It was a fortreſs almoſt impregnable by its ſituation, and extremely well fortified by art. The *Veientes* had raiſed the walls of it, and ſtored it with arms and proviſions. Nevertheleſs, the *Romans* beſieged it in form; but, in the beginning of the ſiege, had little proſpect of ſucceſs. This famous enterprize alarmed all the *Tuſcan* cantons, and occaſioned the aſſembling of a *The* Romans *beſiege Veii.*

[q] Liv. ubi ſupra, c. 31. [r] Idem, ubi ſupra, c. 33. FLOR. lib. i. c. 12. 13 [*] Liv. ubi ſupra, c. 37. [s] Idem, ubi ſupra, c. 49. [t] Idem, ubi ſupra. c. 58

general diet near the temple of *Voltumna*. But the diet not appearing disposed to come to a rupture with *Rome*, the *Veientes* were, for the present, left to defend themselves [u].

They continue the siege of Veii.

The following year, little was done in the siege of *Veii*, the *Romans* being obliged to march, with the greatest part of their troops, against the *Volsci*. The beginning of the year, they left but a small body of men before *Veii*; but, towards the close of it, they returned thither with all their forces [w].

In the third year of the siege of *Veii*, the people of that city seem to have introduced a new form of government. Being weary of the annual intrigues about the election, which sometimes occasioned broils, they created themselves a king. This gave great offence to the other lucumonies, as by such a step the *Veientes* seemed to assert their independency on the *Etruscan* body. But, besides this, they had a particular dislike to the person of this new king. As his haughtiness, and exorbitant power, had formerly rendered him insupportable to them, and he had violently interrupted their annual games, wherein they thought it unlawful to make any intermission, he was extremely unpopular in *Etruria*. He had been refused the high-priesthood by the lucumonies, when he offered himself a candidate for it. In resentment, therefore, of this affront, he took away, in a violent manner, during the celebration of the games, the slaves whom he had lent the public, to assist in carrying them on. Now, as the *Etruscans* were a people much addicted to superstition, and more regardful of decency in religious ceremonies than any other nation, they considered it as an impious thing, thus to disturb the celebration of a festival consecrated to the gods. The *Etruscan* body, therefore, in their general diet, refused to assist the *Veientes*, as long as they continued under absolute regal government, especially that of this haughty and insolent prince. An account of this resolution of the general diet was soon transmitted to every lucumo; but it was suppressed at *Veii*. For the author of such a piece of news there, however true it might be, would have been treated as an incendiary, and a ringleader of sedition. However, it soon reached *Rome*, and animated the army before *Veii* to push on vigorously the siege of that place [x].

The Romans *receive a shock before* Veii.

In the mean time, the *Romans* drew lines of circumvallation and contravallation, in order to strengthen and secure their camp. Some think, that at this time they first invented such lines. Be that as it will, the *Romans* sustained a considerable loss this winter campaign before *Veii*. The besiegers had raised a mount, or moveable terras, near the city. They had also brought their galleries near the foot of the wall; and nothing remained to be done but to fix them there. But as they were more intent on carrying on their works by day, than guarding them by night, the besieged made a sally in the dark with lighted torches in their hands, and set fire to the *Roman* machines; and the fire, in a few hours, destroyed the work of many days. At the same time, they put many of the *Roman* soldiers to the sword. Many more likewise were burnt to death, who, in vain, endeavoured to extinguish the flames. This shock occasioned, at first, a great consternation, amongst all ranks and degrees of people at *Rome* [y].

The Capenates *and* Faliſci *attempt to relieve* Veii.

The following campaign, the *Capenates* and *Falisci*, two *Etruscan* nations, took up arms, marched to the deliverance of *Veii*, and fell, with great fury, upon that part of the *Roman* army, commanded by *Sergius*, which carried on the attacks. A furious sally was at the same time made by the besieged. So that this body of troops was between two fires; nor would *Virginius*, who commanded the army that covered the siege, tho' often pressed, advance to the relief of *Sergius*. In fine, the *Etruscans* forced the *Roman* lines, and made an exceeding great slaughter of the enemy. This greatly retarded the siege of *Veii*; nay, according to *Livy*, it forced the *Romans* to abandon the siege [z].

However, the following year, the *Romans* repaired all the works that had been destroyed before *Veii*, and resumed the siege of that place. The *Roman* generals, who commanded there, likewise rebuilt all the little forts, which had been demolished after the last action, and provided them with garisons. The *Capenates* and *Falisci* were also shut up within their own walls. So that the people of *Veii* found themselves cooped up without any prospect of relief [a].

[u] Liv. ubi supra, c. 61. Dion. Hal. lib. ii. Plut. in Camil. [w] Liv. ubi supra. [x] Idem, lib. v. c. 1, 2, 3. [y] Idem ibid. [z] Idem ibid. [a] Idem ibid.

THE next year the *Romans* continued the ſiege of *Veii*, but without any great effect. They ſuffered extremely from the ſeverity of the winter; a more rigorous ſeaſon, in thoſe parts, having ſcarce ever been known. The *Tiber* was frozen, and of courſe rendered unnavigable. The *Veientes* did not give the leaſt diſturbance to the beſiegers, during the whole campaign [b]. *The ſiege of* Veii *goes on ſlowly.*

THE following campaign the *Romans* employed their whole force on the ſide of *Etruria*, in order to haſten the reduction of *Veii*. Nevertheleſs, the *Capenates* and *Faliſci* advanced again to the relief of the beſieged. They fell upon the *Roman* lines, as before; and the *Veientes*, ſallying out, attacked their intrenchments. But the grand army affording timely aſſiſtance to the body carrying on the ſiege, the *Etruſcans* were every-where repulſed. The *Veientes* were beaten back into the town, and the *Etruſcans*, that came to their relief, almoſt intirely cut off. But, notwithſtanding this, ſeveral accidents concurred to protract this famous ſiege [c]. *The* Capenates *and* Faliſci *attempt to raiſe the ſiege of* Veii.

MANY prodigies, the ſucceeding year, were reported to have been ſeen. But theſe, for the moſt part, were not believed, as being ſupported only by ſingle witneſſes. Beſides, the *Romans* paid not ſo great a regard to prodigies at this juncture, becauſe, being at war with the *Etruſcans*, they had no diviners to explain them. One, however, that happened, ſeemed to gain every-body's attention. A lake at the foot of *Alba Longa*, of nearly a circular figure, encompaſſed on all ſides by nature with rocks and hills, without rain, or any other apparent cauſe, to demonſtrate it no prodigy, roſe to an uncommon height. And this was the more remarkable, as the ſummer had been exceeding dry, and the rivers reduced to ſmall currents, in the middle of their chanels. As this prodigy was well atteſted, the republic ſent deputies to *Delphi*, to conſult the oracle there, in order to diſcover what the gods preſaged by it. In the mean time, the fame of this prodigy reached the camp before *Veii*, from whence it was conveyed into the city itſelf. Soon after it happened, that an old ſoldier among the *Veientes*, being ſeized with a ſudden fit of enthuſiaſm, cried out, "that the *Romans* would never re-"duce *Veii* till all the water was let out of the *Alban* lake." At firſt this was ſlighted, as a mere random expreſſion; but ſoon after it began to be talked of in a ſerious manner. At length a *Roman* ſoldier aſked one of the citizens who that old man was, who had uſed this obſcure expreſſion concerning the *Alban* lake. When he heard, that he was a diviner, he found means to decoy him to a private conference, and carried him off to the *Roman* camp. He was firſt brought before the general, and then ſent to be examined by the ſenate at *Rome*. When he came before the conſcript fathers, he ſaid, "The gods certainly muſt be angry with *Veii*, ſince, by their impulſe, "I am conſtrained to diſcover the fatal ſecret, that muſt prove the ruin of my native "country. But what has been uttered by a divine impulſe, cannot now be recalled, in "ſuch a manner as ſtill to remain a ſecret. Nay, perhaps I ſhould have contracted no "leſs guilt by concealing what the immortal gods intended ſhould be revealed, than "by diſcovering what ought to have been concealed. We have an antient tradition, "written in our prophetic books, and confirmed by the art of divination, that if the "*Romans*, when the lake of *Alba Longa* is ſwelled to an extraordinary height, can, "with proper ceremonies, let all the water out of it, they ſhall make themſelves maſ-"ters of *Veii*. But till that time the gods will not abandon the walls of our city." Then he proceeded to inform them in what manner the drains to carry off the water were to be made. In the mean time, the ſiege of *Veii* went on but ſlowly. *L. Valerius* laid waſte all the country about *Falerii*; and *Camillus*, finding no enemy to oppoſe him near *Capena*, ravaged all the adjacent territory. This was done in reſentment of the former conduct of the *Faliſci* and *Capenates*, who twice attempted to force the *Romans* to raiſe the ſiege of *Veii* [d]. *Many prodigies in* Italy.

WE find the greateſt part of the *Roman* forces employed the next year before *Veii*, which they rather blockaded than beſieged. So little a progreſs had they hitherto made! In the mean time the *Tarquinienſes*, another *Etruſcan* canton, committed hoſtilities againſt the *Romans*. But they were ſurpriſed by a body of volunteers, who had taken a compaſs through the country of *Cære*, and fallen upon them on their return from pillaging. Many of the *Tarquinienſes* fell in the action, and the reſt were ſtript of their ſpoil. This was the ſituation of affairs, when the *Roman* deputies returned from *Delphi*. The ſenate was moſt agreeably ſurpriſed, to find the anſwer of *The* Romans *make little progreſs in the ſiege of* Veii.

[b] Liv. ubi ſupra. [c] Idem, ubi ſupra, c. 16. [d] Idem ibid. VAL. MAX. lib. i. c. 6.

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the oracle exactly correspond with the prediction of the old *Etruscan* diviner above-mentioned. An historian of credit supposes a communication between the *Pythian* priestess of *Delphi*, and the diviner of *Veii*; but these pagan prodigies are all ascribed to the devil by St. *Austin*. Either of these notions will account for the fact under consideration: we say, either of these notions; for, however unfashionable some of our readers may judge such an opinion, we cannot help believing, that the Supreme Being, for reasons best known to himself, has permitted several unaccountable feats to have been wrought by the agency of evil spirits. To deny this, would be to give the lye to all profane history, and even run counter to Scripture itself. But, in the present case, there is no need to have recourse to the agency of evil spirits, either to account for the prodigy itself, or the prediction of the diviner of *Veii*. The prodigy of the *Alban* lake, we doubt not, may be accounted for from natural causes; and the prediction of the diviner might amount to no more than a mere human conjecture. Be that as it will, the agreement between the oracle and the captive diviner gave the *Romans* a full persuasion, that they should conquer *Veii*; tho' it must be owned, the faint attacks of the besiegers, and the strength of the place, afforded but a weak foundation for such a persuasion [e].

The Etruscan nation refuses to help Veii.

In the mean time, the states of *Etruria* met in a general diet at the temple of *Voltumna*. Here the *Capenates* and *Falisci* offered a petition, desiring the *Etruscan* nation to attempt raising the siege of *Veii*. But they were answered by the assembled lucumonies, "That the *Veientes* having embarked in this war without consulting them, they "ought to carry it on without their assistance. But that, however, they had another "reason not to declare against the *Romans* at that juncture. A clan of *Gauls* had lately "settled in their neighbourhood, with whom they had no assurance of lasting peace, "tho', as yet, no certain prospect of war. Nevertheless, out of regard to alliances "and blood, they would not hinder a body of volunteers from marching to the re-"lief of *Veii*." By such unaccountable policy as this, did the infatuated *Etruscans* suffer the ambitious *Romans* to make themselves masters of *Veii*, and gradually to subdue the divided, tho' opulent [f], country of *Etruria*.

The Romans defeated by the Capenates and Falisci.

The *Romans* sent a body of troops, the following year, to act against the *Capenates* and *Falisci*, and hinder their advancing to the relief of *Veii*. But they were decoyed into an ambuscade by the *Etruscans*, who intirely defeated them. One of the *Roman* generals was killed in the action; and, tho' the other rallied his shattered forces, he durst not face the victorious enemy any more in the open field. This so terrified the troops in the camp before *Veii*, that they were upon the point of dispersing themselves [g].

Camillus sails to Veii.

Before *Camillus*, the new dictator, took upon him the command of the army besieging *Veii*, he advanced at the head of a body of troops to the plains of *Nepe*. Here he overthrew a numerous army of *Etruscans*, and plundered their camp. From thence he marched to *Veii*; but found the town so strong, both by nature and art, that it could not be taken by assault. But, seeing the ground very proper for mines, he undertook to open one, and to carry it on under-ground into the middle of the upper city, which the *Romans* were to enter all on a sudden, through the passage they were to make. To favour this operation, *Camillus* made a general assault; by which means, the *Veientes*, who were busy on the ramparts in all parts of the town, had not time to attend to the mine which was dug under their city, nor consequently to repulse the *Romans*, when they came out of their subterranean passage. As they were under no apprehension, that their walls were undermined, they could not forbear wondering what had induced the *Romans*, who had not moved from their posts for so many days, at that time to assault their walls with such impetuosity. We are told, that the moment the *Romans* came from under-ground, the king of *Veii* was sacrificing to the gods; and that they heard the haruspex declare, that the victory should be given to him, who should dissect the entrails of that victim. Upon which, it is added, the *Romans* seized the entrails, and carried them to the dictator. Be that as it will, the *Veientes* for some time defended themselves with great bravery, and destroyed many of the *Romans*. But at last they were obliged to surrender at discretion. The *Romans* put vast numbers of them to the sword, and sold the rest for slaves. The town was plundered, and the riches found there so immense, that the *Roman* general seemed to

Year of Rome 357.

[e] Liv. ubi supra. Zonar. lib. vii. August. de civitat. Dei. [f] Liv. ubi supra, c. 17. [g] Idem, ubi supra, c. 18.

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be afraid the gods themselves would envy him such a conquest. Thus fell the famous city of *Veii*, whose greatness we may form a judgment of, by the difficulty the *Romans* met with in conquering it. They lost a vast number of men before it; nay, many more than the *Veientes*. In fine, it was taken at last only by sap; and was therefore, as the Fathers *Catrou* and *Rouillé* have observed, rather reduced by artifice than force [h].

THE reduction of *Veii* was a most terrible blow to the *Etruscan* body, and paved the way for further conquests in *Etruria*. This, one would imagine, should have cemented more closely all the remaining members of that body, in order to prevent their falling a sacrifice to *Roman* ambition. But it had no such salutary effect. Their disunion and civil dissensions rendered them an easy prey to an encroaching and rapacious state, which, from its first origin, had discovered a strong disposition to enslave all its neighbours.

THIS important conquest did not, however, procure the *Romans* happiness at home. Civil dissensions reigned at *Rome*. However, the *Romans*, the year after the reduction of *Veii*, pillaged the territories of the *Capenates* and *Falisci*, in a most terrible manner. This forced the *Capenates* to beg quarter, and submit to the proud republic. The conquest of the *Falisci* was the next object of the *Roman* arms [i].

The Romans *force the* Capenates *and* Falisci *to a peace.*

CAMILLUS, at the head of a powerful army, entered the country of the *Falisci*; but found no enemy to oppose him. All the forces of that nation had shut themselves up within the walls of *Falerii*. He therefore laid waste all the country round the place, and burnt the villages. This so incensed the *Falisci*, that they came out of their capital, and encamped about a thousand paces from it. The spot they encamped upon seemed to be inaccessible by nature, and therefore they neglected to fortify it by art. Nevertheless, the *Romans* found means not only to attack the *Faliscan* camp, but likewise to force it, and drive the enemy into the town. *Camillus* then formed the siege of *Falerii*, but did not push it on with vigour. He even continued long before it, without exercising any acts of hostility. An accident, however, happened, that by perfidy would have put the city into his hands, had he not been of a generous and magnanimous disposition. It was the custom in *Falerii*, consonant to the practice of their ancestors, to commit the education of their youth to the care of a single person, who was to instruct them in all kinds of polite literature. He likewise took them out to walk with him, and gave them other exercises proper for their age. Now the schoolmaster, or instructor of the *Faliscan* youth, at this juncture, carried off the sons of the nobility, and other people of distinction, to *Camillus*'s camp, and delivered them up to him. But *Camillus* was of too generous a disposition to give the least countenance to such perfidy. He therefore sent him back into *Falerii* with ignominy, which paved the way for a reconciliation between *Rome* and the *Falisci*. In fine, tho' the *Falisci* offered to receive a *Roman* garison into their capital, *Camillus*, whom the senate left sole arbiter of the peace, demanded nothing more of them, than to defray the expences of the present campaign. A rare instance of moderation this, proceeding intirely from the noble disposition of *Camillus*, and not from any virtue in his republic [k]!

Camillus *takes* Falerii, *and forces the* Falisci *to a peace.*

THE people of *Volsinii* were the next *Etruscan* lucumony, who made an incursion upon the *Roman* lands. This they did, in conjunction with the *Salpinates*, a people situated between *Volsinii* and *Clusium*, in *Etruria*. The republic, therefore, declared war against the *Volsinienses*; but deferred the prosecution of it, till a more favourable opportunity offered. For, according to *Livy*, the *Romans* were not able to march an army against the *Volsinienses*, at this juncture, on account of a famine and pestilence in their dominions, occasioned by a dry and excessive hot season. The ravages made by those dreadful enemies, we shall not touch upon here, as not so properly belonging to the history of the *Etruscans* [l].

The Volsinienses *make an incursion upon the* Roman *territories*

HOWEVER, the following year, the *Romans* sent a powerful army, under the command of *L. Lucretius* and *C. Æmilius*, two of their military tribunes, against the *Volsinienses*; and *Agrippa Furius*, and *Servius Sulpicius*, two others of them, marched against the *Salpinates*. The *Volsinienses* brought a numerous army into the field; but, being attacked by the *Romans*, they made a very faint resistance; for they took to their heels, at the first onset. But the *Roman* cavalry, coming up with the fugitives,

The Romans *defeat the* Volsinienses.

[h] Liv. ubi supra, c. 19. Plut. in Camil. c. 26, 27. Plut. in Camil.
[i] Liv. ubi supra, c. 28.
[k] Liv. ubi supra,
[l] Idem. ibid.

surrounded eight thousand of them, and forced them to surrender at discretion. This victory so terrified the *Salpinates*, that they would not venture an engagement. Their soldiers took refuge within their walls; while the *Romans* every-where pillaged the *Volsinian* and *Salpinatian* territories without opposition. The *Volsinienses*, finding themselves not able to cope with the formidable republic, had, at length, a truce granted them for twenty years; upon condition, that they should restore to the *Romans* all the booty they had taken from them, and give their soldiers one year's pay [m].

The Senones *make an irruption into* Gaul.

BEFORE the *Romans* granted a truce to the *Volsinienses*, the *Gauls* had made an irruption into *Etruria*. This happened on the following occasion: *Aruns*, a nobleman of *Clusium*, had been tutor to an *Etruscan* lucumo, whom he had brought up from his infancy. This prince, falling in love with his tutor's wife, found means to make himself agreeable to her. They carried on an illicit commerce for some time before *Aruns* discovered the intrigue; and, upon his discovery of it, the lucumo conveyed the lady away from her husband. As the lucumo's power and interest screened him from punishment for so foul a crime in *Etruria*, *Aruns* endeavoured to excite the *Gauls* to an invasion of that country. In order to which, he took refuge among the *Senones*, and carried thither some *Etruscan* wine, with which that people was wonderfully delighted. In fine, they took a resolution to march, under his direction, as far as *Clusium*, and demand satisfaction for the affront that had been offered him. This they immediately began to put in execution. In their march they fell upon *Umbria*, and reduced all the country between *Ravenna* and *Picenum*. Here they spent six years in settling themselves, whilst the *Romans* were carrying on the siege of *Veii*. And at last *Aruns* conducted their king *Brennus* to *Clusium*, and persuaded him to form the siege of that place [n].

Year of Rome 362.

The Etruscans *apply to the* Romans *for assistance.*

As the *Gauls* had given the *Etruscans* two signal defeats, before they arrived at *Clusium*, the *Clusinians* were greatly terrified at their approach. But, when they saw the huge size of the enemy, the vast number of men that composed their army, and the arms they used, they were filled with inexpressible terror. In this most calamitous situation they could think of no other expedient, that was likely to prove effectual, than an application to the *Romans* to assist them at this perilous conjuncture [o].

Brennus, *the* Gallic *commander, takes* Rome.

ACCORDING to *Livy*, soon after the arrival of the *Roman* embassadors at the *Gallic* camp before *Clusium*, there happened an action between the *Clusinians* and the *Gauls*. But, as the latter observed the *Roman* embassadors themselves, in direct violation of the law of nations, to head the *Clusinian* troops, and even one of them to kill a *Gallic* commander, they immediately caused a retreat to be sounded. *Brennus*, their general, from that moment, resolved to turn his arms against *Rome*, if he did not receive ample satisfaction for so unjustifiable a procedure. In consequence of this resolution, he raised the siege of *Clusium*, and, the year following, made himself master of *Rome* [p]. But, for the particulars of this expedition, we must beg leave to refer our readers to the *Roman* history.

ABOUT the time that *Rome* was burnt by the *Gauls*, the *Etruscans* advanced into the territories of that city. They thought the melancholy condition to which it was then reduced, gave them a favourable opportunity of repairing their former losses. With this view, they pillaged a large extent of ground, and carried away a considerable booty from it. Nay, they encamped in the neighbourhood of *Veii*, with a design to lay siege to it, and thereby cut off all hopes of relief from the republic. But the garison, under the command of one *Cæditius* a centurion, sallied out upon them in the night, surprised them, and gave them an intire defeat. A great number of the *Etruscans* were made prisoners on this occasion. Another body of *Tuscan* troops, that made an irruption on the side of the *Salt-pits* of *Ostia*, met with the same fate. The *Romans* surprised them likewise by night, and put the greatest part of them to the sword [*]. This double victory animated the *Romans*, and, probably, not a little contributed to the blow they soon after gave the *Gauls*.

Sutrium *taken by the* Etruscans, *and retaken by* Camillus.

ABOUT two years after *Rome* had been taken by the *Gauls*, some merchants brought advice to that capital, that all the lucumonies of *Etruria* were assembled at the temple of *Voltumna*, and had conspired the destruction of the *Romans*. In pursuance of the resolution there taken, the *Etruscans* laid siege to *Sutrium*, a city in alliance with the republic, and forced it to surrender by capitulation. But *Camillus*, some few hours

[m] Liv. ubi supra, c. 32. [n] Idem ibid. Plut. in Camil. [o] Idem ibid. [p] Idem ibid.
[*] Liv. lib. v. c. 45

after its reddition, ſurpriſed it, killed a great number of *Etruſcans* upon the ſpot, and took all the reſt priſoners. Theſe he carried with him to *Rome*, and ſold them all for ſlaves. This is the account we have from *Livy*; but, according to *Plutarch*, the greateſt part of the *Etruſcans* was put to the ſword [q].

THE next year, the *Romans* marched an army into the lucumony of *Tarquinii*, and reduced two cities there, *Cortuoſa* and *Contenebra*. Theſe were both diſmantled, and ſo effectually deſtroyed, that we find them not even mentioned after the time of their deſtruction. *Cortuoſa* was taken by ſurprize, and without any oppoſition; but *Contenebra* ſuſtained a ſiege: this the *Romans* carried on with continued and unwearied application; and, after repeated attempts, forced it to ſurrender. The booty found in it was ſeized upon by the troops [r]. *The* Romans *invade the* Tarquinienſes. *Year of* Rome 366.

Two years after, the *Etruſcans* aſſembled a numerous army upon the frontiers, and laid ſiege to *Sutrium*. They alſo found means to make themſelves maſters of *Nepete*. But *Camillus* advanced to the relief of *Sutrium*, forced the enemy to raiſe the ſiege, and cut many of their men in pieces: then he moved to *Nepete*, which had voluntarily ſurrendered to the *Etruſcans*, and was occupied by an *Etruſcan* gariſon. He firſt ſummoned the place to ſurrender; but, upon receiving an ambiguous anſwer, he plundered all the adjacent country. Theſe hoſtilities, however, did not move either the inhabitants, or the gariſon. Having therefore provided himſelf with a proper number of faſcines out of a neighbouring foreſt, he filled the ditches with them, and ſcaled the walls. In fine, the city was taken almoſt as ſoon as aſſaulted. The authors of the revolt fell by the lictors, the *Etruſcan* gariſon was put to the ſword, and the citizens, not concerned in the ſurrender of the city to the *Etruſcans*, had their lives and effects given them [s]. Camillus *forces the* Etruſcans *to raiſe the ſiege of* Sutrium, *and retakes* Nepete *from them.*

ABOUT the year of *Rome* 395. the *Tarquinienſes* made an incurſion upon the *Roman* territories: but, as their hoſtilities conſiſted only in plundering the country, the republic ſuſpended her reſentment, till a new election had given her new conſuls [t]. *The* Tarquinienſes *make an incurſion upon the* Roman *territories.*

AFTER that election was over, *C. Fabius Ambuſtus*, one of the conſuls, led an army againſt the *Tarquinienſes*, attacked them, and met with a repulſe. The *Tarquinienſes* are ſaid to have treated ill three hundred and ſeven *Roman* priſoners, who fell into their hands, and then to have cut their throats. Some of the *Roman* ſoldiers, after this defeat, fled to *Falerii* for refuge, as to a city in amity with the *Romans*. Theſe men the *Faliſci* detained, and would not ſurrender them up to the republic, though demanded by the feciales. They had likewiſe aſſiſted the *Tarquinienſes* with a body of infantry in the late action, which was conſidered at *Rome* as equivalent to a declaration of war [u]. *The* Romans *are defeated by the* Tarquinienſes.

THE following year, an army was ſent into *Etruria*, under the command of the conſul *Cn. Manlius*, to chaſtiſe the *Tarquinienſes* and *Faliſci*. But they behaved with ſuch conduct and reſolution, that the *Romans* were obliged to retire, without having effected any thing againſt them [w]. *The* Tarquinienſes *and* Faliſci *drive the* Romans *out of their territories.*

THE next year, the conſul *Fabius* marched againſt the united forces of the *Faliſci* and *Tarquinienſes*. The *Etruſcans* routed the conſul in the firſt encounter. Their prieſts advanced with ſnakes made of ribbands of different colours, in one hand, and lighted flambeaux in the other. As this gave them the air of *Furies*, the *Romans* were ſo affrighted at their odd appearance, that, taking them to be a legion of infernal ſpirits, they fled with great precipitation to their intrenchments; but at length, the generals having made them aſhamed of their childiſh fear, they ruſhed upon theſe ſpectres with ſuch impetuoſity, that they immediately diſperſed them. Then they attacked the enemy's camp, forced it, and returned in triumph to their own intrenchments. In their military ſongs, the *Roman* ſoldiers made themſelves merry with their own ridiculous fright, and the ſilly artifice of the enemy [x]. *The* Romans *overthrow the* Faliſci *and* Tarquinienſes. *Year of* Rome 397.

SOON after, according to *Livy*, the whole *Etruſcan* nation took up arms againſt the *Romans*; and, being conducted by the *Tarquinienſes* and *Faliſci*, advanced as far as the *Salt-pits*, on the banks of the *Tiber*. To oppoſe this impending danger, the dictator *Cn. Marcius Rutilus* advanced with an army againſt the *Etruſcans*. He coaſted along the *Tiber*, marching ſometimes on this ſide, ſometimes on that, often croſſing the river in boats, and always in purſuit of the *Etruſcans*. Where-ever he underſtood any of their parties had appeared, he ſent troops to intercept them. At laſt he made an unex- *The* Etruſcans *are driven out of the* Roman *territories.*

[q] Liv. lib. vi. Plut. in Camil. [r] Liv. ubi ſupra, c. 4. [s] Liv. & Plut. ubi ſupra. [t] Liv. lib. vii. c. 12. [u] Idem, ubi ſupra, c. 15. [w] Liv. lib. vii. c. 15. [x] Liv. ubi ſupra, c. 17. Flor. lib. i. c. 8.

unexpected attack upon their camp, forced it, and took eight thousand of the enemy prisoners. He killed likewise a great number, and drove the rest intirely out of the *Roman* territories [y].

A drawn battle between the Romans *and the* Tarquinienses.

Two years after, the consul *T. Quinctius Pennus* fought a battle with the *Tarquinienses*. This was bloody, but not decisive. Nay, as *Quinctius* was not honoured with a triumph, we apprehend, the *Romans* had no great reason to boast. Be that as it will, *Quinctius*, after he had seen great multitudes of the *Etruscans* fall in battle, had the barbarous pleasure of putting to death a great number of *Etruscan* prisoners in cold blood. He likewise reserved three hundred and fifty-eight of these miserable captives, and sent them to *Rome*. These, who were the principal of the prisoners, were first beaten with rods in the forum, and then beheaded by the lictors. Such an heroic action as this most certainly merited the empire of the [z] world!

Year of Rome 399.

The Cærites *join the* Tarquinienses *and* Falisci.

The following year, the *Cærites* joined the people of *Tarquinii* and *Falerii*. The combined army, being too strong for the *Romans*, plundered the country round about the *Roman Salt-pits*, near the *Tiber*, and carried their booty to the *Cærites*. After proclaiming war against the *Cærites*, the dictator *Manlius* advanced against that people at the head of a consular army. But that canton being convinced, that they could not cope with such an army, they neither raised troops, nor made any preparations for war. On the contrary, they sent deputies to *Rome*, to implore the clemency of the senate. Upon their application to that body, they were by them referred to the people: and the *Cærites* hoped they should be able to obtain their favour, upon religious considerations. They besought the gods, whose images they had received into their city, and taken care of with all due respect during the war with the *Gauls*, to inspire the *Romans*, now in a flourishing condition, with the same compassion for the people of *Cære*, which they had shewn for the republic in her distress. This was the topic the deputies made use of, to move the common people to pity them. Nor did they fail of carrying their point. Their past services prevailed on the *Roman* people to forget the evil they had done. The republic, therefore, received them into favour, and granted them a truce of an hundred years. The dictator then turned his arms against the *Falisci*; but, before he entered their country, they had all disappeared. He therefore ravaged their lands, without attempting to storm their towns, and then led his legions back to [a] *Rome*.

The Romans *grant the* Tarquinienses *and* Falisci *a truce.*

The consuls *C. Sulpicius* and *T. Quinctius Pennus*, two years after, were appointed to carry on the war against the two *Etruscan* cantons. It was the lot of the former to march against the *Tarquinienses*; and of the latter to oppose the *Falisci*. But, as neither of those enemies thought proper to appear in the field, the consuls entered their territories without opposition, and ravaged them in a dreadful manner. In fine, these two nations being quite exhausted by such repeated devastations, they thought fit to submit to the superiority of the *Roman* arms: they sent therefore deputies to *Rome*, to apply to the senate for a truce, who granted them one for forty years [b].

The Falisci *enter into an alliance with the* Romans.

About eight years after, this truce was converted, on the part of the *Falisci*, into a treaty of alliance with *Rome:* by which means, the whole *Faliscan* lucumony became in reality a part of the *Roman* dominions [c].

A war breaks out between the Romans *and the* Etruscans.

From this period to the consulate of *C. Junius Brutus* and *Q. Æmilius Barbula*, we find little said of the *Etruscans* by the *Roman* historians. But in that consulate a war broke out between the *Etruscan* body and the republic. *Barbula* commanded the *Roman* forces destined for *Etruria*. Upon his arrival in that country, he found the enemy ready to lay siege to *Sutrium*, a city in strict alliance with the *Romans*, and a kind of barrier to them with regard to *Etruria*. The *Etruscan* army was formed of soldiers drawn out of all the lucumonies, except that of *Arretium*, which had refused to furnish its contingent of troops. The *Etruscans* spent the first day in deliberating whether it would be proper to spin out the war, or prosecute it with vigour. But the latter opinion prevailing amongst their generals, the next morning, about sun-rising, they advanced in their arms to meet the *Romans*. The consul, upon the first advice of their being in motion, ordered his troops to refresh themselves, and then take their arms. When, in pursuance of these orders, he found them all ready, he commanded the standards to be moved out of the lines, and drew up his men in order of battle at a small distance from the enemy. Both armies waited to see which would begin the

Year of Rome 442.

[y] Liv. ubi supra. Oros. lib. iii. c. 6. Eutrop. lib. ii. [z] Liv. ubi supra, c. 19. [a] Liv. lib. vii. c. 20. [b] Idem, c. 22. [c] Liv ubi supra, c. 37.

attack,

attack. At laſt, the *Etruſcans*, for fear the armies ſhould ſeparate without an action, after ſounding their trumpets, began the charge. The *Romans* received them with great bravery, being ſuperior to the enemy in courage, tho' inferior in numbers. The action was very briſk and bloody on both ſides, and many brave men fell in it. Nor did any advantage appear on either ſide, till the ſecond line of the *Roman* army advanced with freſh courage to relieve the firſt, that was grown quite faint with fighting. Nay, tho' the *Etruſcans* had no more freſh troops to ſupport their wearied men, they were reſolved to conquer or die. Many of them therefore fell bravely round their ſtandards, without being put into the leaſt diſorder. At the approach of the night, the two armies parted in good order, and retired to their reſpective camps. Tho' the *Romans* left the field of battle firſt, yet the *Etruſcans* would, probably, had not the night interpoſed, have ſuſtained the greateſt loſs. However, both ſides ſuffered ſo extremely in this action, that we find nothing of moment happened afterwards this campaign [d].

The Etruſcans *are overthrown by* Fabius.

THE following campaign, the *Etruſcans* led a great army to *Sutrium*, with an intention to beſiege it. *Fabius*, the *Roman* general, being much weaker than the enemy, drew up his army in two lines, and extended his front, in order to prevent being ſurrounded by the numerous forces of the *Etruſcans*. They began the attack ſword in hand; but the *Romans* having before taken poſt upon a ſteep and craggy hill, covered with flints, they found it extremely difficult to come up with them. The declivity of the hill rendered the *Roman* camp almoſt inacceſſible, eſpecially as the *Etruſcans* could not annoy the legions with their darts, which, out of their great ardor, they had thrown away, before the beginning of the action; whereas the *Romans* not only poured down upon them prodigious numbers of darts from above, but likewiſe broke the bucklers and helmets of the *Etruſcans*, and ſtunned many of them by a ſhower of flints. This put them into diſorder, ſo that their infantry began to break. Upon which *Fabius* ordered his firſt line to advance, and attack the enemy ſword in hand. Which order was executed with ſuch bravery, that the *Etruſcans* fled towards their camp. But the conſul detaching his cavalry to intercept theſe fugitives, they inſtantly croſſed the plain, and came up with them before they could reach their camp. So that the *Etruſcans* were forced to diſperſe, and hide themſelves in the *Ciminian* foreſt. They loſt thirty-eight colours in the action, their camp, and a conſiderable booty in it [e].

Fabius *penetrates into the* Ciminian *foreſt.*

IN the mean time, the *Etruſcans* thought themſelves ſecure in their retreat. Nor, indeed, were any of the *Roman* officers, in a council of war, except *Fabius*, for penetrating into the *Ciminian* foreſt. But his brother *Cæſo Fabius* had voluntarily offered to go and reconnoitre that foreſt, and, if poſſible, open a paſſage for the *Roman* army. As he was bred up in *Etruria* (H), whither at that time the *Romans* of diſtinction ſent their ſons for education, as they afterwards did to *Athens*, he underſtood the *Etruſcan* tongue; and, therefore, was well qualified for ſuch an undertaking. This language, which he had learned at *Cære*, differed much from the *Latin*. Taking a ſlave with him, he penetrated as far as the territory of the *Camartes* in *Umbria*, and concluded a treaty with that people; by virtue of which, they obliged themſelves to join the *Romans* with a body of auxiliaries, and ſupply their army with proviſions for thirty days, upon their arrival in that country. Upon *Cæſo*'s report, the general reſolved to enter the foreſt, and carry the war that way into the very heart of *Etruria*. The plan of his operations in this arduous affair, he executed with great addreſs, and gained the ſummit of the hill *Ciminus*, from whence the foreſt deduced its name. What greatly contributed to his ſucceſs, was the perſuaſion the *Etruſcans* were under, that it was impoſſible for foreigners to croſs the *Ciminian* foreſt, and come at them that

[d] LIV. lib. ix. c. 32. FASTI CAPITOL. ad A. U. C. 442.

[e] LIV. ubi ſupra, c. 35, 36.

(H) From what the (1) Fathers *Catrou* and *Rouillé* have advanced, it ſeems to appear, that, in the year of *Rome* 443. the *Etruſcan* and *Latin* languages were vaſtly different: for the words of thoſe languages had, according to them, different pronunciations. The *Etruſcan* was, as may be ſuppoſed, more guttural; and indeed this, in ſome meaſure, appears even at this day. For the *duca*, *carne*, *carozza*, &c. of the other *Italians*, the *Tuſcans* pronounce *dubba*, *bharne*, *bharozza*, &c. in conformity to the Orientals. This ſeems to be no obſcure intimation, that the antient *Etruſcan* language ſavoured not a little of the Eaſt.

(1) *Rom. hiſt. under the year of Rome* 443.

way. But, for the particulars of this glorious action, our readers must have recourse to the *Roman* history [f].

Fabius gives a great overthrow to the Etruscans.

AFTER *Fabius* had taken post under the famous mount *Ciminus*, he sent detachments to plunder and lay waste the fruitful plains of *Etruria*. As the inhabitants thought no enemy could approach them, they had no regular troops in the neighbourhood for their defence. So that the principal people armed in haste some bodies of peasants, to oppose the enemy. But the *Romans* soon dispersed this undisciplined rabble, and pillaged a large extent of territory with little opposition. However, all *Etruria*, and part of *Umbria*, being alarmed at so unexpected a visit, took the field, and immediately advanced to *Sutrium*. Such a vast reinforcement animated the *Etruscans*, who had fled for refuge into the forest, to appear again in the plain. Elated with their great numbers, they drew up in order of battle, and left a void space of ground, whereon the *Romans*, if they thought proper, might do the same. But *Fabius* declined fighting, covered himself with intrenchments, and ordered his advanced guards, which used to watch without the ramparts, to retire into his camp. This tacit acknowlegement of his own inferiority, rendered both the consul and his troops contemptible in the eyes of the *Etruscans*. But the feint answered the end he had in view. For the enemy, depending too much upon their own strength, took little precaution in intrenching themselves Nor did they make the least provision against a surprize. So that *Fabius*, having refreshed his men, and allowed them to take some rest, about three in the morning drew them up in battalia, upon the spot where his camp was pitched. As it was summer-time, when the morning sleep is usually the soundest, he found some of the *Etruscans* fast asleep on the ground, and others not out of their beds, when he made the attack. He met therefore with a very slender resistance. Some indeed took to their arms, and were instantly killed, whilst others attempted to rally; but, having no commanders, they were easily put to the rout. Several gained the forest, and others retired to the camp they had fortified in the plain. In fine, this camp was forced, and all the plunder, except the gold and silver, which he ordered to be brought to him, distributed by the consul amongst the troops. We are told, that the *Etruscans* had near sixty thousand men killed, and taken prisoners. This victory is supposed to have been obtained in the neighbourhood of *Perusia*. The lucumonies of *Cortona*, *Arretium*, and *Perusia*, immediately after this blow, sent embassadors to *Rome*, to desire an armistice, which the republic granted them for thirty years [g].

He gains another victory over the Etruscans.

THE next campaign, *Fabius* carried the war into *Umbria*, and defeated the *Umbri* in a pitched battle. As their ardor greatly abated upon the first attack, they retired, without sustaining any considerable loss; but they were no more seen in the field. In the mean time, the most formidable army ever assembled by the *Etruscans* appeared upon the banks of the *Lacus Vadimonis*, at a small distance from *Viterbo*. Some pretend, that the soldiers had made a vow either to conquer or die, which was called the *sacred law*. But others affirm, that the governors of the lucumonies had commanded all the *Etruscan* youth, capable of bearing arms, to come into the army, with a menace to devote all the heads of those that failed to *Jupiter*. Such persons being proscribed, it was lawful for any man to kill them. Be that as it will, the prodigious influence of the *sacred law* appeared both in the number and disposition of the *Etruscans*. Every common soldier also had leave to choose himself a companion to fight by him, and with whom he was either to conquer or die; which must necessarily have created a very strong emulation. It is no wonder therefore, that the *Etruscans*, in this engagement, brought the *Romans* upon the very brink of destruction. Their first line was cut to pieces, and the second so pushed, that the *triarii* were brought to engage; which was never done but in desperate cases. However, the *Etruscans* were forced at last to give way, and even to abandon their camp. The flower of the *Etruscan* forces perished in this unfortunate action [h].

Decius *grants the* Etruscans *a truce for one year.*

THE following campaign, the consul *Decius* advanced into *Etruria*. He forced the *Tarquinienses* to supply his troops with provisions, and then granted them a truce for forty years. By detaching that canton from the general alliance of *Etruria*, and his military incursions, he struck such terror into the country, that the *Etruscans* found themselves obliged to desire an alliance with the *Romans*. But the haughty consul

[f] Liv. ubi supra, c. 35, 36. Flor. lib. i. [g] Liv. ubi supra, c. 37. [h] Idem ibid. c. 39.

could

could not be prevailed upon to grant them any thing more than a truce for one year, and even that, in consideration of their submission, of their paying his troops, and of furnishing every *Roman* soldier with two suits of cloaths. The war being thus terminated in *Etruria*, at least for the present, *Decius* [i] seemed to have an inclination to act in conjunction with *Fabius* against the *Umbri*, who had entered into an alliance with the *Etruscans*. What success the *Romans* met with in their invasion of that people's territories, our readers will find in the history of the *Umbrians*; to which a relation of the operations in *Umbria* this campaign more properly belongs.

A fresh war breaks out between the Romans *and* Etruscans.

In the year of *Rome* 452. some domestic broils happened in *Etruria*, which seemed likely to turn at last to the prejudice of the *Romans*. The immense wealth of the *Cilnian* family excited the envy and jealousy of the citizens of *Arretium*, and, at last, occasioned a general insurrection amongst them. Nay, they had interest enough to prevail upon the other *Etruscans* to take up arms, in order to expel the *Cilnian* family out of their native country. The republic, in order to quell these commotions, sent an army into *Etruria*, under the command of *Valerius Corvus* the dictator. During the dictator's absence, the *Etruscans* found means to draw the general of the horse into an ambuscade. Upon which they immediately surrounded his troops, took some of his colours, put a great number of his men to the sword, and obliged the rest to fly with precipitation to his camp. The news of this defeat struck the people of *Rome* with as much terror, as if their whole army had been cut to pieces. After the late victory, the *Etruscans* being informed, that the dictator had led his army into the fields of *Rusellæ*, near the sea, and not far from the lake *Prilis*, they followed him with all their forces. Tho' they depended greatly on their superior strength, they laid another ambuscade in the ruins of a village, which the *Romans* had burnt. But this being detected by the sagacity of *Cn. Fulvius*, a *Roman* lieutenant-general, posted near those ruins, the *Etruscan* general drew his troops out into the plain. *Fulvius*, seeing the enemy bend their march towards him, and knowing himself not able long to sustain an attack, sent to the dictator for succours. In the mean time the *Etruscans* pushed on the siege of the fort defended by *Fulvius*, with vigour; which at last brought on a general action. For the dictator, advancing to his relief, immediately engaged the enemy. His infantry only faced the first line of the *Etruscan* foot; but he had left several large spaces between the corps of his infantry, through which his horse could freely pass, and come up to the enemy. And that the cavalry might make the greater impression, he ordered the infantry to advance first, and conceal from the *Etruscans* the storm that was to fall upon them. Having made this disposition, the *Roman* horse rode through the imperceptible intervals in their own battalions above-mentioned, and fell with such fury upon the *Etruscan* foot, that they were not able to stand the shock. As this sudden irruption was not in the least expected, the enemy were not prepared to sustain it, and therefore they retired in great disorder to their camp. When the *Romans* attacked them there, they ran in crouds to the most remote part of it. Some fled with such precipitation, that they could not move out of the gates, which were not capable of letting out so many at once. But the greatest part of the fugitives ascended the mount and rampart, with an intention either to defend themselves by the advantage of the higher ground, or to find out some way to escape. So that the rampart of earth, on that side of the camp to which they retired, being not well constructed, gave way under their feet. This accident, therefore, opened a passage for many of them to escape; which they did, but for the most part without arms. Such a blow as this, after they had been so long harassed, and in a manner exhausted, by former wars, could not fail of bringing the *Etruscans* to the conqueror's terms. They were obliged to furnish the dictator's troops with provisions for two months, and give them a year's pay. Upon their compliance with these conditions, the republic granted them a truce for two years [k].

Valerius *punishes the* Etruscans *for their intention to break the new truce.*

Before the expiration of that term, the *Etruscans* are said to have made preparations for another war with *Rome*; but were obliged to suspend the execution of their design. For the *Gauls* made an irruption into *Etruria*. The *Etruscans* chose rather to purchase an alliance with these foreigners against *Rome*, than to repel their incursions by force. But, after those barbarians had received their money, they refused to march into the *Roman* territories; so that the *Etruscans* were forced to drop their intended expedition. However, *M. Valerius Corvus* was sent to chastise them for their hostile

[i] Liv. ubi supra, c. 41.

[k] Liv. lib. x. c. 3. Fast. Capitol. ad A. U. C. 452.

intentions. They fled into their intrenchments and strong-holds, at his approach. *Valerius* did all that was possible to draw them into the plain, but without effect; so that, having sacked and pillaged the whole country, he put an end to the campaign [l].

Scipio beats the Etruscans, *and ravages their country.*

SCIPIO opened the next campaign, in *Etruria*, with a battle, which was fought in the neighbourhood of *Volaterræ*. This action continued all day; nor did it appear at night which side had the victory. The courage and slaughter on both sides were nearly equal. But an unaccountable terror seizing the *Etruscans*, they abandoned their camp in the night. The consul, in the morning, took possession of it, and plundered it. After which, he led back his army into the country of the *Falisci*, and posted himself in the neighbourhood of *Falerii*: from thence he made incursions upon almost every part of the *Etruscan* territories. His parties and detachments committed dreadful devastations where-ever they moved. They pillaged all the open country, burnt the castles and villages, and spared only the cities, into which the country-people had retired with some of their effects [m].

THE *Etruscans* seem to have been in a state of inaction the following year. Their thoughts were intent upon a peace; nor were the *Romans* ignorant of their pacific disposition. But as the *Roman* historians have not intimated, that the republic made any advances towards an accommodation, we must suppose, that the war still continued [n].

Two consular armies overthrow the Samnites *and* Etruscans.

A BODY of *Samnites*, the remains of a formidable army overthrown by *Decius*, having opened themselves a passage into *Etruria*, solicited the *Etruscan* lucumonies to push on the war against *Rome* with vigour, the next campaign. This reinforcement exceedingly animated the *Etruscans*, who were before wavering in their resolutions, and fixed them in their determination to oppose the *Roman* ambition. They even endeavoured to draw the *Gauls* and *Umbrians* into a confederacy against the *Romans*. Upon receiving intelligence of these motions, the republic sent *Appius* the consul, with an army of twenty-three thousand men, into *Etruria*. The *Etruscans* defeated several of *Appius*'s parties and detachments; and endeavoured to bring the consul to a battle. But this he declined till the arrival of his collegue *Volumnius*, then in *Samnium*, whom he had desired to march to his assistance. Upon the junction of the two consular armies, a general action ensued: *Appius* attacked the *Samnites*, and *Volumnius* the *Etruscans*. The *Etruscans* and *Samnites* behaved with great bravery; but, being overpowered by two consular armies, they were obliged to retire. The consuls then made themselves masters of the enemy's camp, pillaged it, and gave all the booty to their troops. The *Etruscans* and *Samnites* lost seven thousand three hundred men upon the field of battle, and had two thousand one hundred taken prisoners. Nothing further, worth relating, happened in *Etruria* this campaign [o].

The war continues between the Romans *and the* Etrusicans.

THE *Etruscan* forces, in conjunction with those of their allies, the following year, seem to have been superior to their enemies, till the arrival of *Fabius* in the *Roman* camp. That general's presence changed the face of affairs. But when, upon an extraordinary occasion, he left the army for a little time, the *Gauls* took advantage of his absence, and defeated a legion, which that general had left, under the command of *Scipio*, in the neighbourhood of *Old Clusium*. The legionaries were almost, to a man, cut off. *Fabius* and *Decius*, the two consuls, encamped separately, but within reach of one another, in the fine plain of *Sentinum*. They had taken post about four miles from the enemy, who, according to the *Roman* writers, were much superior to them in number. One historian affirms, that the *Gauls* and *Samnites* only amounted to one hundred and forty thousand three hundred and thirty-four effective men; and, supposing the *Etruscans* and *Umbri*, these four nations having united their forces, to be equally numerous, the whole army must have consisted of above two hundred and eighty thousand fighting men. This prodigious number could not be contained in one single camp. The *Gauls* therefore encamped with the *Samnites*, and the *Umbri* with the *Etruscans*. It was likewise agreed, that the *Gauls* and *Samnites* only should engage the *Romans*, whilst the *Umbri* and the *Etruscans* attacked their two camps in the heat of the battle. *Fabius*, being informed of these measures by three deserters from *Clusium*, took care to defeat the design of the confederates. He dispatched couriers to the prætors *Fulvius* and *Posthumius*, who were left to cover *Rome*, with

[l] LIV. ubi supra. PLUT. in Mar. [m] LIV. ubi supra, c. 12. FAST. CAPITOL. ad A. U. C. 455.
[n] LIV ubi supra, c. 14. [o] LIV. ubi supra, c. 18, 19.

orders

orders to enter *Etruria* immediately, and ravage it. This drew the *Etruſcans* and *Umbri* into *Etruria* to defend it; ſo that the *Samnites* and *Gauls* were left alone to ſuſtain the attack of the conſular armies. An engagement, ſoon after this ſeparation, enſued, which was one of the moſt bloody, obſtinate, and hard-diſputed battles we meet with in the whole courſe of hiſtory. And this moſt clearly proves, that, had the four combined nations kept their forces united in one compact body, nothing could, humanly ſpeaking, have prevented the deſtruction of *Rome*. But the great Arbiter of all events had otherwiſe determined. The *Romans*, by a continued ſeries of victories and ſucceſs, were to ſubjugate the greateſt part of this globe, for reaſons beſt known to him [p].

As the *Etruſcans* had no ſhare in this bloody action, a minute and particular deſcription of it is not to be expected here. For this, our readers will conſult the *Roman* hiſtory.

The prætor *Fulvius*, and probably *Poſthumius*, who had joined him, left their poſts, by *Fabius*'s command, in order to ravage *Etruria*. Their motion had drawn off a part of the enemy's army encamped before *Sentinum*. They attacked [q] a body compoſed of *Peruſinian* and *Cluſinian* troops, killed above three thouſand of them, and took twenty colours. This is the account *Livy* gives. But it is ſo imperfect, not to ſay abſurd, that we know not what to make of it. To draw above an hundred thouſand men from *Sentinum*, in order to oppoſe a few legions; to make this numerous army to diſappear, immediately after its departure, in ſuch a manner as never to be afterwards heard of; to ſuppoſe the *Peruſini* and *Cluſini* only to be able to make head againſt the above-mentioned legions, excluſive of the formidable *Umbrian* and *Etruſcan* army, that ſeparated from the *Samnites* and *Gauls*, with an intention to ſuccour the abandoned *Etruria*; theſe, we ſay, are ſuch maſterly ſtrokes in the *Latin* hiſtorian, as cannot eaſily be paralleled. The great partiality of that hiſtorian for his own nation, and the unaccountable hatred he bore all thoſe nations, who bravely oppoſed the *Roman* tyranny and ambition, have frequently rendered him inconſiſtent with himſelf. This will moſt evidently appear to all who read his hiſtory with proper attention. Nay, this is abundantly clear, from the hiſtory we are now upon. For what ſober and rational perſon can ſuppoſe a few raw and undiſciplined young men, newly raiſed, capable of almoſt inſtantly diſperſing very numerous armies of bold and reſolute men, not unacquainted with the art of war? How can it be imagined, that *Etruria* ſhould have been plundered, ſtript of its inhabitants, exhauſted, and frequently brought upon the verge of ruin, for four hundred years together, by an upſtart people, who, for ſome time, were little better than a gang of robbers, and ſtill to have remained, almoſt throughout this period, in a flouriſhing condition? In fine, a conſiderable part of *Livy*'s hiſtory, however it may have hitherto been eſteemed, ſeems little better than a romance; tho', after all, it may be alleged, that this was owing to the authors from whom he extracted the materials for it. But even this will not a little ſhake his authority; eſpecially if it be conſidered, that he is not ſeldom contradicted by the *Faſti Capitolini*, and other inſcriptions. Nay, upon the aforeſaid ſuppoſition, we may conclude, that the principal *Roman* annaliſts and hiſtorians, before his time, frequently merit little regard. And this, indeed, their apparent abſurdities, and inconſiſtency with one another, ſeem to put beyond all diſpute.

But to return to our hiſtory. After *Fabius* had left *Etruria*, the *Etruſcans*, at the inſtigation of the *Peruſini*, aſſembled a conſiderable body of troops, and committed many diſorders. That general, therefore, returning into *Etruria*, attacked this corps, and diſperſed it. Four thouſand five hundred of the *Peruſini* were killed upon the ſpot, and one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty made priſoners of war; the price of whoſe ranſom was three hundred and ten pounds of braſs *per* head [r].

Fabius gains another victory over the Etruſcans.

The following year, the conſul *Poſthumius* led an army into *Etruria*, and laid waſte all the lands about *Volſinii*. This irruption made the militia of the country to take arms: they aſſembled near *Volſinii*, and were defeated by the *Romans* under its walls. They loſt near two thouſand two hundred men in the action, and had ſuffered much more, had not the greateſt part of them taken refuge in *Volſinii*. From thence the conſul marched into the diſtrict of *Ruſella*, plundered it, took the city by ſtorm, killed

The Romans gain great advantages in Etruria.

[p] Liv. l. x. c. 30. Fast. Capitol. ad A. U. C. 458. [q] Liv. ubi ſupra. [r] Idem ibid.

near two thousand men, and made above two thousand prisoners of war. These successes produced a suspension of arms: for the lucumonies of *Volsinii*, *Perusia*, and *Arretium*, being weary of the war, desired to enter into a negotiation; and *Posthumius* permitted them to send an embassy to *Rome* to confer with the *Roman* people, upon condition that they furnished his army with provisions, and gave each of his soldiers a military habit. This preliminary was agreed to; and, upon payment of one million five hundred thousand pounds of brass, they obtained of the republic a truce for forty years [s].

Fresh commotions in Etruria.

THE next year, some fresh commotions happened in *Etruria*; and the *Falisci* declared against the *Romans*. All the *Roman* forces being in *Samnium*, the *Etruscans* thought this a proper season for an insurrection, which they began by pillaging the territories of some cities in alliance with the *Romans*. The *Falisci*, being near neighbours to *Rome*, and joining in the revolt, gave great uneasiness to the republic. But the consul *Carvilius* marched into *Etruria*, besieged *Trossulum*, a city near the lake of *Bolsena*, and carried it by assault. He likewise reduced five castles, which had a very advantageous situation. Besides the prisoners taken, he is reckoned to have killed two thousand four hundred men in this expedition [t].

The Romans *grant the* Falisci *one year's truce.*

SUCH a successful beginning struck the *Falisci* with terror. They were forced to pay an hundred thousand *asses* of brass, for the public treasury; and, in return, the consul granted them one year's truce. This so intimidated the *Etruscan* body, that they never offered to make the least motion [u].

The Falisci *break this truce.*

THE *Falisci* broke the truce almost as soon as concluded: but the *Romans* punished this perfidy. They defeated the *Falisci*, ravaged a great part of *Etruria*, and carried off an immense quantity of spoil [w].

The Arretini *apply to the* Romans *for succour against the* Gauls.

ABOUT the year of *Rome* 469. the *Romans* discovered some commotions among the *Volsinienses*; but they were attended with no ill effects. At this time also the *Senones* raised a body of troops, in order to march into *Etruria*, and lay siege to *Arretium*. The *Arretini*, in this distress, had recourse to the *Romans*; with whom they had formerly desired an alliance, though they could only obtain a truce. They could not believe, that the *Romans* would suffer the *Gauls* to oppress them, nor by making conquests in *Etruria* open themselves a way to *Rome* [x].

The Romans *are defeated by the* Gauls.

IN this respect, they entertained no unjust idea of the *Romans*. The republic, upon the application of the *Arretini*, proposed to send an army to *Arretium*, to make head against the *Senones*; nevertheless they thought it proper to endeavour to prevent a rupture by a negotiation. They sent a deputation therefore to the *Senones*, to inform them, that the *Arretini* were under the protection of *Rome*; that they were a part of the *Etruscan* body, with whom the *Gauls* were in alliance; and that therefore it was an injustice in them, to march their troops into *Etruria*. But this deputation was so far from making any impression upon the *Senones*, that, in direct violation of the law of nations, they caused the *Roman* envoys to be murdered. This horrid fact is said to have been perpetrated at the instigation of one *Britomaris*, of the royal family of his nation. Be that as it will, this atrocious crime met with condign punishment. In the mean time the *Senones* besieged *Arretium*, and defeated a *Roman* army, under the conduct of the consul *Cæcilius*, that came to the relief of the besieged The consul himself was killed in the action, and the legions dispersed; seven legionary tribunes, the greatest part of the *Roman* knights, together with thirteen thousand men, were also left dead upon the field of battle [y].

Curius *lays waste the country of the* Senones.

MANIUS CURIUS, who succeeded *Cæcilius* in the command of the army destined to act against the *Senones*, left *Rome* soon after the melancholy news of the late defeat arrived, and advanced against the *Gauls*. But, instead of marching to the relief of *Arretium*, he crossed *Sabinia* and *Picenum*, and entered the enemy's territories. As the flower of their troops were carrying on the siege of *Arretium*, *Curius* met with only a few new-raised men to oppose him: these he easily dispersed, and then ravaged the whole country without opposition. Every house was plundered, and every field laid waste. What the sword spared, the fire consumed. Every person capable of bearing arms was put to the sword, and all the women and children carried into captivity. In fine, according to *Polybius*, the country of the *Senones* was so completely ruined, that there scarce remained any appearances of its ever having been cultivated by a powerful

[s] Idem ibid. FAST. CAPITOL. ad A. U. C. 459. [t] LIV. l. x. c 46. [u] LIV. ubi supra. [w] OROS. l. iii. c. 2. ZONAR. annal. l viii. c. 1. [x] FLOR. in epit. l. xi. [y] POLYB. l. ii. c. 19.

nation.

nation. But, notwithstanding this terrible destruction, the *Senones* still pushed on the siege of *Arretium* with the utmost vigour [z].

Domitius *gives the* Senones *an intire defeat.*

Cn. Domitius, surnamed *Calvinus*, soon after his elevation to the consulate, marched at the head of a powerful army into *Etruria*, with a full resolution to attack the *Senones*, where-ever he should find them. As that nation was reduced to a state of despair, by the desolation of their country, and the leading of their wives and children into captivity, they resolved to wreak their fury upon that city itself, which was the source of all their misfortunes: they therefore raised the siege of *Arretium*, and marched directly towards *Rome*. Before they entered the territories of the republic, they fell in with the *Roman* army, under the conduct of *Domitius*, then in quest of them, and immediately engaged it. The *Gauls*, being enraged at the total ruin of their country, fought with an intrepidity little inferior to madness: but the *Romans*, being a well-disciplined corps, and commanded by an able general, gave them a warm reception. In fine, they overthrew them, and covered the field of battle with their dead bodies. Those few that escaped, took refuge amongst the *Boii*, who had lately declared against the *Romans* [a].

Dolabella *gains a compleat victory over the* Gauls, Samnites, *and* Etruscans.

Nothing could be more seasonable than this victory: for the *Boii* and *Etruscans* had conspired the ruin of the *Roman* republic. They were determined in conjunction to execute the plan of operations formed by the *Senones*; and therefore directed their march towards *Rome*. *Dolabella* waited for them upon the banks of the *Lacus Vadimonis* in *Etruria*, at a small distance from the *Tiber*: here a pitched battle was fought, in which the combined army was almost intirely cut to pieces. In fine, this proved so terrible an overthrow, that neither the *Gauls*, nor the *Etruscans*, ever afterwards gave the republic any dreadful apprehensions. The faint efforts they made against the *Romans*, the following year, served only to expose them to farther losses, and even to bring them to the very brink of destruction [b].

This war, therefore, which in the beginning afforded the *Senones* so pleasing a prospect, ended in almost their utter extinction. As for the *Etruscans* and *Boii*, they were forced to sue for peace, and enter into an alliance with the *Romans*, upon the terms they thought fit to prescribe.

We are told by the *Roman* historians, that the remains of the *Etruscans* and *Boii* on the one hand, and the *Lucani*, *Brutii*, and *Samnites*, on the other, conspired together, the next year, against those robbers and tyrants of *Italy*, as they very justly called the *Romans*. But they give us no account of any material transaction, that happened in *Etruria*: nay, they keep a profound silence with regard to the affairs of that country, the year following; though we learn, from the [c] *Fasti Capitolini*, that *Q. Marcius Philippus* then triumphed over the *Etruscans*, and consequently gained great advantages in *Etruria*. They were too much taken up with *Pyrrhus*'s descent, to attend to other affairs. To this cause may likewise be imputed the silence of the same historians, about the *Etruscan* affairs, the succeeding year, though the *Fasti Capitolini* [d] expressly assert, that the consul *T. Coruncanius Nepos* triumphed then over the *Volsinienses* and *Volcientes*. However, we find mention made of an attempt, that year, to excite the [e] *Etruscans*, *Umbri*, and *Gauls*, to a revolt; but without any manner of effect. From whence it appears, that *Etruria*, at that time, was under the domination of the *Romans*.

In order to render this history the more complete, we think it will not be amiss to give our readers a list of such *Etruscan* kings, as have been mentioned by the antients. For, with regard to those forged by *Annius*, and adopted by his followers, they deserve, as has been already hinted, not the least attention.

List of *Etruscan* kings mentioned by the antients.

Janus.
Cameses, sister and wife to *Janus*.
Tiberinus, succeeded his father *Janus*.
Aunus.
Coritus.
Fontus.
Annius.
Debeberis, or *Tiberis*.
Æolus.
Liparus.
Meleus.
Rhætus.

[z] Polyb. ubi supra. Dion. apud Fulv. Ursin. [a] Appian. apud Fulv. Ursin. Polyb. ubi supra.
[b] Polyb. ubi supra. [c] Fast. Capitol. ad A. U. C. 472. [d] Fast. Capitol. ad A. U. C. 473.
[e] Dion. apud Fulv. Ursin.

Male-

Malæottus.
Tyrrhenus.
Raſena.
Alæſus.
Tarchon.
Felſimus.
Ocnus, or *Hocnus.*
Mezentius.
Aſylas.
Abas.
Maſſicus.
Oſinius.
Morrius.
Cluſius.
Propertius.
Veientus.
Cæle Vibenna.
Menalus.
Olenus Calenus.
Porſena, or *Porſenna.*
Tolumnius, or, according to ſome, *Volumnius.*
Cilnius.
Mecænas.

The ages in which all theſe princes lived, the numbers of years they reigned, or the extent of the territories over which they preſided, we cannot take upon us to determine.

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* *See* Octavo Edition, *Vol.* XI. *p.* 242.

The Hiſtory of the Umbrians *and* Sabines; *together with an Account of the other moſt antient* Italian *Nations* *.

The antiquity of the Umbrians.

THAT the *Umbrians* were one of thoſe early colonies which firſt came to *Italy* out of *Aſia*, will admit of no diſpute: but whether they were the deſcendents of *Javan*, or a branch of the *Cerethites*, or, laſtly, a compoſition of theſe two, is not eaſy to determine. Some arguments may be offered in ſupport of each opinion. The high antiquity of the firſt migration of *Javan*'s ſons to *Italy*, as well as what we have already advanced concerning *Janus*, plead ſtrongly in favour of the firſt; the *Umbrian* original of *Cortona*, in conjunction with what we have obſerved of that town, ſeems to inſinuate the probability of the ſecond; and all the preceding reaſons, with others that might be offered, not a little contribute towards evincing the truth of the third. As therefore the laſt notion is ſupported by the greateſt number of hiſtorical proofs, our readers will ſcarce refuſe their aſſent to it; nor can we think this ought to be refuſed, when thoſe proofs are conſidered with proper attention [a].

Whence they derived their name.

How this moſt antient people came to be called *Umbri*, or *Umbrians*, authors are not agreed. Some think, that, from their having eſcaped a deluge occaſioned by rains, they received the denomination of *Ombri*, or *Umbri* [b], ὄμβρος, in *Greek*, ſignifying, a ſhower of rain; others, that they deduced their name from the river *Umbro* [c], the moſt conſiderable of thoſe that watered the tract they firſt inhabited. Which of theſe is in the right, we ſhall not preſume to pronounce. We muſt, however, beg leave to obſerve, that thoſe who ſuppoſe the adjacent territory to have received an appellation from the river *Umbro*, are the moſt favoured by antiquity. The former etymon can ſcarce be paralleled in the whole courſe of ſacred (A) and profane hiſtory; whereas many ſimilar to the latter have been produced by *Bochart* [d]. In fine, the former has a romantic

[a] Augusт. Calm. comment. liter. ſur tous les livres de l'Anc. & du Nouv. Testam. tom. ii. p. 321—325. a Paris, 1724. Boch. Phal. lib. i. c. 5. p. 157—161. Chan. lib. i. c. 15. p. 420—426. See likewiſe the account we have given of *Cortona*, ſect. i. and what we have advanced in the beginning of ſect. iii. of the hiſtory of the *Etruſcans*. [b] Plin. lib. iii. c. 14. Solin. c. 8. Serv. ad Virg. Æn. lib. xii. Bocchus & M. Anton. apud Solin. & Serv. ubi ſupra. Isidor. orig. lib. ix. c. 11. Paul. Diacon. lib. ii. c. 16. [c] Plin. lib. iii. c. 5. Steph. Byzant. in voc. Ὀμβρικοί. Vide etiam Philip. Cluver. Ital. antiq. lib. ii. c. 4. p. 593. [d] Bochart. Phal. lib. iv. c. 17. p. 238. l. 10—20. Chan. lib. i. c. 5. p. 360. l. 11, 12. Duris apud Steph. Byzant.

(A) Many more inſtances in proof of the point under conſideration, beſides thoſe mentioned by *Bochart*, might be here produced. But we ſhall at preſent content ourſelves with bringing one only, and that is the *Nigritæ*, who apparently deduce their name from the river *Niger*.

turn; but the latter appears perfectly conſonant to the practice of ſome of *Noah*'s deſcendents, in their earlieſt migrations [e].

Not deſcended from the Gauls;

THE authors who deduce the word *Umbri* from ὄμβρος, and of courſe ſuppoſe the *Umbri* to have ſettled in *Italy* immediately after the deluge, muſt neceſſarily encounter ſeveral difficulties, in defence of their hypotheſis. No reaſon can be aſſigned, why the firſt colonies detached to *Italy* ſhould retain greater marks of the deluge than thoſe who ſettled themſelves in the neighbourhood of *Chaldæa*, and in *Greece*. No colonies can reaſonably be ſuppoſed to have reached *Italy* till three or four hundred years after the deluge, when it is not probable any people ſhould have derived a name from that event. It is in the higheſt degree abſurd, that an *Hellenical*, or later *Greek* word, ſhould have ſupplied a nation, whoſe language was perfectly *Oriental*, with a name, and that ſoon after the univerſal deluge [f]. On the other hand, the word *Umbro* is *Oriental*, and the name of a river, upon the banks of which the firſt *Umbri* undoubtedly ſettled themſelves. Whatever therefore they called themſelves, their neighbours may naturally enough be ſuppoſed to have given them a denomination from the river (B). Some authors believe the *Umbrians* to have been of a *Gallic* original, than which nothing can be more improbable; for it does not appear, that the *Gauls* ſet a foot in *Italy* before the reign of *Tarquinius Priſcus*, the fourth king of *Rome* [g], about ſix hundred years before the birth of Chriſt. Nor does any *Greek* or *Roman* writer of note give the leaſt intimation of an affinity of manners between the *Umbrians* and the *Gauls* [h].

nor from any other branch of the Celtes.

IF the *Umbrians* derived their name from the *Umbro*, as we think cannot well be denied, it muſt be allowed, that they firſt ſettled themſelves in the neighbourhood of that river. This is alſo confirmed by *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis* [i], who makes *Cortona* originally an *Umbrian* city. *Livy* [k] likewiſe places the *Umbrians* in the tract contiguous to the *Umbro*. Some of the antients [l] ſeem to have thought, that the *Pelaſgi* ought to be conſidered as the founders of *Cortona:* which if we admit, there ſeems to have been a near relation between the *Umbrians* and the *Pelaſgi*, if they were not the ſame people. And, in this caſe, they may both be allowed to have deduced their origin [m] from the *Pelethites* and *Cerethites*, and conſequently neither of them ſprung from the *Celtes*. In fine, after peruſing what has been advanced by [n] *Mariani* and *Calmet*, every ſober rational inquirer into the origin of the *Umbrians* will look upon M. *Pezron*'s notion, in this particular, as running counter to the whole ſtream of ſacred and profane antiquity, and conſequently not ſo worthy the attention of the learned.

They are driven out of part of their territories by the Pelaſgi.

BUT, tho' the firſt ſettlement of the *Umbri* was confined within narrow bounds, they ſoon ſpread themſelves, and not a little extended their territories. They not only poſſeſſed themſelves of all that country called, in the *Roman* times, *Etruria* [o], but likewiſe of a conſiderable tract between the *Alps* and the *Apennines:* nay, they poſſeſſed this tract in very early times; for we learn from *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis* [p], that, after their expulſion from *Theſſaly* or *Æmonia*, the *Æmonian Pelaſgi* were received here, and aſſiſted the *Aborigines* in their wars againſt the *Umbrians* and the *Siculi*. With reſpect to their poſſeſſion of the *Proper Etruria*, or the tract betwixt the *Tiber* and the *Arno*, it appears [q] from *Pliny*, that the *Tyrrhenians* expelled from thence a branch of the *Pelaſgi*, as that people had before done the *Umbrians*. From the ſame author [r] we may infer, that the *Umbrians*, before their expulſion, were poſſeſſed there of at leaſt three hundred towns.

[e] BOCHART. Phal. lib. iv. c. 17. p. 238. l. 10—20. Chan. lib. i. c. 5. p. 360. l. 11, 12. DURIS apud Steph. Byzant. [f] This has been clearly evinced in the firſt ſection of the hiſtory of the *Etruſcans*. [g] LIV. lib. v. c. 34. PLUTARCH. in Camill. Vide etiam PHILIP. CLUVER. Ital. antiq. lib. ii. c. 1. p. 443, 444. [h] CLUVER. ubi ſupra, c. 4. p. 593. l. 27, 28, 29. [i] DION. HALICARN. antiquit. Roman. lib. i. [k] LIV. lib. x. POLYB. lib. ii. Vide etiam PHILIP. CLUVER. ubi ſupra, p. 567. [l] DION. HALICARN ubi ſupra. SIL. ITAL. lib. viii. Vide etiam DEMPST. de Etrur. Regal lib. v. c. 9. p. 321, 322. [m] AUGUST. CALM. comment. liter. ſur tous livres de l'ANC. & du NOUV. TESTAM. tom. ii p. 321—325. See alſo what we have advanced in the beginning of ſect. 3. of the hiſtory of the *Etruſcans*. [n] FRAN. MARIAN. de Etrur. metrop. c. 25. p. 152. l. 2, 3. AUG. CALM. ubi ſupra. [o] PLIN. lib. iii. c. 5. DION. HALICARN. lib. i. Vide etiam PHILIP. CLUVER. ubi ſupra, p. 593—605. [p] DION. HALICARN. ubi ſupra. [q] PLIN. ubi ſupra, [r] Idem ibid.

(B) To omit other inſtances that occur in proof of this, it may be obſerved, that the citizens, or cities, of *Ariminum* and *Piſaurum* received their names from two rivers, on the banks of which their towns were ſituated. This ſeems to inſinuate, that ſuch a practice was not unknown to the *Umbrians* in very remote times.

Limits of Umbria.

BUT, whatever might be the extent of the antient *Umbrian* dominions, the *Umbrians* were ſtripped of a good part of them by the *Tyrſenians* [s] and *Gauls*: ſo that, in after-ages, *Umbria* was bounded on the weſt by a line drawn from the *Ufens*, now the *Montone*, to the heads of the *Tiber* [t], and from thence to the confluence of the *Tiber* and the *Nar*; on the eaſt by the middle of the *Æſis*, now called the *Fiumeſino*; on the north by the *Adriatic*; and on the ſouth by the *Nar*. The *Umbrians* [u] bordered on the *Ligures*, the *Arno* dividing theſe two nations. The epitomizer of *Stephanus* places the limits of *Umbria* between *Picenum* [w] and the *Po*, towards the mouth of that river. *Ptolemy* divides *Umbria* into *Olumbria* [x] and *Vilumbria*; the former lying on the north, the latter on the ſouth ſide of the *Apennines*.

Principal cities of Umbria.

THE principal cities of *Umbria* were *Ariminum*, *Piſaurum*, *Fanum Fortunæ*, *Sena Gallica*, *Æſium*, *Matilica*, *Camerinum*, *Pitulum*, *Sentinum*, *Attidium*, *Suaſa*, *Urbinum*, *Tifernum*, *Pitinum*, *Seſtinum*, *Sarſina*, *Iguvium*, *Tuſicum*, *Arna*, *Veſionica*, *Aſiſium*, *Vettona*, *Hiſpellum*, *Fulginium*, *Mevania*, *Nuceria*, *Trebia*, *Spoletium*, *Tuder*, *Ameria*, *Interamna*, *Narnia*, *Carſulæ*, *Tardinum*, *Ocriculum*, *Caſuentum*, and *Vindinum*. 1. *Ariminum*, now *Rimini*, was an antient city of *Umbria* [y], upon the *Adriatic*, near the river *Ariminus*, from which, according to *Feſtus* [z], it derived its name. The river *Apruſa* was alſo in its neighbourhood. A *Roman* colony in after-ages flouriſhed here, as we learn from *Pliny*. 2. *Piſaurum*, now *Peſaro*, a little to the ſouth-eaſt of *Ariminum* [a], upon the *Adriatic*, deduced its name from the *Piſaurus*, now the *Foglia*, which ran at a [b] ſmall diſtance from the town, in a weſtern direction. 3. *Fanum Fortunæ*, now *Fano*, was an antient city of *Umbria* [c], about ſeven miles ſouth-eaſt of *Piſaurum*. Both *Piſaurum* and *Fanum Fortunæ*, ſometimes called by the antients ſimply [d] *Fanum* [e], received *Roman* colonies. 4. *Sena Gallica*, or *Senogallia*, now *Sinigaglia*, was built by the *Senones* [f], after they had made an irruption into *Umbria*. It ſtood upon the *Adriatic*, as well as *Fanum Fortunæ*, near twenty miles ſouth-eaſt of that town. It was likewiſe occupied by a *Roman* colony [g]. The river *Sena* in its neighbourhood, as well as the city, undoubtedly derived its name from the *Senones*, who ſettled themſelves here [h]. 5. *Æſium*, now *Jeſi*, was ſituated upon the weſtern bank of the *Æſis*, now the *Fiumicino*, and received in after-ages [i] a *Roman* colony. We find it called *Æſis* by *Ptolemy* [k], and *Æſium* [l] by *Strabo*. The *Æſis* was the common boundary of *Umbria* and *Picenum* [m]. 6. *Matilica*, an eminent city of *Umbria*, mentioned by *Frontinus* [n] and *Pliny*, ſtood at the foot of the *Apennines*. 7. *Camerinum*, now *Camerino*, an *Umbrian* town, on the confines of *Picenum*, has been taken notice of by many of the antients, particularly *Cicero*, *Ptolemy*, and *Strabo*. 8. *Pitulum*, now *Piolo*, ſeems to have been formerly a place of conſiderable note. We find its citizens denominated *Pitulani*, by *Pliny* [o]. 9. *Sentinum*, now *Sentina*, ſtood in a plain, ſurrounded by a branch of the *Apennines*. It was a place of great antiquity, and [p] mentioned by *Polybius*, *Livy*, *Pliny*, and *Dio*. The citizens are called by *Livy* [q] *Sentinates*. We find one or two *Etruſcan* [r] inſcriptions with that name upon them. 10. *Attidium*, now *Attigio*, was ſituated between *Sentinum*, *Camerinum*, and *Matilica*. *Pliny* gives the townſmen the name of *Attidiates* [s]. Several antient inſcriptions have been found in the neighbourhood [t] of *Attigio*. 11. *Suaſa* was a town of great antiquity, whoſe inhabitants *Pliny* calls [u] *Suaſani*. The ruins of this town are ſtill viſible near *Caſtel Leone*, at a ſmall diſtance from the eaſtern bank of the *Ceſano*. 12. *Urbinum*, now *Urbino*, was a very antient [w] city, and a *Roman* municipium. This town had the appellation [x] of *Urbinum Hortenſe*, to diſtinguiſh it from another town that went under the denomination of *Urbinum Metaurenſe*, from its ſituation upon the banks

[s] DION. HALICARN. LIV. PLUT. &c. [t] PLIN. lib. iii. c. 15. Vide etiam PHILIP. CLUVER. Ital. antiq. lib. ii. c. 4. p. 601. [u] SCYLAX in peripl. LYCOPHR. PLIN. lib. iii. c. 5. Vide etiam PHIL. CLUVER. ubi ſupra, p. 598, 599. [w] STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. [x] PTOL. lib. iii. [y] MEL. lib. ii. c. 4. PLIN. lib. iii. c. 15. [z] POMP. FEST. in voc. Arimin. [a] PLIN. lib. iii. c. 14. [b] VIB. SEQUEST. de flumin. AGGEN. de controverſ. agror. [c] PLIN. ubi ſupra. [d] SIDON. APOLLINAR. lib. i. epiſt. 5. [e] PLIN. ubi ſupra. [f] POLYB. lib. i. [g] PLIN. ubi ſupra. [h] SIL. ITAL. lib. xv. PAUL. DIACON. lib. ii. c. 23. [i] PLIN. ubi ſupra. [k] PTOL. ubi ſupra. [l] STRAB. lib. v. [m] STRAB. MEL. PLIN. SIL. PLUT. APPIAN. PTOL. &c. [n] FRONTIN. de colon. PLIN. lib. iii. c. 14. [o] Idem ibid. [p] POLYB. lib. i LIV. paſſ. PLIN. ubi ſupra. DIO, PTOL. STRABO, &c. [q] LIV. lib. x. DIO, lib. xlviii. [r] Tab. apud Dempſt. de Etrur. Regal. p. 102. [s] Tab. apud Anton. Franciſc. Gor. muſ. Etruſc. cxlviii. n. 1. cxlix. n 2, 5. PLIN. ubi ſupra. [t] PHILIP. CLUVER. ubi ſupra, p. 614. [u] PLIN. ubi ſupra. [w] TACIT. hiſt. lib. iii. PROCOP. lib. ii. [x] PLIN. ubi ſupra.

of the *Metaurus*. Theſe two places were not above eight miles diſtant from one another. 13. *Tifernum*, or *Tifernum Tiberinum*, now *Citta di Caſtello*, was ſeated on the eaſtern bank of the *Tiber* [y], near the borders of *Etruria*. *Cluverius* thinks the other *Tifernum*, or *Tifernum Metaurenſe*, to have occupied the ſpot taken up at preſent by *S. Angelo*, in *Vado*, where many [z] antient inſcriptions have been found. 4. *Pitinum* ſtood upon the banks of the *Piſaurus*. Its citizens [a] were denominated *Pitinates*, and *Pitinates Piſaurenſes*. We find the word *Petinatial* upon [b] a very remarkable *Etruſcan* inſcription. 15. *Seſtinum*, now *Seſtino*, or the monaſtery of *Seſtino*, was ſituated [c] near the ſource of the *Piſaurus*. 16. *Sarſina*, known at preſent by the ſame name, ſtood upon the confines of *Gallia Togata*. We find it taken notice of by *Silius*, *Strabo* [d], and ſeveral antient inſcriptions. 17. *Iguvium*, now *Eugubio* [e], was a city of note, and ſituated at the foot of the *Apennines*. The high antiquity of this place, whoſe citizens were called *Iguvini*, appears from ſome *Etruſcan* coins [f], that exhibit the word 𐌉𐌊𐌖𐌅𐌉𐌍𐌉 *Ikuvini*. This has been rendered famous by the tables [g] found here (C) in 1744. which are adorned with *Etruſcan* inſcriptions, that have not hitherto met with an explication from the learned. 18. *Tuſicum* ſtood at a ſmall diſtance [h] from *Pitinum*, *Iguvium*, *Tifernum*, and *Peruſia*, in *Etruria*; and, as *Cluverius* imagines [i], up-

[y] Plin. lib. iii. c. 14. [z] Cluver. ubi ſupra, p. 621. [a] Ptol. lib. iii. Inſcript. antiq. apud Cluver. ubi ſupra. [b] Anton. Franciſc. Gor. muſ. Etruſc. p. 415. Floren. 1737. [c] Plin. ubi ſupra. Inſcript. antiq. apud Cluver. ubi ſupra, p. 622. [d] Sil. Ital. *lib. viii.* Strab. lib. v. Inſcript. antiq. apud Cluver. ubi ſup. [e] Cæs. *de bell. civil. lib.* i. Cic. ad Attic. lib. vii. epiſt. 13. Plin. ubi ſup. Sil. Ital. lib. viii. [f] Tab. apud Dempſt. de Etrur. Regal. lix. n. 4. Anton. Franciſc. Gor. muſ. Etruſc. p. 422. [g] Anton. Franciſc. Gor. prolegom. ad interpr. Etruſc. tab. Eugubin. p. xlvii. [h] Plin. ubi ſupra. [i] Cluver. ubi ſupra, p. 626.

(C) Theſe tables conſiſt of copper, and are ſeven in number. They were found in a ſubterranean vault, near the theatre, in the year 1444. Five of them exhibit inſcriptions in the *Etruſcan* character; but thoſe on the other two are made up of the modern *Roman* letters. However, Father *Gori* (1) takes them all to be of equal antiquity, and to have preceded the *Trojan* war two generations. But that this cannot, with any great colour of reaſon, be ſuppoſed, will, we think, pretty clearly appear from the following conſiderations:

1. The firſt and moſt antient forms of the *Etruſcan* letters diſcover a great affinity between them and thoſe of the earlieſt *Greeks* (2), which intirely agreed with the *Phœnician* characters. Now we learn from *Herodotus* (3), that, for a pretty long ſeries of years, the firſt forms of the *Græco-Phœnician* letters received no conſiderable alteration. Nay, we find in ſome *Lacedæmonian* inſcriptions (4), ſcarce 750 years older than the Christian æra, the forms of M and N not very different from the *Phœnician*, and nearly approaching the antient *Etruſcan* forms of thoſe letters. But the *Eugubian tables*, with *Etruſcan* inſcriptions, always preſent to our view (5) 𐌅𐌅𐌉 𐌅𐌉 not 𐌌𐌌𐌉 𐌍𐌉, the primæval forms of M, N, viſible in the aforeſaid inſcriptions, and in the moſt antient of thoſe found in *Tuſcany*. Therefore we may preſume, that theſe tables did not precede the *Chriſtian æra* 750 years.

2. No tables of copper, with inſcriptions upon them, could poſſibly be of equal antiquity with *Tullus Hoſtilius*, the third king of *Rome*, if any credit is to be given to *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis* (6). For, in the beginning of the reign of *Ancus Marcius*, his ſucceſſor, the *Latins*, *Romans*, and all the neighbouring nations, according to that author, wrote upon tables or tablets of wood; nor were any other tables known in *Italy* before that period. We have therefore from hence reaſon to believe, that the *Eugubian tables* are not more antient than the year of *Rome* 112.

3. Mr. *Swinton* has proved (7), in a *diſſertation* printed at *Oxford* in 1746. that the *Etruſcan* letters were uſed in *Rome* and *Latium* after the year of *Rome* 245. Since therefore two of the *Eugubian* tables, which Father *Gori* (8) makes to be of equal antiquity with the reſt, exhibit the later *Roman* letters, little different from thoſe of the *Auguſtan* age, we cannot ſuppoſe their inſcriptions to be coeval with the year of *Rome* 245. but conſiderably later than that year.

4. The word 𐌉𐌎+𐌓𐌕𐌅𐌉 (9) *Jupater*, for *Jupiter*, is found in one of theſe tables. This ſeems a plain indication, that the inſcriptions they exhibit are much later than the year of *Rome* 245. For that the word *Jupater*, or *Jupiter*, was not of a very old date, we learn from *Lucilius* and *Gellius* (1).

5. The letter *G* was not uſed in *Latium*, or the neighbouring countries, in the year of *Rome* 493. as we learn from the *Duilian inſcription*. But this occurs in two of the above-mentioned tables. Wherefore we may conclude, that the *Eugubian tables* did not precede the commencement of the firſt *Carthaginian* war.

But, for farther ſatisfaction on this head, we muſt beg leave to refer our readers to two diſſertations printed at *Oxford* in 1746. Many other arguments are there produced, to overthrow the incredible antiquity aſſigned the *Eugubian tables* by Father *Gori*, which we cannot conveniently now tranſcribe.

(1) *Anton. Franciſc. Gor. prolegomen. ad interpr. Etruſc. tab. Eugubin. p.* 47. *& alibi paſſ.* (2) *Herodot. lib.* v. *c.* 58. (3) *Idem ibid. c.* 59. *Vide etiam Anton. Franciſc. Gor. muſ. Etruſc. diſſert. prim. & prolegom. ad tab. Etruſc. Eugubin.* (4) *Memoir. de lit. &c. à Paris*, 1743. *See before, p.* 22, 23, 24, & (D). (5) *Tab. Eugubin. apud Dempſt. de Etrur. Regal.* (6) *Dion. Halicarnaſſ. antiquit. Roman. lib.* i. *c.* 36. (7) *De priſc. Roman. lit. diſſertat. Oxonii*, 1746. (8) *Anton. Franciſc. Gor. prolegom. ad tab. Etruſc. Eugubin. & alibi paſſ.* (9) *Tab. Eugubin.* v. *l.* 67. *Vide Dempſt. de Etrur. Regal. p.* 91. (1) *Lucil. dul. Gell. noct. Attic. lib.* v. *c.* 12.

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on the ground at present occupied by *La Fratta*. 19. *Arna* [k] was erected between *Tuficum* and *Iguvium*, near the banks of the *Tiber*, and almost opposite to *Perusia*. It at present goes under the appellation of *La Civitella d'Arno*. This seems to be the same city [l] that *Livy* calls *Abarna*. 20. *Vesionica*, now *Civitella di Benezzone*, was not far from *Arna*. The *Vesionicates*, its citizens, have been mentioned by *Pliny* [m]. 21. *Asisium*, now *Assisi*, stood to the east of *Arna*. That it was a *Roman* municipium, we learn from some [n] inscriptions. The *Asisinates* are mentioned by *Pliny* [o], and *Asisium* by *Ptolemy*. 22. *Vettona*, now *Bettona*, was seated about three miles from the confluence of the *Topino* and the *Tiber*. 23. *Hispellum*, at present *Hispello*, or *Ispello*, was erected between *Asisium* and *Spolatium*, and in after-ages a *Roman* colony. It has been mentioned by *Pliny*, *Silius* [p], and *Strabo*. 24. *Fulginium*, now *Fuligno*, stood a little to the south of *Hispellum* [q], upon the banks of the *Tinia*, now the *Topino*. 25. *Mevania*, now *Bevagna*, was situated near the confluence of the *Tinia*, and the *Clitumnus*. It has been taken notice of by a [r] great number of the antients. 26. *Nuceria*, or *Nuceria Camellaria*, now *Nocera*, stood in the *Flaminian* way, not far from the source of the *Tinia*. It has been mentioned by *Ptolemy* and *Strabo* [s]. That it was a place of great antiquity, may be inferred from some coins belonging to it [t], with *Etruscan* legends upon them. 27. *Trebia* [u], now *Trevi*, stood between *Fulginium* and *Spoletum*, five miles from the former, and nine from the latter of those places. 28. *Spoletium* [w], now *Spoleto*, a city seated in a plain almost surrounded by a branch of the *Apennines*, must be considered as a place of a very high antiquity. It has been taken notice of by many antient writers, and was, according to *Cicero*, a *Latin* colony. 29. *Tuder*, now *Todi*, was situated a little to the west of *Spoletium*, and near the banks of the *Tiber*. It has been [x] mentioned by *Plutarch*, *Silius*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*. Father *Gori* thinks [y] he has discovered some coins of this city, with *Etruscan* legends upon them; which, if admitted, will be a convincing evidence of its remote antiquity. 30. *Ameria*, now *Amelia*, stood upon an eminence not far from the western bank of the *Nar*, at present called the *Nera*. According to [z] *Cato*, *Ameria* was built 383 years before *Rome*. 31. *Interamna*, now *Terni*, was seated a little to the east of *Ameria*. The *Nar* formerly invironed it; from which circumstance it deduced its name. This we learn from *Varro* [a] and *Festus*. It appears from an antient [b] inscription, that *Interamna* was built eighty years after the foundation of *Rome*. *Tuder* was a *Roman* colony, *Ameria* a municipium and colony, and *Interamna* a municipium. 32. *Narnia*, at present *Narni*, was situated upon an high and craggy mountain, whose foot was washed by the *Nar*. Hence came the name of the town. Its first name seems to have been *Nequinum*. We find it mentioned by a vast [c] number of antient writers. 33. *Carsulæ*, or *Carsuli*, stood between *Narnia* and *Mevania*, in the *Flaminian Way*. It seems to have been a place of very considerable note, according to [d] *Strabo*. From *Tacitus* we [e] may collect, that it was about ten miles distant from *Narnia*. 34. *Tardinum* also stood in the *Flaminian Way*, at no great distance from *Narnia*. *Cluverius* thinks, that *Todino* answers to the antient town of *Tardinum*. 35. *Ocriculum*, now *Otricoli*, was built upon the eastern bank of the *Tiber*, near the confines of *Latium*. It made a considerable figure in the times [g] of the *Roman* republic, and was a municipium. 36. *Casuentum* [h] and *Vindinum* were two remarkable cities of *Umbria*, in *Pliny*'s time; but their situation cannot now, with any manner of accuracy, be determined.

Mountains It has been already observed from *Ptolemy*, that *Umbria* [i] was divided into two parts by the *Apennines*; one of these that geographer calls *Olumbria*, and the other *Vilumbria*: but whether this division prevailed in the earlier ages, we cannot take upon us

[k] Sil. Ital. lib. viii. Plin. & Ptol. ubi supra. [l] Liv. lib. x. [m] Plin. ubi supra. [n] Inscript. antiq. apud Cluver. ubi supra, p. 627. Plin. ubi supra. [o] Plin. ubi supra. [p] Idem ibid. Sil. Ital. lib. iii. Strab. lib. v. [q] Sil. Ital. lib. viii. Appian. bell. civil. lib. iv. Plin. ubi supra. [r] Liv. Propert. Strab. Columel. Plin. Sil. Ital. Lucan. Stat. Phleg. Trallian. Ptolem. &c. [s] Ptol. & Strab. ubi supra. [t] Anton. Francisc. Gor. musf. Etrusc. p. 423. [u] Plin. ubi supra. Juvenal. scholiast. [w] Cic. pro L. Corn. Balb. Plin. ubi supra. Liv. Paterc. Strabo, Appian. Sueton. Ptol. Flor. &c. [x] Plut. pass. Sil. Ital. lib. vi. Plin. Ptol. & Strabo, ubi supra. [y] Anton. Francisc. Gor. musf. Etrusc. p. 422. [z] Cat. apud Plin. ubi supra. [a] Var. de ling. Latin. lib. iv. Fest. in voce Interam. [b] Inscript. antiq. apud Just. Fontanin. de antiquitat. Hort. p. 134. Romæ, 1723. [c] Liv. Strab. Sil. Ital. Mart. Tacit. Plutarch. Ptol. &c. [d] Strab. lib. v. [e] Tacit. hist. lib. iii. Vide etiam Phil. Cluver. ubi supra, p. 638. [f] Plin. ubi supra. [g] Liv. Strab. Plin. Tacit. Ptol. Flor. &c. [h] Plin. ubi supra. Inscript. apud Cluver. ubi supra, p. 641. [i] Ptol. ubi supra.

to

to decide. Beſides the *Apennines*, we ſcarce meet with any mountains in *Umbria*, that have merited the attention of the *Greek* and *Latin* writers.

THE principal rivers of *Umbria* were, the *Nar* [k], now the *Nera*; the *Tiber*, which ſerved this country as a boundary on the ſide of *Etruria* [l]; the *Tinia*, now the *Topino*; the *Æſis* [m], now the *Fiumiſino*; the *Miſus* [n], now the *Miſo* and *Nigola*; the *Sena* [o], now the *Ceſano*; the *Metaurus* [p], now the *Metro*; the *Piſaurus* [q], now the *Foglia*; the *Cruſtumius* [r], now the *Conca*; the *Apruſa* [s], now the *Aluſa*; and the *Ariminus* [t], now the *Merecchia*. To which we may add the *Sapis*, now the *Savio*; and the *Utis*, now the *Montone* [u], as has been already obſerved. The ten laſt rivers iſſued out of the *Apennines*, and diſcharged themſelves into the *Adriatic*. As for the *Umbro*, which we have mentioned in our deſcription of *Etruria*, that was the chief, if not only, river of the antient *Umbria*, and [w] gave name to the whole diſtrict. But the *Umbrians* were afterwards forced to cede the [x] banks of this river, with the adjacent territory, to the *Etruſcans*, though it has retained its primitive appellation even to this day. *Rivers.*

THAT the *Umbrians* agreed with the *Etruſcans* in their form of government, laws, manners, arts, literature, and religion, appears extremely probable from ſeveral conſiderations: the *Etruſcans*, in a manner, conquered, and were, from the remoteſt antiquity, intermixed with, the *Umbrians*. If the *Etruſcans* communicated almoſt every thing relating to government, arts, literature, religion, &c. at firſt to the other nations of *Italy*, as it is plain they did, then the *Umbrians* muſt have derived from them their literature and politeneſs, their civil and religious inſtitutions [y]. The moſt celebrated fragments of antiquity, dug up in *Umbria*, that diſcover, in a great meaſure, the turn and genius of the old inhabitants of that country, agree in almoſt all particulars [z] with thoſe found in *Etruria*. Laſtly, the *Umbrians* and *Etruſcans* ſeem, for the moſt part, from what has been advanced, to have had the ſame origin: at leaſt it muſt be allowed, that the greateſt part of both thoſe nations came from countries not very diſtant from each other, and that, as may be ſuppoſed, in an age, when a ſimilitude of manners and religion prevailed amongſt the bulk of mankind. *Government, laws, manners, &c. of the Umbrians.*

WHAT has been ſaid of the laws, manners, arts, literature, and religion, of theſe two nations, will hold equally true of their language, and alphabetic characters; but it will be likewiſe requiſite farther to obſerve, that this is ſet in the cleareſt light by the moſt antient inſcriptions diſcovered in *Umbria* and *Etruria*; for theſe agree in the forms and ducts of the letters, in the words of which they are compoſed, and in almoſt all other particulars [a]. Nor can it reaſonably be imagined, that there was any material difference between either the letters or languages uſed in *Umbria* and *Etruria*; for the *Etruſcan* alphabet ſavours of the remoteſt antiquity, and moſt of the antient *Tuſcan* words are of *Oriental* extraction. Now the *Umbrians*, as there is good reaſon to believe, came into *Italy*, out of the eaſt, not many centuries after the deluge. The firſt alphabet and language therefore of that people muſt be conſidered as nearly approaching ſuch a tongue and character, as thoſe of the earlieſt *Tuſcans* appear to have been [b]. *Language of the Umbrians.*

HOWEVER, it muſt be remembred, that all languages, in the courſe of a great number of years, undergo many alterations. That, in fact, both the *Umbrian* and *Etruſcan* tongues have met with this fate, may be evinced from a variety of inſcriptions found in *Umbria* and *Etruria*. The nearer theſe approach the primitive times, the more they abound with *Oriental* words, as will be found by every curious examiner of them; whereas ſome of them, that were the produce of later ages, greatly recede, both in their language and ſimplicity, from thoſe of the earlieſt date. But, though the *Umbrians*, as well as the *Etruſcans*, ſome time before, and after, their becoming a part of the *Roman* power, had their antient tongue diſguiſed by a large acceſſion of *Greek* and *Roman* words, yet we believe, that, even then, it was vaſtly different from the *Latin*.

[k] CIC. VIRG. OVID. LIV. STRAB. PLIN. SIL. ITAL. LUCAN. TACIT. CLAUD. &c. [l] PLIN. SIL. ITAL. &c. [m] MEL. STRAB. PLIN. PLUT. APPIAN. PTOL. &c. [n] LUCAN. SIL. ITAL. &c. [o] HOR. LIV. VALER. MAXIM. STRAB. MEL. PLIN. &c. Tab. itinerar. Antonin. [p] PLIN. ubi ſupra. AGGENUS de controverſ. agror. VIB. SEQUEST. de flumin. LUCAN. lib. ii. [q] PLIN. VIB. SEQUEST. & LUCAN. ubi ſupra. [r] PLIN. ubi ſupra, c. 15. [s] Idem ibid. STEPH. BYZANT. FEST. CIC. HOR. &c. [t] PLIN. ubi ſupra. STRAB. SIL. ITAL. LUCAN. &c. [u] PLIN. lib. iii. c. 5. FRANCISC. MARIAN de Etrur. metrop. c. 6. [w] DION. HALICARN. LIV. PLIN. [x] DION. HALICARN. antiq. Roman. lib. i. [y] See the hiſtory of the *Etruſcans*, ſect. 2. [z] Tab. apud Dempſt. de Etrur. Regal. Tab. apud ANTON. FRANCIS. GOR. muſ. Etruſc. cxlviii. cxlix. cxcvi. cxcvii. [a] Tab. apud Dempſt. & Gor. quamplurim. [b] See the hiſtory of the *Etruſcans*, and before, p. 71, (C).

This ſeems to appear not only from the *Eugubian* tables, but from ſeveral antient authors of an eſtabliſhed and undoubted reputation [c].

The Umbrians *the ſame with the* Aborigines.

DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS, in the firſt book of his *Roman* [d] antiquities, ſeems to repreſent the *Umbrians* and *Aborigines* as two different nations; but he ſpeaks ſo briefly, and at the ſame time ſo confuſedly, of them, that he is ſcarce intelligible. In one place, he intimates the *Siculi* to have been the firſt people of *Italy*, and in another the *Aborigines:* but elſewhere he inſinuates the *Aborigines* to be deſcended from the *Oenotrians*, who found the *Umbrians* ſettled in *Italy*, upon their arrival there. In fine, *Dionyſius*, as well as the generality of the antients, muſt be allowed to give a very imperfect and indiſtinct account of the firſt migrations of the *Orientals* into the country we are now upon; ſo that we are of opinion [e], that the *Umbri*, being an antient people, of whoſe origin we have no records, ought to be looked upon as [f] the Αὐτόχθονες of the *Greeks*, and the *Aborigines* of the *Latins*.

THIS ſeems to be confirmed by *Pliny*, and even *Dionyſius* himſelf; for *Pliny* informs us, that the *Umbri* were the moſt antient people of *Italy*; and *Dionyſius*, though in direct contradiction to what he had before advanced, ſuggeſts the *Tyrſeni* and Αὐτόχθονες to have been the ſame [g] people. Now, it has been before rendered highly probable, that the *Tyrſenians*, or *Etruſcans*, and the [h] *Umbrians*, could ſcarce, at firſt, have come from different countries.

The Etruſcans *formerly maſters of* Umbria.

BE that as it will, the *Etruſcans* were, for many ages, probably maſters of *Umbria*, ſince the whole continent of *Italy* ſeems to have been antiently under their dominion [i]. And, in confirmation of this notion, we find a body of *Umbrian* troops aſſiſted the *Etruſcans* in their expedition againſt the people of *Cumæ*, about the ſixty-fourth [k] *Olympiad*. It is worthy obſervation, that, in the paſſage here referred to, *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis* [l] expreſly diſtinguiſhes the *Celtes* from the *Umbrians*; which amounts to a ſufficient proof, that the *Umbrians* were not of *Celtic* extraction.

BUT, as this is a point of ſome importance in the hiſtorical world, we muſt beg (D) leave

[c] DION. HALICARN. antiquitat. Roman. lib. i. AUL. GELL. noct. Attic. lib. xi. c. 7. STRAB. lib. v. Vide etiam JUST. FONTANIN. de antiquitat. Hort. p. 143, 144. Romæ, 1723. [d] DIONYS. HALICAR. antiquitat. Roman. lib. i. [e] See BUNDY's tranſlation of Catrou and Rouillé's Roman hiſtory, p. 9. note 47. [f] FLOR. l. ii. c. 17. PLIN. l. iii. c. 14. DION. HALICARN. l. i. c. 8. SERV. in Virg. Æneid. &c. [g] PLIN. & DION. HALICARN. ubi ſupra. [h] See the hiſtory of the *Etruſcans*, ſect. 3. and before, p. 69. [i] See the hiſtory of the *Etruſcans*, in the beginning of the firſt ſection. [k] DIONYS. HALICARN. l. vii. [l] Idem ibid.

(D) Suppoſing *Moſes* to have written the *Pentateuch* about the time of the *exodus*, or in the year of the world 2513. as it is but reaſonable to ſuppoſe, the book of *Geneſis* was compoſed about 847 years after the deluge. But then *the iſles of the gentiles*, i. e. according to the general acceptation of the phraſe, *Europe*, or a very conſiderable part of it, were *divided in their lands by the ſons of Javan*, to wit, *Eliſhah*, *Tarſhiſh*, *Kittim*, and *Dodanim*. We ſay, *by the ſons of* Javan, not only becauſe all their families were then ſettled in *Europe*, but likewiſe becauſe the verſes containing the names of thoſe ſons, and the above-mentioned obſervation, are immediately connected. Nay, that obſervation cannot, with any propriety, be applied to the ſons of *Gomer* in the preceding verſe, becauſe ſome of them at leaſt were ſettled only in *Aſia*, when *Moſes* committed to writing the ſhort account he has given us of the firſt peopling of the world. Some of *Gomer*'s poſterity did indeed, after this period, migrate into ſeveral parts of *Europe*; but this does not in the leaſt tend to overturn what is here advanced (4).

When *Moſes* affirms (5), that *the iſles of the gentiles were divided by the ſons of Javan*, we are plainly to underſtand him as aſſerting, that theſe iſles, or *Europe*, or at leaſt a conſiderable part of that vaſt tract, was peopled by *Javan's* family, before he wrote the *Pentateuch*. Nor is it of any conſequence to the point in view, whether many parts of it were thinly inhabited or not. It is ſufficient for our purpoſe, that *Moſes* clearly intimates thoſe parts of *Europe*, which ſeem to have been firſt cultivated, that is, *Greece* and *Italy*, to have been occupied by the ſons of *Javan*, a conſiderable time before the departure of the *Iſraelites* out of *Egypt*. For this ſeems neceſſarily to imply, that the earlieſt colonies of *Javan*'s family muſt have reached *Greece* and *Italy* 4 or 500 years before the *exodus*; ſince an interval of 4 or 500 years muſt neceſſarily elapſe between the firſt arrival of a colony in ſo long a tract, and the peopling of it. What has been ſaid of *Javan's* progeny, does not exclude the migration of ſome of *Ham*'s deſcendents, nor even of the patriarch *Shem*'s, into *Greece* and *Italy*. It only ſuppoſes, that the firſt colonies detached to *Greece* and *Italy* were of *Javan*'s line; or, at fartheſt, that moſt of the inhabitants of theſe countries in *Moſes*'s days ought to have conſidered the patriarch *Javan* as their great progenitor.

Now, as the firſt colonies that arrived in *Greece* and *Italy* muſt at leaſt have paſſed either the *Thracian Boſporus*, or the *Helleſpont*, mankind muſt have been acquainted with ſome ſort of navigating veſſels, about 4 or 500 years after the flood. This in-

(4) *Gen.* x. 3, 4, 5. *Sam. Bochart. Phal. l.* i. *c.* 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. *p.* 153--171. *Lugd. Bat.* 1692. (5) *Gen.* x. 3, 4, 5.

tirely

leave to be a little more particular in the diſcuſſion of it. According to *Zenodotus* [m] *Trœzenius*, the *Umbrian* hiſtorian, his nation firſt ſettled themſelves in the diſtrict of *Reate*, Umbrians *not deſcended from the* Celtes.

[m] ZENODOTUS TROEZENIUS ap. Dionyſ. Halicarnaſſ. l. ii. ut & ipſe DIONYS. l. i.

tirely overthrows the hypotheſis of thoſe perſons (6), who think the poſterity of *Gomer* and *Magog* firſt peopled *Europe*, becauſe they had no kind of ſhipping, and becauſe it was more natural for the firſt migrators to travel by land, than to croſs even an arm of the ſea. For, from what has been advanced, it appears, that *Javan*'s ſons muſt have actually paſſed, and conſequently have been able to paſs, either the *Thracian Boſporus*, or the *Helleſpont* at leaſt, in ſome ſorts of veſſels, 4 or 500 years before the departure of the *Iſraelites* out of *Egypt*. Nor will it mend the matter to ſay, that in thoſe early ages the continents of *Europe* and *Aſia* were connected; and therefore we are under no neceſſity to ſuppoſe, that the deſcendents of *Javan* had any ſort of veſſels, ſince they might paſs by land into *Europe* out of *Aſia*. For then the above-mentioned objection vaniſhes of courſe, ſince, in ſuch a caſe, we may as well, nay, much better, ſuppoſe *Javan*'s family to have come by land into *Greece* and *Italy*, as the *Gomerians*. But that the *Orientals* were not unacquainted with coaſting veſſels, at leaſt within 4 or 500 years of the deluge (7), has been evinced by father *Calmet*, and may be inferred from what we have laid down in the hiſtory of the *Etruſcans*.

That the deſcendents of all the ſons of *Javan*, in conformity to what *Moſes* ſuggeſts, were ſettled in *Europe*, and ſome, if not all, of the branches of *Gomer*'s family in *Aſia*, has been rendered extremely probable by *Bochart*. Other authors might be produced on this occaſion, were it in any manner neceſſary. But *Bochart*, in conjunction with *Moſes*, we think abundantly ſufficient to ſet this point beyond diſpute (8).

As therefore the *Umbrians* ſeem to be one of the very firſt colonies which fixed themſelves in *Italy*, and that in the neighbourhood of the river *Umbro*, we rather chooſe to deduce them from the family of *Javan*, and the antient *Cerethites*, than the *Celtes*, or antient *Gauls*. The principal objections to this hypotheſis (for indeed ſuch we own it to be) have been already obviated in this note; and therefore, we are perſuaded, they will not greatly affect it. For with regard to what *Bocchus* (9) has advanced concerning the origin of the *Umbrians*, and after him *Solinus*, *Servius*, and others of a ſtill later date, it ſcarce deſerves any conſideration. For *Bocchus*'s authority could have been of no great weight, as he was an *African*, and conſequently little acquainted with the origin of the firſt *Italian* nations. Nay, the teſtimony of ſuch an author ſeems ſo abſurd, that there is great reaſon to ſuppoſe *Solinus*, in the paſſage here referred to, to have been corrupted by the ignorance of tranſcribers: and upon his authority depends that of the ſubſequent writers. *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis*, indeed, amongſt other opinions concerning the origin of the *Aborigines*, mentions one which makes them a colony of the *Ligurians*, whom ſome took to have been originally *Gauls*. But as he ſeems to pay little regard to that notion, nay, to treat it as a fable, his authority in this point ought not to be inſiſted upon (1). Beſides, *Dionyſius*, when he ſpeaks of the *Aborigines* and *Umbrians*, contradicts himſelf in a moſt flagrant manner.

But, ſuppoſing *Bocchus*'s authority to be of greater weight than we really take it to be, why may he not be underſtood of thoſe *Gauls* who invaded *Italy* in the reign of *Tarquinius Priſcus*? For it may be preſumed, that ſome of theſe intermixed with the *Umbrians*; and therefore the later *Umbrians* might have been conſidered as the progeny of the *Gauls*. This notion is countenanced by the Fathers *Catrou* and *Rouillé* (2). Be that as it will, we think the *Umbrians* could not have been the deſcendents of any earlier *Gauls*; ſince it appears pretty plain from *Livy* (3), a writer, in point of authority, ſuperior to *Bocchus*, that no *Gallic* colonies, before the above-mentioned period, ever paſſed the *Alps*.

Nay, admitting *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis*'s teſtimony in the preſent caſe to be of conſiderable force, which it really is not, he may alſo be underſtood of the *Gauls*, who penetrated into *Italy* about 600 years before the birth of Chriſt. For we learn from *Livy* (4), that all tranſactions which preceded the burning of *Rome* by the *Gauls*, were, in his time, conſidered as events of remote antiquity; and therefore ſome of theſe might have been confounded with others of a much earlier date.

That *Italy* did not remain uncultivated, and without inhabitants, 500 years after the flood, is a point as well atteſted as any thing can be at ſuch a vaſt diſtance of time. But is it poſſible, in the nature of things, that planters here, of ſuch a very remote antiquity, ſhould have been *Gomerians*? The gentlemen themſelves, who would have *Italy* firſt peopled by the deſcendents of *Gomer*, overthrow ſuch a ſuppoſition. For, according to them, theſe ſame *Gomerians* not only traverſed, but peopled, a very conſiderable part of the globe, before they reached *Italy*. They penetrated gradually through many of the vaſt northern regions of *Aſia*, as well as inſenſibly ſpread themſelves weſtward, towards *Poland*, *Hungary*, *Germany*, *France*, and ſo quite up to *Spain*; and even planted numerous colonies in all theſe countries, before any of them arrived in *Italy*. Nay, they performed all thoſe migrations by land, and conſequently muſt have made a very ſlow and dilatory progreſs in them. And yet, however ſtrange it may appear, M. *Leibnitz* (5), and others, produce this laſt circumſtance as an argument to prove, that the *Celtes* were the firſt inhabitants of *Italy*; whereas, in conjunction with what has been offered, it moſt effectually overturns ſuch a notion. For can it be imagined, that the *Celtes*, or *Gomerians*, who ſpread themſelves over ſuch vaſt regions in ſo ſlow a manner, could gain the frontiers of *Italy* in leſs than 8 or 900 years after the diſperſion? We can by no means believe this poſſible; nay, we are firmly perſuaded, that double that number of years, or nearly ſo, muſt, in the nature of things, have elapſed, before the *Gomerians* or *Celtes* made any conſiderable con-

(6) *Cyriac. Lentul. Germ. par.* 1. *c.* 2. *p.* 59. *G. G. Leibnitius in col. etym. par.* ii. *& in epiſt. ad Jub. Ludolf. d.* 3. *April.* 1699. *ibid.* (7) *Aug. Calm. ubi ſupra. See alſo the beginning of the third ſection of the hiſtory of the* Etruſcans. (8) *Gen.* x. 3, 4, 5. *Bochart. ubi ſupra.* (9) *Solin. Bocch. & Iſidor. apud Pezr. ant. Celt. nat. c.* 10. *Serv. ad Virg. Æn. l.* xii. (1) *Dionyſ. Halicarnaſſenſ. l.* i. (2) *Catrou & Rouillé Rom. hiſt. l.* xix. (3) *Liv. l.* v. *c.* 34. (4) *Idem, l* vi *ſub init.* (5) *G. G. Leibnitius, ubi ſupra. Pezr. ant. Celt. Cyriac. Lentul. ubi ſupra*

queſts

Reate, and were from thence expelled by the *Æmonian Pelaſgi*. This laſt event is confirmed by *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis*, who likewiſe diſcovers to us the age in which it happened. Now it does not appear from hiſtory, that the *Gauls*, or *Celtes*, as they are called by the *Greek* writers, ever viſited *Italy* before the reign of *Tarquinius Priſcus*, about ſix hundred years before the birth of CHRIST. Nay, ſome of the antients, who would have the *Umbrians* to be the progeny of the *Celtes* [n], ſuppoſe the former nation to have been the deſcendents of thoſe *Gauls* only, who firſt made an irruption into *Italy* in the time of *Tarquinius Priſcus*. As therefore the firſt ſettlement of the *Umbrians* in *Italy* muſt have preceded that period, even upon Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s ſyſtem, at leaſt ſeven hundred years, it can by no means be deemed probable, that the antient *Umbrians* were of a *Celtic* original.

BUT here we would not be miſunderſtood. When we declare our diſſent from thoſe, who aſſert the antient *Umbrians* to have been the poſterity of the *Celtes*, we do not intend to exclude the family of *Japhet*, in the earlieſt ages, from *Italy*. On the contrary, we are firmly perſuaded, that ſome of that family fixed themſelves there: but, notwithſtanding this, we cannot come into the opinion of thoſe authors, who ſuppoſe the antient *Umbrians* to have proceeded originally from the *Celtes*; for ſuch a ſuppoſition runs counter, as we apprehend, to the whole ſtream of antiquity. However, we cannot think the later *Umbrians* free from a tincture of *Gallic* blood, ſince they were either the deſcendents of the *Gauls*, or intermixed with ſeveral cantons of them. This muſt neceſſarily have happened after the *Celtic Gauls* had diſpoſſeſſed the antient *Umbrians* and *Etruſcans* of a conſiderable extent of territory [o], and kept up an intercourſe with them for a long ſeries of years.

The Gauls *invade* Umbria.

FROM the arrival of the *Æmonian Pelaſgi* in *Italy*, to the reign of *Tarquinius Priſcus*, we find little mention made of the *Umbrians* by the antient hiſtorians; from whence we may conclude, that they bore a very inconſiderable figure during that period: but, when the *Gauls* made their firſt irruption into *Italy*, they ſeem to have attacked the *Umbrians*, and deprived them of part of their territory [p]; though of the particulars of this invaſion we are not informed. From this time, to the year of *Rome* 356. there is a profound ſilence in hiſtory as to the *Umbrian* affairs. Then the *Gauls* fell upon *Umbria* [q], which was probably under the ſovereignty of the *Etruſcans*; for the *Senones* at that time undertook an expedition againſt the *Etruſcans*, and ſoon after penetrated to *Cluſium*. That nation now poſſeſſed themſelves of all the country from *Ravenna* to *Picenum*. They were about ſix years in ſettling themſelves there, whilſt the *Roman* arms were employed in carrying on the ſiege of *Veii* [r]. The territories, now acquired by the *Gauls*, continued in their hands, till they were ſtripped of them by the *Romans*.

The Camerſes *enter into an alliance with the* Romans.

WE hear nothing farther of the *Umbrians*, that merits the leaſt attention, till the year of *Rome* 443. when the conſul *Fabius Rullianus*, by the aſſiſtance of an *Umbrian* canton, paſſed through a conſiderable part of the *Ciminian* foreſt, and poſted himſelf upon the hill *Ciminus*. The conſul's brother, with a ſlave, after ſurmounting many difficulties, arrived at *Camers* (E), a city of great note in *Umbria*. The *Roman* was well received here, and attempted a negotiation with ſucceſs. The ſenate of the city was aſſembled,

[n] See CATR. and ROUIL. Rom. hiſt. b. xix. towards the beginning. [o] DION. HALICAR. PLIN. CATR. & ROUIL. ubi ſupra. [p] LIV. l. v. c. 34. PLUT. in Camill. Vide etiam CATROU & ROUIL. l. xiii. [q] LIV. & PLUT. ubi ſupra. [r] Iidem ibid.

queſts in *Italy*. From whence it is almoſt to demonſtration clear, that *Livy* (6) approaches extremely near the truth, when he intimates, that the *Gauls*, or *Celtes*, firſt paſſed the *Alps* about 600 years before the birth of Chriſt. In ſhort, our reaſoning here, and the authority of the *Latin* hiſtorian, mutually ſtrengthen and ſupport each other.

Upon the whole, we think it clearly appears, that much may be ſaid in favour of our opinion; whereas the novel ſyſtem of M. *Leibnitz*, M. *Pezron*, and other modern writers, oppoſite to it, ſeems at leaſt very tottering and precarious. The former is founded upon the reaſon and nature of things, and conſonant to the whole ſtream of antiquity; but the latter depends only upon ſome forced etymologies, and a few ſcraps extracted from the antients, which, upon examination, will be found by no means adequate to the end they are intended to ſerve. We do not, however, pretend to inſiſt upon the truth of what has been here advanced; but only beg leave to ſubmit it, with all poſſible deference, to the judgment and conſideration of the learned.

(E) *Camers*, or *Cameria*, was in the neighbourhood of *Carnina*, near the *Anio*; but the learned *Lucas Holſtenius* places it beyond this river, towards the ſpot on which *Palombara* now ſtands.

(6) *Liv. l. v. c.* 34.

and engaged to furniſh the *Roman* army, upon its arrival on their frontiers, with proviſions for thirty days, and to join the *Roman* auxiliaries with a conſiderable body of troops [s]. Hence we may infer, that, at this time, ſome of the *Umbrian* tribes at leaſt, in their form of government, reſembled the *Roman* republic, and, as may be preſumed, ſome of the neighbouring lucumonies of *Etruria*.

FROM the authors here referred to, we may alſo conclude, that, ſo late as the year of *Rome* 443. the city of *Cluſium* retained its antient name of *Camers*, and its citizens thoſe of *Camertes*, amongſt the *Umbrians*; for that nation, having been driven beyond the *Tiber* and the *Apennines* by the *Tyrſenian Pelaſgi*, transferred *Camers*, the firſt name of *Cluſium*, to a new city, which they founded, above two days journey from *Sutrium*. As this name therefore was ſtill by them applied to that new city, they undoubtedly gave *Cluſium*, in memory of which it ſeems to have been built, the primitive appellation. An inſtance parallel to this may be ſuggeſted to us by the *Welſh*, who, notwithſtanding their incorporation, or rather union, with the *Engliſh*, preſerve ſtill, in that part of the iſland they inhabit, the primitive names of all the principal *Britiſh* towns.

THAT the *Umbrians* were now, in ſome reſpect at leaſt, dependent upon the *Etruſcans*, ſeems likewiſe evident from the conduct of the *Umbrian* nation at this critical juncture; for, though the *Camertes* obliged themſelves to join the *Romans*, the bulk of the *Umbrians* united themſelves with the *Etruſcans*. Nor can any thing leſs than this be ſuppoſed, from what has been already advanced.

THE following year, *A. U. C.* 444. the *Umbrians* took the field in favour of the *Etruſcans*; but, upon the firſt attack, they gave ground, and were ſoon after put to the rout. In fine, they found themſelves obliged to diſperſe, not being able to ſtand before a *Roman* army [t]. *The* Romans *defeat the* Umbrians.

THE next campaign, *A. U. C.* 445. the *Romans* entered *Umbria*, in order to open themſelves a way into *Etruria*. The *Umbrians* formed a deſign of advancing to *Rome*, whilſt the two conſuls were employed againſt the *Samnites* and *Etruſcans*. Upon receiving intelligence of this deſign, the conſuls took all proper precautions to render it abortive *Decius* marched his army by the road between *Umbria* and *Rome*, to cover *Latium*. Encamping on a plain called the *Pupinian Field*, in the neighbourhood of *Gabii*, about eight miles from *Rome*, he quietly waited the arrival of the enemy. But *Fabius*, as ſoon as he received orders from the ſenate, immediately left *Samnium*, croſſed *Sabinia*, and entered *Umbria*. Here he encamped on the banks of the *Clitumnus*, near the city of *Mevania*. As the *Umbrians* believed the conſul to be in *Samnium*, they were greatly terrified at his approach; ſo that ſome of them retired with precipitation into their fortified places, and others propoſed entering into a negotiation with the *Romans*. But, in the mean time, a body of troops, which formed a ſquare battalion, inſpired the *Umbrian* army with new courage, and animated it, by their example, to advance towards the enemy. *Fabius* was at that time buſy in fortifying his camp; but, obſerving the motion of the *Umbrians*, he ordered his troops to deſiſt from their works, and prepare for an engagement, According to *Livy*, the *Umbrians* made a moſt contemptible figure in this action. The *Roman* ſoldiers ſcarce made any uſe of their ſwords; but overthrew the enemy's battalions with their ſhoulders and bucklers only. They took the ſtandards from thoſe who gathered them, and carried the ſtandard-bearers to the conſul. In ſuch a tumultuary engagement, it cannot be ſuppoſed, that many fell in the field; but a great part of the *Umbrian* forces ſurrendered at diſcretion: and this put an effectual end to the war, all the *Umbrians*, except the citizens of *Ocriculum*, immediately ſubmitting to the republic. Nor did this town, which was, as it were, the key of *Umbria*, long ſtand out; for, finding itſelf incapable of carrying on the war alone, it deſiſted from all hoſtilities, upon *Fabius*'s promiſe, that it ſhould be received into the republic's favour and protection [u]. *The* Romans *overthrow, and conclude a peace with, the* Umbrians.

NEQUINUM, a city in *Umbria*, afterwards called *Narnia*, from the river *Nar*, which runs by it, aſſerted its independency in the year of *Rome* 463. As, with regard to its ſituation, it was one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes in *Italy*, being built upon the edge of a rock cut into precipices, the *Romans* imagined the reduction of it would prove a work of time; but, though the ſituation would ſcarce permit it to be taken by ſtorm, or even ſuffer an army to inveſt it, the conſul *Apuleius* ventured to beſiege it in form. Nequinum *taken by the* Romans.

[s] Liv. l. ix. c. 36, 37. Flor. l. i. [t] Liv. ubi ſupra, c. 39. [u] Liv. ubi ſupra, c. 41.

Fulvius, his ſucceſſor, for ſome time, carried on the ſiege with great vigour; but could not make his approaches with any expedition. However, the treachery of two *Nequinians* facilitated the reduction of the place: theſe traitors dug a paſſage underground, deep enough to go under the wall, and long enough to extend to the advanced guard of the *Roman* camp. Paſſing then thro' the way they had made, they were ſeized by the *Roman* guard, and carried before the conſul. One of the *Nequinians* he detained as an hoſtage, and ſent the other back to the city, with two *Roman* ſoldiers to attend him. Theſe, after a careful obſervation of every thing, made ſuch a report to *Fulvius*, as increaſed the confidence he had before placed in the deſerters. He then ſent three hundred men, under the direction of thoſe deſerters, to paſs through the ſubterraneous way, and inlarge it. Theſe, having entered the city by night, ſeized one of the gates, whilſt the *Roman* army advanced to ſupport them, and was ready to enter the town upon the firſt ſignal. As ſoon as the gate was opened, the conſul, and his troops, made themſelves maſters of the place [w], without any effuſion of blood. After this conqueſt, the *Romans* planted a colony here, to keep the reſt of *Umbria* in awe. Some authors relate, that the ſiege of *Nequinum* was preceded by a battle, in which the *Nequinians*, though reinforced by a body of *Samnites*, were defeated by *Fulvius*; and *Frontinus* informs us [x], that this victory was, in a great meaſure, owing to the following ſtratagem: *Fulvius* perſuaded his ſoldiers, that one of the enemy's phalanxes had promiſed to come over to him in the heat of the action; and even ſhewed them the ſum of money he was to pay for its deſertion. This he had borrowed from ſome of the richeſt men amongſt his troops, promiſing to return it, with a great reward, after the end of the engagement: which politic conduct ſo animated the *Romans*, that they bore down all before them, and obtained a complete victory. But this blow ſeems neither to have ſhaken the power of the *Umbrians*, nor to have greatly altered their diſpoſition.

For, in the year of *Rome* 457. they entered into an alliance with the *Etruſcans* (if they were not in a ſtate of dependency on that nation), *Samnites*, and *Gauls*, againſt the *Romans*. *Fabius* therefore, the following ſpring, opened the campaign with an irruption into *Umbria*. He firſt, with a ſmall body of troops, encamped near the town of *Arna*, and from thence continued his march to the grand *Roman* camp. The prætors *Fulvius* and *Poſthumius*, entering *Etruria*, and ravaging it, obliged the *Etruſcans* and *Umbrians* to ſeparate from their allies, and advance to the relief of *Etruria*. This occaſioned the defeat of the *Gauls* and *Samnites* at *Sentinum* in *Umbria*, as has been already obſerved in the hiſtory of the *Etruſcans* [y].

What became of the *Etruſcan* and *Umbrian* army, after their ſeparation from the *Samnites* and *Gauls*, we are not told by the *Roman* hiſtorians. This certainly was a moſt unaccountable omiſſion; but the limits we have here preſcribed ourſelves will not permit us, at preſent, to expatiate upon it.

Umbria *becomes a part of the* Roman *ſtate.*

We are ſcarce ſupplied with a ſingle article, or paragraph, after this period, by the antients, relating to the *Umbrian* affairs; from whence it may be inferred, that, ſoon after the battle of *Sentinum*, *Umbria* became a part of the *Roman* ſtate. Nor is this opinion rendered at all improbable by a certain author [z], when he intimates, that an anonymous nation endeavoured to excite the *Umbrians* to a rupture with the republic, in the year of *Rome* 473. For ſuch an attempt might have been made, upon ſuppoſition that the *Umbrians* were ſubject to the *Romans*; in which caſe, by the ſuggeſtions of ſome neighbouring power, they might have been excited to a revolt: but, at this juncture, they were afraid of drawing upon themſelves the *Roman* arms; and therefore the attempts of the aforeſaid nation did not meet with any ſucceſs: ſo that this paſſage, every thing conſidered, rather tends to confirm our opinion, than to detract from the probability of it.

In fine, about this period *Rome* was in a moſt flouriſhing condition: ſhe had either ſubdued by her arms, or awed by her colonies, moſt of the neighbouring nations; ſhe gave laws to the greateſt part of *Italy*, and, in particular, had ſo far inlarged her conqueſts on the other ſide of the *Tiber*, that they extended from the *Tyrrhenian* ſea to the *Adriatic*. With this obſervation, we ſhall beg leave to conclude our hiſtory of the *Umbrians*.

[w] Idem, l. x. c. 10. [x] Frontin. ſtrat. l. xi. Vide etiam faſt. Capitol. ad A. U. C. 454. [y] See the hiſtory of the *Etruſcans*, p. 65. [z] Dion. apud Fulv. Urſin.

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THE *Sabines*, according to *Zenodotus Trœzenius*, were a branch of the *Umbrians* [a], or, as ſome will have it, of the *Oſci* [b], or *Opici*. We are inclined to adhere to the opinion of *Zenodotus Trœzenius*; though *Cluverius* [c] gives the preference to the other opinion. In the time of *Lycurgus*, a colony of *Lacedæmonians* [d] planted themſelves in the territory of the *Sabines*, being driven from their own country by the ſeverity of that legiſlator. Hence it came to paſs, that ſome of the antients [e] have conſidered the *Sabines* in general as a colony of the *Lacedæmonians*. But that this notion is void of a proper foundation, may be inferred from *Livy*, and *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis*. As therefore we take the *Sabines* to have been of an *Umbrian* original, their hiſtory naturally ſucceeds that of the *Umbrians*. *Origin of the Sabines.*

THE country of the *Sabines* was bounded on the north by *Umbria* and *Picenum*; on the ſouth by *Latium*; on the weſt by part of *Umbria* and *Etruria*; and on the eaſt by the territories of the *Picentes*, *Veſtini*, and *Marſi* [f]. Its length was computed to be a thouſand ſtadia, or [g] an hundred and twenty-five miles, according to *Strabo*. The *Picentes*, *Samnites* [h], *Lucanians*, and *Brutians*, deduced their origin from the *Sabines*. The *Picentes*, in particular, ſeem to have been [i] placed at firſt in a diſtrict between the *Nar* and the *Anio*. As for the *Samnites*, they were, in the earlieſt times [k], called *Saunites*, or *Sabinites*, a derivation apparently from *Sabini*. That the *Lucanians* and *Brutians* were originally *Sabine* colonies, we learn from *Strabo* [l]. *Servius* [m] produces *Varro*'s authority, in order to prove, that *Oenotrus* himſelf was king of the *Sabines*. *Country of the Sabines.*

SILIUS makes one *Sabus* the firſt leader of the *Sabines*, and believes that he communicated his name to that nation. *Virgil* and *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis* denominate this prince *Sabinus*; and the latter of thoſe writers aſſerts him to have been the ſon of *Sancus*, the genius of the region the *Sabines* inhabited. From *Ovid* we may collect *Sancus* to have been the *Zeus Piſtius*, or the *Dius Fidius*, of the antients. He likewiſe went under the name of *Sangus*, and *Semo Sangus*, as we learn from *Livy*, *Pliny*, and *Feſtus*. According to *Varro*, *Sancus*, in the language of the *Sabines*, was equivalent to *Hercules* in *Greek*. *Sancus* was the principal deity of the *Sabines*, and, as we apprehend, one of their deified heroes. From what has been already advanced, we muſt conclude him to have been either of *Umbrian* or *Etruſcan* extraction [n]. Sabus *the firſt leader of the Sabines.*

THE government, laws, language, arts, manners, and religion, of the *Sabines*, in the main, muſt have been almoſt the ſame with thoſe of the *Umbrians* and *Etruſcans*, from one or both of which nations they were undoubtedly deſcended. With regard to their religion, however, it ought to be obſerved, that ſome peculiarities prevailed among the *Sabines*, as well as every other antient people of *Italy*. One of theſe peculiarities, if not the principal of them, was the high honour and adoration paid to *Sancus*, whom the *Sabines* conſidered as the chief deity of their country. *Jupiter* and *Juno Curis* were likewiſe moſt diſtinguiſhed deities amongſt them. The worſhip of thoſe divinities, and *Sancus*, paſſed from them to the *Romans*: nor can this be wondered at, ſince the coalition of the *Roman* and *Sabine* nations, even in *Romulus*'s time, muſt of courſe have introduced into *Rome* the *Sabine* religion [o]. *Government, laws, language, &c. of the Sabines.*

THAT the language and alphabetic characters of the petty nations in the neighbourhood of *Latium* were the ſame as the *Etruſcan*, does not only appear from what has been already laid down, but likewiſe from ſeveral *Etruſcan* coins. Thoſe coins exhibit, on the face, the double head of *Janus*, and, on the reverſe, a fiſh reſembling a dolphin, a club, *&c.* with the legend 𐌅𐌄𐌋𐌀𐌕𐌓𐌉 FELATRI, or VELATRI. Father *Gori* [p] takes them to have been, and with great truth in our opinion, coins or weights of the city of *Velitræ*, or, as it is now called, *Veletri*. All the *Oriental* languages

[a] ZENODOTUS TROEZENIUS apud Dionyſ. Halicarnaſſen. lib. ii. [b] VARRO de ling. Lat. lib. iv. Vide etiam PHIL. CLUVER. ubi ſupra, lib. i. c. 6. p. 43. [c] CLUVER ubi ſupra, & lib. ii. c. 8. p. 646. [d] DION. HALICAR. lib. ii. [e] HYGIN. grammat. & SERV. ad Æn. viii. apud Cluver. ubi ſupra, p. 644. [f] LIV. STRAB. DION. HALICAR. aliique ſcriptor. antiq. apud Phil. Cluver. ubi ſupra, p. 649, 650. ut & ipſe CLUVER. ibid. [g] STRAB. lib v. [h] Idem ibid. [i] PLIN. lib. iii. c. 12. MEL. lib. ii. c. 4. STRAB. ubi ſupra. Vide & CLUVER. ubi ſupra. [k] STRAB & FEST. apud Cluver ubi ſupra, p. 648. [l] STRAB. ubi ſupra. [m] VAR. apud Serv. ad Æn. lib i. Vide etiam CLUVER. ubi ſupra, p. 649. [n] PORCIUS CATO apud DION. HALICAR. lib ii. SIC. ITAL. lib. viii. VIRG. Æn. lib. vii. DION. HALICAR. ubi ſupra. OVID. faſt. lib vi. LIV lib. viii. PLIN. lib. viii. c. 48 FEST. & D. AUGUST. de civit. Dei, lib. xviii. c. 19. VAR. de ling. Lat. lib. iv. Vide & alios ſcriptor. apud Cluver. ubi ſupra. [o] D AUGUST. ubi ſupra. LACTANT. de falſ. relig. lib. i. c. 15. LIV. PLIN. FEST. VAR. &c. ubi ſupra. TERTULL. apol. SERV. ad Æn. lib. i. MACROB. Saturn lib. i c 9. [p] ANTON. FRANCISC. GOR. muſ. Etruſc. p. 247. Tab. apud Gor. cxcvi.

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(and ſuch was the *Etruſcan*) allowed of a frequent permutation of vowels; and therefore *Veletri* was probably, in the earlieſt ages, written *Velatri*. And this receives a conſiderable acceſſion of ſtrength from *Mariani* [q], and the *Academici della Cruſca*, who prove many antient *Etruſcan* words to be ſtill retained in the dialect of *Tuſcany*. As *Velitræ*, or *Velatri*, never made any conſiderable figure after the year of *Rome* 260. theſe coins muſt have preceded that period, and, as may reaſonably be preſumed, a great number of years: ſo that, if we ſhould pronounce them prior to the age of *Romulus*, probability would be on our ſide. For that *Velitræ* was a city of great power and opulence many ages before the birth of *Romulus*, but never greatly flouriſhed after the year of *Rome* 266. may be inferred from ſome of the moſt celebrated antient hiſtorians [s].

Principal cities of the Sabines.

AMONGST the principal cities of the *Sabines* may be ranked the following: 1. *Fidenæ* [t], a city that ſtood on the banks of the *Tiber*, about forty ſtadia from *Rome*. This place is greatly celebrated in the *Roman* ſtory, and was a very large, populous, and powerful city in the days of *Romulus*. *Livy* makes it to have been of *Etruſcan* extraction. 2. *Cruſtumerium* was ſituated [u] on the eaſtern bank of the *Tiber*, a little to the north of *Fidenæ*. According to *Cluverius*, the ruins of *Crumuſterium* appeared in his time, in a woody tract, a little to the eaſt of *Marcigliano Vecchio*. *Livy* calls the hills in its neighbourhood *Montes Cruſtumini*. 3. *Ficulea* [w] ſtood at a ſmall diſtance from the two former towns, in an eaſtern direction, between the *Tiber* and the *Anio*. 4. *Corniculum* [x], from whence the neighbouring hills received the denomination of *Corniculi Montes*, was ſeated between the *Tiber* and the *Anio*, a little to the north of *Ficulea*. It was taken and burnt by *Tarquinius Priſcus*; but afterwards rebuilt, as we learn from *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis*. 5. *Collatia* [y] was a city which ſtood upon the borders of *Latium*, and the country of the *Sabines*, between the *Prænestine* way and the left bank of the *Anio*, about ſix miles from *Rome*. Some, however, place it in a more interior part of the tract we are now conſidering. It was taken by *Tarquinius Priſcus*, who left in it a gariſon, to keep the inhabitants in awe. 6. *Nomentum* [z] ſeems to have been one of the moſt conſiderable cities in the territory of the *Sabines*. It was ſituated near the *Salarian* way, and the banks of the *Allia*, not far from the waters now called *i Bagni della Grotta Marrozza*, ten miles from *Rome*. It ſubmitted to *Tarquin*, and was treated with great lenity by him. 7. *Eretum* [a] was a ſmall city upon the *Tiber*, about ten miles from *Rome*. Here *Tarquin* gave a ſignal overthrow to the *Sabines* and *Etruſcans*, in the year of *Rome* 159. 8. *Regillum* [b] ſeems to have been a little farther from *Rome* than *Eretum* and *Nomentum*, and at no great diſtance from the *Tiber*; but its ſituation cannot now be preciſely determined. 9. *Cures* [c] (F), or *Curis*, was antiently the capital of the *Sabines*, who from thence aſſumed the name of *Quirites*. After the treaty concluded between *Romulus* and *Tatius*, which produced a coalition of the two nations, the *Sabines* were called *Romans*, and the *Romans Quirites*, or *Sabines*. However, that name, as well as *Tribus Quirina*, was applied, with the greateſt propriety, to that canton of the *Sabines* inhabiting *Cures*, and the diſtrict appertaining to it. The principal deity worſhiped here ſeems to have been *Juno Quiris*, or *Curis*. That goddeſs was repreſented with a ſpear or lance in her hand; from which circumſtance ſhe received the appellation of *Quiris*, or *Curis*, that word, in the *Sabine* language, being equivalent to the *Latin haſta*. We find a *Sabine* deity, that went under the name of *Janus Quirinus*, mentioned by *Macrobius*; which we take to be the *Pater Curis*, held in high veneration amongſt the *Faliſci*. *Cures* was a poor pitiful village in the days of *Strabo*, and was afterwards ſo totally deſtroyed, that its

[q] FRANCISC. MARIAN. de Etrur. metrop. p. 166. VOCABOL. DE GLI ACADEMIC. DELLA CRUSCA, paſſ. [r] LIV. lib. ii. DION. HALICAR. lib. vi. Vide & PHIL. CLUVER. ubi ſupra, p. 1016, 1017. [s] Iidem ibid. [t] DION. HALICAR. LIV. STRAB. PTOL. &c. CLUVER. ubi ſupra, p. 654. [u] LIV. PLIN. SERV. &c. CLUVER. ubi ſupra, p. 658. [w] VAR. LIV. DION. HALICAR. &c. [x] DION. HALICAR. LIV. PLIN. FLOR. STEPH. &c. [y] DION. HALICAR. LIV. STRAB. PLIN. &c. Vide PHIL. CLUVER. ubi ſupra, p. 662, 663. [z] VIRG. LIV. DION. HALICAR. PLIN. &c. CLUVER. ubi ſupra, p. 666. [a] DION. HALICARN. VIRG. LIV. VAL. MAX. STRAB. SOLIN. &c. [b] LIV. DIONYS. SUET. &c. [c] VIRG. SERV. STRAB. PLIN. FLAT. VAR. PLUT. COLUMEL. STEPH. BYZANT. DION. HALICAR. &c. Vide etiam CLUVER. ubi ſupra, p. 672—676.

(F) *Cures* was ſituated in the territory now called *Correze*, or *Cureze*, upon a little river of the ſame name, which falls into the *Tiber* above *La Farfa*. The affinity of the names *Cures* and *Cureze*, as well as the courſe of the country, to omit what we have obſerved from *Cluverius*, puts this point beyond diſpute.

ſituation

situation cannot now be determined with certainty. However, *Cluverius* believed, that the ruins of it were to be seen in his time, about a mile from the town of *Selici*. If this be admitted, it stood near the banks of the river *Himella*, the *L'Aia* of the moderns. That author produces the testimony of *Gregory the Great*, in support of his opinion. 10. *Casperia* [d], now *Aspra*, stood near the heads of the *Himella*, and has been taken notice of by *Virgil* and *Silius*. 11. *Fanum Vacunæ* [e], now *Vacuna*, or *Vacune*, was a city beyond *Casperia*, in the road to *Ocriculi* and *Narnia*. *Vacuna* was a goddess in great repute amongst the *Sabines*. Some make her the same with *Diana*; others with *Ceres*; others with *Venus*: but, according to *Varro*, she was the goddess of wisdom. 12. *Reate* [f] was about fifteen miles from *Fanum Vacunæ*, and built by the *Aborigines*, or *Umbrians*, the progenitors of the *Sabines*. 13. *Palatium* [g], or *Palantium*, was likewise a town of the *Aborigines*, about twenty-five stadia west of *Reate*. For a farther account of this place, our readers must have recourse to *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* and *Varro*. 14. *Trebula* [h], upon an eminence, was about sixty stadia from *Reate*; *Vesbola* sixty stadia from *Trebula*; *Suna*, a large city, where was an extremely antient temple of *Mars*, about forty stadia from *Vesbola*, near the *Ceraunian* mountains; *Mefula*, whose ruins were in being when *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* compiled his valuable work, forty stadia from *Suna*; *Orvinium*, the ruins of whose antient walls, and several sepulcres of vast antiquity, together with an old temple of *Minerva*, were visible in *Dionysius*'s time, forty stadia from *Mefula*; *Corsula*, eighty stadia from *Reate*: all these were towns built by the *Aborigines*. 15. *Issa* [i], an island and town, environed by a lake, likewise appertained to this country; as did *Maruvium*, a town situated upon that lake. 16. *Vatia* [k] stood thirty stadia from *Reate*, in the road to *Latium*; *Tiora*, surnamed *Matiena*, not far from *Vatia*; and from *Tiora* the city of *Lista*, the capital of the *Aborigines* in the earliest times, was distant twenty-four stadia. 17. *Cutilia* [l], *Cotyle*, or *Cutyliæ*, was a famous town, about seventy stadia from *Reate*. It was situated on a mountain, and in the neighbourhood of a lake of the same name. 18. *Amiternum* [m], a famous city of the *Sabines* in the time of the *Aborigines*, *Testrina*, the first town inhabited by the *Sabines*, *Nursia*, or *Norcia*, and *Taurinum*, as well as *Cotyle* or *Cutilia*, were all likewise places of the remotest antiquity. *Antemnæ*, *Cænina*, *Cameria*, *Medullia*, and *Ameriola*, though placed by *Cluverius* among the *Sabine* towns, seem to have belonged to the *Latins*. We must not omit observing, that the country of the *Sabines* answered to that tract, which, at present, makes a part of the duchy of *Spoleto*, and the *Farther Abruzzo*.

Mountains.

The chief mountains of the *Sabine* territory were, the *Mons Tetrica*, or *Tetricus*, now *Monte di S. Giovanni*; the *Mons Severus*, now *Monte Negro*; *Mons Fiscellus*, a part of the *Apennines*; out of which first issues the *Nar*; the *Montes Gurgures*, in the neighbourhood of *Reate*; the *Mons Canterius*, taken notice of by *Varro*; the *Mons Mutela*, now *Monte Genaro*; the *Mons Sacer*, near the *Anio*, not far from *Rome*; and, according to some, the *Mons Coritus*; though it must be owned, that others place this last mountain in *Etruria* [n].

Rivers.

The principal rivers of this tract were the following: 1. The *Nar*, now the *Nera*, the common boundary of the *Sabines* and *Umbrians*. 2. The *Velinus*, now the *Velino*, mentioned by *Virgil* and *Tacitus*. 3. The *Telonius*, now the *Turano*, which had its rise in the country of the *Marsi*, and joined the *Velinus* at *Reate*. 4. The *Himella*, now the *L'Aia*, which runs not far from the ruins of *Cures*, according to *Cluverius*; though others call this river the *Cures*, or *Cureze*. 5. The *Farfarus*, now the *Farfa*, which was remarkable for the clearness of its stream. 6. The *Allia*, now the *Rio di Mosso*, a small river, on whose banks the *Romans* received a great overthrow from the *Gauls*. 7. The *Turia*, mentioned by *Livy* and *Silius*; but so obscurely, that it is hard to determine whether it belongs to the country of the *Sabines*, or *Etruria*. 8. The *Anio*, now the *Teverone*, one of the most celebrated rivers of *Italy*. 9. The *Veresis*, a small river, taken notice of by *Strabo*. 10. The *Digentia*, now the *Rio del Sole*.

[d] Virg. Sil. Ital. &c. [e] Plin. Ovid. &c. [f] Var. Liv. Dion. Halicar. Strab. Plin. Fest. &c. Vide etiam Cluver. ubi supra, p. 676. [g] Var. Dion Halicar. Liv. &c. Cluver. ubi supra, p. 680. [h] Dion. Halicar. antiquit. Rom. lib. i. [i] Idem ibid. [k] Idem ibid. [l] Idem ibid. [m] Idem ibid. & alibi. Strab. lib. v. Var de ling. Latin. lib. v. Porcius Cato apud Dion. Hal. lib. ii. Vide Cluver. ubi supra, p. 68[illegible] [n] Liv. Fest Dion. Hal. Plin. Strab. Plut. &c.

11. The *Avens*, which was ſuppoſed to have given the name of *Ager Avèntinus* to the neighbouring diſtrict, from whoſe inhabitants, that were afterwards tranſplanted thither, an hill in *Rome* received the appellation of *Mons Aventinus*. All theſe rivers, as well as others of conſiderable note, and particularly the *Clitumnus*, now the *Clitenno*, diſcharged themſelves into the *Tiber* [o].

Lakes. We meet with no remarkable lakes in this country, taken notice of by the antients, except the *Lacus Cutilienſis*, and the *Lacus Velinus*. The former, at this day, is known by the name of *Il Pozzo Ratignano*; and the latter by that of *Lago di Pie di Luco* [p].

As the *Sabines* were the deſcendents of the antient *Umbrians*, what has been ſaid of the earlieſt tranſactions of that nation, and the *Tyrſenian Pelaſgi*, or *Etruſcans*, is, in ſome meaſure at leaſt, applicable to them. We ſhall therefore omit every thing related of this people before the age of *Romulus*, when they made a pretty conſiderable figure. Nor will our readers be great ſufferers by ſuch an omiſſion; for little can be extracted from *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis*, or any other antient writer, concerning thoſe atchievements of the *Sabines*, that preceded the foundation of *Rome*; and moſt of the few particulars that do occur on this head, ſavour ſo ſtrongly of fable, that they merit not the attention of the ſenſible and judicious part of mankind.

Coalition of the Romans *and* Sabines. Romulus, having deprived the *Sabines* of their daughters, in order to continue and perpetuate his colony, found himſelf obliged to come to an open rupture with that nation. Their ſtate, at this time, was pretty extenſive; but the people lived, for the moſt part, in villages, which were open and defenceleſs. The *Sabines* therefore, before they declared war againſt *Rome*, ſent to demand their daughters, promiſing to grant the *Romans* the liberty to intermarry with them; but *Romulus* refuſing to comply with their juſt demand, a general aſſembly of the *Sabines* was held at *Cures*, then their metropolis, to deliberate on the affront the *Romans* had offered them. The reſult of their deliberations was, that *Titus Tatius*, who had the title of king of *Cures*, ſhould march, with a body of troops, againſt *Rome*; and, in purſuance of this reſolution, that prince, at the head of an army of twenty-five thouſand foot, and one thouſand horſe, advanced into the *Roman* territory, made himſelf maſter of the Capitol, and came to a general action with *Romulus*; but this proving not deciſive, by the mediation of the *Sabine* women married to the *Romans*, a treaty of peace was concluded; which effected the coalition of the two nations. This war, according to *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis*, laſted about three years [q].

A drawn battle between the Romans *and the* Sabines. In the year of *Rome* 92. ſome miſunderſtanding happened between the *Romans* and the *Sabines*; which terminated in an open rupture. This produced a bloody engagement, at a foreſt called *The malefactors foreſt*, as it had probably ſerved for a retreat for robbers. But this was a drawn battle; for both nations, being affrighted with the numbers of their ſlain, returned home, and continued in a ſtate of inaction during the remainder of the campaign [r].

A peace concluded between the Romans *and* Sabines. But the following year the two armies met near *Eretum*, and fought a battle, in which the victory hung for a long time in ſuſpenſe; but at laſt the *Sabines* were obliged to retire to their intrenchments, which were forced by the *Romans*. As this enabled the *Romans* to ravage and lay waſte the whole *Sabine* territory, it immediately produced a peace, upon the following terms: 1. The captives carried away from the temple of *Feronia* by the *Sabines*, ſhall be ſet at liberty without ranſom. 2. All the *Roman* deſerters ſhall be delivered up. 3. The *Sabines* ſhall pay an equivalent in money for the ravages they have committed on the *Roman* territory. The ſenate itſelf preſcribed theſe conditions, which were written upon pedeſtals erected in the holy places, as eternal monuments of the ſuperiority of *Rome* [s].

The Sabines *are defeated, and obtain a peace.* After the death of *Tullus Hoſtilius*, the *Sabines* committed great depredations on the *Roman* frontiers. This of courſe brought upon them the *Roman* arms. *Ancus Martius*, dividing his forces into two bodies, advanced at the head of his infantry towards the *Sabine* camp. As the enemy had diſperſed themſelves in ſmall parties over a conſiderable extent of territory, for the ſake of plunder, the *Romans* found their camp in a manner unguarded; and therefore eaſily made themſelves maſters of it. In the

[o] Var. Dion. Hal. Liv. Plin. Steph. Byzant. Virg. Serv. Hor. Ovid. Lucan. Stat. Sil. Ital. Vib. Sequest. &c. [p] Var. Sic. Plin. Dion. Hal. Senec. &c. Vide etiam Cluver. ubi ſupra, p. 678, & 688. [q] Dion. Hal. antiquit. Rom. lib. ii. Liv. lib. i. Plut. in Romul. [r] Liv. lib. i. c. 30. [s] Dion. Hal. antiquitat. Roman. lib. iii.

mean

mean time the *Roman* cavalry, under the command of *Tarquin*, came up with the *Sabines*, as they were returning from pillaging, and forced them to fly with great precipitation to the mountains. As they were closely pursued by a body of *Roman* light-armed troops, a great number of them were put to the sword. Upon which defeat the *Sabines* sent a deputation to *Rome*, and obtained a peace upon reasonable terms [t].

In the year of *Rome* 138. several considerable cantons of the *Sabines* plundered some of the *Roman* lands; and, having assembled a powerful army, attacked the *Roman* forces commanded by *Ancus*. The victory was long disputed; but at last the *Sabines* gave way, and even abandoned their camp. This put the *Romans* into possession of a large sum of money, which both rewarded their labours, and repaired the losses they had sustained [u].

Ancus defeats the Sabines, *and takes their camp.*

Tarquinius Priscus, being apprised that the *Sabines* had given the *Etruscans* a free passage through their country, advanced to *Eretum*, one of their towns, at the head of a strong body of troops. Here he surprised and defeated the *Etruscan* army, that had been reinforced by a small body of *Sabine* volunteers. This battle was fought in the year of *Rome* 159 [w].

Tarquinius Priscus *beats the combined army of the* Sabines *and* Etrurians.

About the year of *Rome* 168. *Tarquin* entered upon a new war with the *Sabines*. The armies of both those powers met in the field, and came to a general action. This happened on the confines of both nations, and continued the whole day, till night put an end to it. Neither side gained any advantage in it; so that, as it were by mutual consent, both armies retired into their respective camps, and appeared no more in the field that campaign [x].

An action between the Romans *and the* Sabines.

The same prince gained another victory also over the combined army of the *Sabines* and *Etruscans*; but the year in which that action happened, cannot precisely be determined. This victory was owing to a stratagem of *Tarquin*, by which he burnt the bridge of boats the *Sabines* and *Etruscans* had laid over the *Tiber*; for, by leading their troops to extinguish the flames, they had left their camps but weakly guarded: so that the *Romans*, without much difficulty, made themselves masters of both. This defeat was succeeded by another, which obliged the *Sabines* to submit to *Tarquin*, who treated both them and the *Etruscans* with great clemency and moderation. However, he granted the *Sabines* no more than a six years truce [y].

Upon the expiration of the term prescribed for the above-mentioned cessation of arms, the *Sabines* passed the *Anio*, and made incursions upon the *Roman* lands. But *Tarquin* first dispersed these plunderers, and then gave the *Sabines* battle. The dispute was long and obstinate; but at last the *Sabines* were overthrown. This victory was likewise owing to one of *Tarquin*'s stratagems. The night before the battle he detached a body of troops to take a compass, and attack the enemy's rear, in the heat of the action: which scheme being executed with great conduct and bravery, the *Sabine* army was put into disorder, and the rout soon became general. In fine, most of the *Sabines* were either killed, or taken prisoners, and surrendered their camp to the *Romans* on the first summons [z].

However, this did not at all discourage the *Sabines*. They imputed their defeat to the incapacity of their general; and therefore having, as they imagined, furnished themselves with another commander of more experience, they made all possible preparations for continuing the war. Upon *Tarquin*'s approach, the new *Sabine* general posted himself upon eminences, in an inaccessible camp. *Tarquin* proposed at first directly to fall upon the enemy; but, after considering the difficulty of the attempt, he chose to change the attack of the enemy's camp into a blockade. By this project, he greatly distressed the *Sabines*, and even reduced them to the last extremity. However, the *Sabine* general extricated himself out of the difficulties in which he was involved, with great address. By favour of a dark and stormy night, he escaped out of his camp, and left the *Romans* no other booty than a few cattle, and wounded men [a].

The following year the *Sabines* brought their whole force into the field. *Tarquin* faced them with a numerous army, composed of *Romans*, *Latins*, and *Etruscans*. The *Romans* he commanded himself, put his nephew *Arruns* at the head of the *Etruscans*, and gave the command of the *Latins* to *Servius Tullius*. The two armies engaged a whole

[t] Dion. Hal. antiquitat. Roman. lib. iii. p. 180. [u] Idem ibid. [w] Idem ibid. p. 194.
[x] Idem ibid. p. 196. [y] Idem ibid. [z] Idem ibid. p. 197. [a] Idem ibid.

whole day; but at last the *Romans* were victorious. This action proved decisive, and forced the *Sabines* to sue for peace; which *Tarquin* granted them upon reasonable terms [b].

FROM this period to the reign of *Tarquin the Proud*, we find little notice taken of the *Sabines* by any antient historian. But about the year of *Rome* 228. fresh hostilities commenced between that nation and the *Romans*. *Tarquin* posted himself advantageously near *Eretum*, in view of the *Sabine* army. Here he intercepted an express sent by the *Sabine* general to a body of troops encamped near *Fidenæ*, with orders to join him immediately. Upon which *Tarquin* divided his forces into two bodies, and commanded one of them to take the route of *Fidenæ*. But this was only a feint, those troops soon after rejoining him. Then he attacked the *Sabines*, overthrew them with great slaughter, and made himself master of their camp. After which he advanced to *Fidenæ*, and forced the body of troops there to surrender at discretion. These two blows so terrified the *Sabines*, that they agreed to pay ever after an annual tribute to the *Romans* [c].

ABOUT the year of *Rome* 248. in the infancy of the republic, a war broke out between the *Romans* and *Sabines*, which continued near four years, with little or no intermission. But as the *Sabines* were tributary, and in some sort subject, to the *Romans* at this juncture, a minute and circumstantial relation of the incidents of this war will, we apprehend, not come in so properly here. We must therefore beg leave to refer our readers, for such a relation, to the sequel.

HOWEVER, we may venture to insert here the principal articles of the treaty of peace, which succeeded this war: 1. The *Sabines* were to give the consul *Cassius* as much corn as he thought proper, for the subsistence of his troops. 2. It was agreed, that a poll-tax should be laid upon the whole *Sabine* nation. 3. They were to cede to the *Romans* ten thousand acres of arable land. Hence it appears, that, by this treaty, the *Sabines* may be considered as in some sort reduced to the state of a conquered nation [d].

Valerius defeats the Sabines.

IN the year of *Rome* 259. the dictator *Valerius* effectually suppressed a revolt of the *Sabines*. He gained a complete victory over them, which put him into possession of their country, and obliged one of the fiercest nations in *Italy* to submit to the *Roman* yoke [e].

Valerius forces the Sabines to abandon the Etruscans.

ABOUT nineteen years after, the *Sabines* entered into an alliance with the *Etruscans*, in order to distress the *Roman* republic. But the consul *Valerius* surprised the *Sabine* camp, which was separated from that of the *Etruscans*, and strongly fortified: then he attacked the *Etruscans*; and, after a sharp engagement, intirely defeated them. After this he plundered the lands of the *Sabines*, and carried off an immense quantity of booty. Such a series of misfortunes obliged them to abandon their new allies [f].

A new war between the Romans and Sabines.

IN the year of *Rome* 283. a new war commenced between the *Sabines* and the *Romans*. This continued three campaigns, during which no decisive action happened; but, as the *Romans* gained several advantages, their troops committed terrible devastations in the *Sabine* territories. And this, in all likelihood, produced either a peace, or a truce; since we find, that the *Sabines* did not, for some years after, put themselves in motion [g].

The Romans pillage the country of the Sabines.

BUT, in the year 296. the *Sabines* entered upon the *Roman* lands, and possessed themselves of all the country between *Crustuminum* and *Fidenæ*. Upon the arrival of the consul *Minutius*, they disappeared, not daring to face the *Romans* in the field. The consequence of which was, that they were exposed to the insults and devastations of the *Romans*, who pillaged all the open country without opposition [h].

The Romans and Sabines visited with a plague.

ABOUT four years after, *Rome* was visited with a plague, which spread itself over the territories of the republic. Neither did it stop there. The *Sabines*, the *Æqui*, and the *Volsci*, fell a prey to the same contagion: it made a terrible havock among them, and swept away a vast number of their people [i].

The Romans overthrow the Sabines, and take possession of their camp.

IN the year of *Rome* 304. the *Sabines* plundered the *Roman* frontiers, being excited to a revolt by the civil dissensions in the republic. They advanced with a powerful

[b] DION. HAL. lib. iv. p. 201. [c] Idem ibid. p. 251. [d] Idem, lib. v. p. 315. [e] DION. HAL. antiquitat. Rom. lib. vi. [f] DION. HAL. ubi supra, lib. ix. p. 591—594. LIV. lib. ii. [g] Idem, ubi supra. [h] DION. HAL. lib. x. p. 652. [i] Idem, p. 677. LIV. lib. iii. c. 32. S. AUG. de civ. Dei, lib. iii. c. 18. OROS. lib ii. c. 12.

army

army to *Regilium*, at a ſmall diſtance from the *Tiber*, where they were encamped. *Horatius* the conſul led on an army againſt them, which for ſome time only ſkirmiſhed with the enemy; but, at laſt, a general action enſued, which ended in favour of the *Romans*. The *Sabines*, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, were driven out of the field, and left their camp a prey to the conqueror. In fine, the *Romans* not only made themſelves maſters of the ſpoils which had been taken from their allies, but likewiſe of the booty which had been carried away from their own territories [k].

The Sabines *conquered by* Curius.

FROM this period to the year of *Rome* 463. we find little ſaid of the *Sabines* by the antients: but then they not only permitted their youth to take arms, but alſo ſuffered them to make incurſions on the lands of the republic. The conſul *Curius* therefore marched againſt them with a body of troops to bring them back to their duty. He firſt cleared the *Roman* territories of the enemy, and then purſued them into their own dominions. Here he diſperſed ſeveral of their detachments; but could not bring the *Sabine* army to an engagement. However, he defeated ſome bodies of their troops, and made a complete conqueſt of their country. But, as the *Sabines* had furniſhed the *Roman* monarchy, in its infancy, with ſeveral kings, and had not aggravated their offences by any obſtinate hatred, the republic, upon their ſubmiſſion, took them into favour. They [l] had the privilege of ſerving in the legions, and not barely as auxiliary troops. But, in the year 485 [m]. they had the right of ſuffrage in the city conferred upon them; which made them intirely *Roman*. Such a coalition as this muſt naturally bring us to the concluſion of the hiſtory of the *Sabines*.

IT has been already obſerved, that ſome deduce the *Sabines* from the *Obſci*, *Opici*, or *Oſci*, which were one of the moſt antient nations of *Italy*; and others from the *Umbrians*. As ſome tolerable reaſons may be offered in ſupport of each opinion, perhaps neither of them may be very remote from truth. And if this be allowed, it may likewiſe be admitted, that the *Umbrians* and *Oſci* were the ſame people, or, at leaſt, that the *Oſci* were of *Umbrian* extraction. This would reconcile ſeveral jarring and contradictory accounts we meet with in the antients, concerning the origin of the *Oſci*; and, as the *Umbrians* and *Etruſcans* ſeem to have been at leaſt nearly related, not a little contribute towards confirming the ſyſtem we have propoſed to the conſideration of the learned. But whether this be generally received, or not, we cannot help thinking, that it carries with it a greater air of probability, than that hypotheſis which deduces moſt, if not all, of the firſt inhabitants of *Italy*, from the *Celtes* [n].

THAT the *Auſones*, *Aurunci*, and *Opici*, were either the ſame people, or, at leaſt, had the ſame origin, has been rendered probable by *Antiochus Syracuſanus*, *Ariſtotle*, and others cited by *Cluverius*. *Ariſtotle* and *Plato* likewiſe plainly intimate, that *Siculi* and *Opici* were only different names of the ſame people; tho', it muſt be owned, *Cluverius* is of a different opinion. But the authority of thoſe philoſophers will bear down that of *Cluverius*. We may therefore ſuppoſe, that their anceſtors, at firſt, came from the ſame, or neighbouring countries. From whence, in conjunction with what has been juſt obſerved, it will follow, that the *Auſones*, *Aurunci*, *Siculi*, *Opici*, *Umbrians*, and *Etruſcans*, were neither of a very different, nor a *Gallic* original [o].

THAT the *Ligures* were a canton of the *Gauls*, has not been intimated by any good author: on the contrary, that they were a different nation, we find atteſted by *Strabo*. That they were different alſo from the *Spaniards*, or *Celtes*, appears from *Scylax*. They were therefore, as may reaſonably be ſuppoſed, deſcended either from the ſons of *Javan*, or the antient *Cerethites*, as being ſeated in the neighbourhood of the *Umbrians* and *Etruſcans*. In which caſe, we muſt allow them, and all the aforeſaid nations, to have been nearly of the ſame extraction [p].

THE *Oenotrians* were a colony of the *Pelaſgi*, as we learn from *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis*; they were alſo the ſame with the *Aborigines*, and the anceſtors of the *Sabines*, as appears from the laſt cited author, and *Servius*. The *Peucetii*, *Iapyges*, *Daunii*, &c. ſeem alſo to have been the deſcendents of the *Pelaſgi*, if the names *Peucetii*, *Iapyges*, *Daunii*, and *Oenotri*, did not denote the ſame people. From whence we may

[k] LIV. iii. c. 61. [l] FLOR. in epit. VELL. PATERC. lib. i. [m] VELL. PATERC. ubi ſupra. [n] ZENODOT. TROEZEN. apud DION. HAL. ubi ſupra. FEST. VAR. LIV. &c. apud CLUVER. ubi ſup. p. 1059, 1060. ut & ipſe CLUVER. ibid. [o] ANTIOCH. SYRACUSAN. & ARISTOT. apud Cluver. ubi ſupra, p. 1058, & alibi, ut & ipſe CLUVER. ibid. [p] STRAB. lib. ii. SYCLAX in peripl. Vide etiam PHIL. CLUVER. ubi ſupra, p. 49, 50.

infer, that all the moſt antient nations of *Italy* agreed in the main with regard to their original [q].

THUS have we endeavoured to reconcile the different opinions of the antients, concerning the firſt inhabitants of *Italy*, and ſhewn them to be agreeable to the ſyſtem we have had all along in view. Nothing therefore now remains, but to ſubmit what has been here advanced, with all poſſible deference, to the judgment and conſideration of the learned.

[q] DION. HAL. lib. i. SERV. ad Æn. lib. i. VAR. apud Serv. ibid. CLUVER. ubi ſupra, p. 1208, 1209.

The

* *The Sequel of the* Theban *History, from the Time of its becoming a Commonwealth, to their Reduction by, and Peace with,* Philip *of* Macedon; *in which their carrying on of the* Phocian *or* Sacred *War, and the Histories of the* Arcadians, Corinthians, Argives, Theſſalians, Eleans, *and other inferior States, are continued.*

* *See* Octavo Edition, *Vol.* VII. *p.* 160.

Democratic government of the Thebans.

WHAT kind of commonwealth the *Thebans* choſe to ſettle themſelves into immediately after the death of their laſt king *Xanthus*, whether into an ariſtocracy or democracy, doth not appear from any records we have. This only we know, that, in proceſs of time, when they came to their flouriſhing age, and *Thebes* was become one of the leading ſtates, and, in her turn, put in for the ſovereignty of *Greece*, its government was in the nature of a democracy, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this ſection; but it was not till after a long time, and by ſlow degrees, that it arrived to this height of power. The *Thebans*, notwithſtanding their great antiquity, their foreign and domeſtic wars, which we have mentioned in a more proper place [a], and the dreadful ſiege which their capital had ſuſtained, even before the celebrated one of the city of *Troy*, their brave defence againſt the *Epigoni*, &c. had made but ſlow progreſs in the martial diſcipline and exploits, or in the improvement of their government, laws, commerce, *&c.* and held but a very obſcure and contemptible rank in the world, in compariſon of the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*, being juſtly looked upon as a ſlothful, ſtupid people (A) for a conſiderable time; and might, in all likelihood, have continued ſo to the end, had it not been for their two great generals *Pelopidas* and *Epaminondas*, who raiſed them to that height of power and reputation, in which we ſhall ſee them in the ſequel, and from which they ſunk again almoſt immediately after their death: upon which account *Polybius* rightly compares the *Theban* and *Athenian* commonwealths to veſſels at ſea, which, if deſtitute of good pilots, are the ſport of winds and tempeſts; but, when ſteered by an expert hand, can eaſily evade thoſe dangers, and ſucceſsfully ſail to the wiſhed-for port. But this was not their only defect, and the only obſtacle to their advancement in glory and fame: their baſeneſs and treachery were ſtill a much greater, of which they gave many inſtances, but more eſpecially in their betraying the common cauſe of *Greece*, and going over to *Xerxes* king of *Perſia* [b]; a treachery which diſgraced them ſo much the more, not only as they had been the firſt that were gained over to that intereſt, and had, by their embaſſadors, brought over the *Athenians* to

Their infamous character.

[a] See vol. ii. p. 358,& ſeq. 374,375. [b] Vide Herodot. lib. vii. & ſeq. Xenophon. hiſt. Græc. lib. vii.

(A) The truth is, they are repreſented as ſuch, even to a proverb, by their own countrymen; for *Pindar* and *Plutarch*, two *Beotians* of a very oppoſite character, did not ſcruple to own the rudeneſs and clowniſhneſs of the *Theban* nation; which *Cicero* attributes to the groſſneſs of the air they breathed in; whereas that of *Athens*, being more keen and ſharp, rendered the *Athenians* more ſubtle and polite (1). Hence *Horace* (2) forewarns his poetic diſciples from making an *Argive* ſpeak like a *Theban*; and a *Theban* ear, or a *Theban* wit, were commonly uſed to expreſs ſtupidity.

(1) *De fato.* (2) *De art. poet. Seran de la Tour in vit. Epamin.*

it,

it, as hath been hinted under that head, but likewiſe as their perfidious zeal was attended with ſuch ill ſucceſs, as we have already ſeen[c], and for which they had all the reaſon in the world to fear the reſentment of their incenſed neighbours the *Athenians*, whoſe power and renown increaſed every day, and might, in all likelihood, bring them, one time or other, under their yoke.

Apply to the Spartans.

THE *Thebans* were accordingly in no ſmall dread of them; and, as they were in no capacity, in ſuch a caſe, to defend themſelves againſt ſo powerful, politic, and incenſed an enemy, they found no better expedient to ward off the blow, than to ſeek the friendſhip and protection of the *Lacedæmonians*, who, by reaſon of their diſtance from them, were a much leſs dangerous enemy; and theſe, at this time, though contrary to their uſual ſeverity, readily granted it to them, being then more inclined to forgive the partiſans of the king of *Perſia*, than to ſuffer the enemies of the *Athenians* to fall under their reſentment. This unexpected generoſity failed not to make a due impreſſion on the *Thebans*, who, for a time, expreſſed an uncommon gratitude to their protectors; inſomuch that, during the whole *Peloponneſian* war, *Sparta* had not a more faithful friend and ally. By this means, they not only recovered the government of *Bœotia*, of which they had been deprived on account of their defection, but *Thebes* likewiſe was reſtored to its antient luſtre, and became again the capital of that commonwealth, and one of the firſt cities in *Greece*. The *Thebans*, by this time, however, were grown ſo powerful and headſtrong, that, when the peace of *Antalcidas* came to be ſubſcribed to, they refuſed to come into it, being, as they alleged, fully reſolved againſt giving up their juriſdiction over the towns in *Bœotia*, and were with no ſmall difficulty overawed and forced into it by the reſt.

Year of God 379. Before Christ 374.

Recover it, and their liberty.

SPARTA eſpecially, a profeſſed and conſtant enemy to popular faction, undertook to change the form of the *Theban* government; and, having ſeized upon their citadel, which had been betrayed to their general *Phœbidas* by *Leontiades*, then one of the two polemarchs or governors of *Thebes*, and in the *Spartan* intereſt, in the third year of the ninety-ninth *Olympiad*, had brought them under the yoke. We ſhall not repeat here what hath been ſaid in the hiſtory of *Athens*, concerning the wars which the *Lacedæmonians* brought upon themſelves from that quarter, on account of theſe arbitrary proceedings, nor the ſignal defeat which the *Thebans* and they received under the brave *Athenian* general *Myronides*[d]; but paſs on to that remarkable action, by which they recovered their citadel four years after it had been taken from them, and with it their antient liberty.

Exile enter Thebes by stratagem.

THE *Spartans*, who were then very powerful, lay in a kind of indolent ſecurity, never ſuſpecting that the *Thebans*, whom they had ſo lately humbled, would be ſo ſoon in a condition to make head againſt them; much leſs that they were then carrying on a correſpondence about it with their moſt conſiderable exiles at *Athens*, and concerting meaſures among them, by the means and contrivance of *Phyllidas*, ſecretary to the *Theban* governors, and had already got a competent number of exiles into the city, to whom *Charon*, a perſon of the firſt rank, had offered his houſe for their reception. Theſe had, it ſeems, ſet out on a fixed day from *Athens*, and had ſent twelve of the moſt reſolute and active among them to enter, while the reſt lay concealed at ſome diſtance from it, waiting the event. The noble *Pelopidas* was one of the firſt who offered himſelf to conduct them into the city. He was a young daring gentleman, and had been a principal promoter of this enterprize; and the ſhare he bore in it gave the reſt a ſufficient earneſt of the great ſervices his country might expect one day from him. His high birth, large eſtate, and extraordinary generoſity, not to ſay profuſion, joined to his other excellent talents, had already raiſed his credit to ſuch an height, not only at *Thebes*, but among other ſtates, that *Jaſon* the tyrant of *Theſſaly* did not think himſelf above taking a journey to that metropolis, to engage him and *Epaminondas* in his intereſt; and, by their means, procured an alliance with the *Theban* republic. What part *Epaminondas* bore in it, will be ſeen in the ſequel; but *Pelopidas*, who, by this time, had, in all likelihood, made ſome progreſs in this noble project of freeing his country, readily accepted of this offered alliance, though with an uſurper, and a tyrant; and ſoon after retired to *Athens*, to concert with the *Theban* exiles about it. The next perſon in this confederacy was *Melon*, another conſiderable *Theban*, who is ſaid to have projected the deſign with him, and the manner of putting it in execution, which was as follows:

[c] See vol. ii. p. 119, & ſeq. [d] Ibid. p. 488.

THEY,

THEY, with ten other aſſociates, dreſſed themſelves like peaſants, and beat about the fields, with their poles and dogs, as if in ſearch of game; by which means, they eaſily entered the city unſuſpected, and went immediately to *Charon*'s houſe, which was to be their rendezvous, and where they were ſoon after joined by thirty-ſix more of their confederates. Here it was concerted, that *Phyllidas* ſhould, on that very day, give a grand entertainment to his two maſters *Archias* and *Philip*, the *Spartan* governors; and, to make it more complete, he engaged to provide ſome of the fineſt women in the town to partake of it. Things were thus ſettled among them, when, in the dead of the night, an officer rapped vehemently at the door, and told *Charon*, that he muſt come immediately to *Archias* the governor: upon which they were all ſeized with dread, imagining that their plot was diſcovered, and that they were going to be ſeized for it. Whereupon *Charon*, having bid the officer go, and tell *Archias*, that he was coming, went up to his aſſociates, and encouraged the moſt fearful not to ſhrink from their glorious deſign through ill-grounded fears; and, at the ſame time, to aſſure them of his fidelity, fetched his young ſon, then in the cradle, out of his wife's chamber, and left it with them, as the beſt hoſtage he could give them of it. Having recovered himſelf from his fright by that time he was got to the governor's houſe, he behaved with ſuch calmneſs and intrepidity, and ſatisfied him ſo well about thoſe ſtrangers who were at his houſe, promiſing to ſearch their deſigns to the bottom, and to diſcover them, if they were of a dangerous nature, that he was diſcharged, and returned home. As there was now no time to be loſt, the aſſociates immediately divided themſelves into two bands, one of which, led by *Charon* and *Melon*, was to fall upon *Archias*, and his company. Theſe had dreſſed themſelves in womens apparel, to cover their armour; and had put crowns of pine and poplar on their heads, to ſhade their faces; and, as ſoon as the gueſts were well heated with wine, entered the room, and immediately ſtabbed the two governors, with ſuch others of their company, as were pointed out to them by *Phyllidas* (B). At the ſame time the other band, headed by *Pelopidas* and *Damoclides*, went and attacked *Leontiades* the traitor, who had betrayed the *Cadmean* citadel to the *Lacedæmonian* general, and who was then in his bed. Theſe ruſhed into the houſe by ſurprize; whereupon *Leontiades* leaped out, and, taking his ſword, received them at the chamber-door, and ran the firſt man through, that entered the room. This was the brave *Cephiſodorus*; but *Pelopidas*, following cloſe after him, encountered the traitor next; and, after a long and obſtinate conflict, laid him dead at his feet. From thence they went in purſuit of *Hypates*, who was his friend and neighbour, and in the *Spartan* intereſt, and diſpatched him likewiſe; and, having ſoon after joined the other band, they ſent an expreſs to haſten the reſt of the exiles, whom they had left in *Attica*.

Gen. xxxiv. 25.

BY this time, the whole city was in the utmoſt confuſion; and, though the houſes were illuminated, the inhabitants ran up-and-down the ſtreets in a diſtracted manner, waiting impatiently for day-light, that they might diſcover their friends from their foes, and determine what courſe to take. As ſoon as the morning was come, the exiles, that waited without, were let in, and appeared in arms, with *Demophon* at their head, to whom *Pelopidas* had ſent an expreſs, acquainting him with what had been done, and deſiring him to march immediately into the city; for they had ſtill great cauſe to apprehend, notwithſtanding their ſucceſs, leſt the gariſon of the citadel, which conſiſted of above fifteen hundred *Lacedæmonians*, ſhould have ſallied out, and cut them all to pieces; but it is likely the alarm had ſpread itſelf quite to that fortreſs, and that they

(B) There is one remarkable circumſtance taken notice of concerning this bloody entertainment; to wit, that an account of the whole conſpiracy had been ſent to *Archias* by an expreſs from *Athens*; and that the courier was bid, at the delivery of the letter to the governor, to tell him, by word of mouth, that it contained matters of the greateſt conſequence both to him and the *Spartan* ſtate; which he accordingly did; conjuring him to open and read them without delay: upon which *Archias*, being then in the height of jollity, laid them by unopened, and anſwered him with a ſmile, *Buſineſs to morrow*; which words, upon that occaſion, grew up into a proverb. It is no leſs worth obſerving here, that *Xenophon*, in the account which he gives of this tranſaction, does not ſo much as mention *Pelopidas*: whilſt *Plutarch*, and other authors, give all the glory of it to that noble *Theban*, as having had the chiefeſt hand both in the deſign and execution. But we ſhall have frequent occaſion in the ſequel, to take notice of his partiality with reſpect to him, and his no leſs worthy collegue *Epaminondas*, in favour of his hero *Ageſilaus*, whoſe glory might elſe be too much eclipſed by thoſe two celebrated generals. This gives one reaſon to fear, that the ſame motive may have induced him to ſuppreſs other valuable particularities relating to them, which it was in his power to have communicated to us, had he been leſs byaſed againſt them.

Epaminondas allays the tumult.

ſuſpected the ſtrength of the *Theban* aſſociates to be much greater than it was. However, whilſt the confuſion reigned in the city, *Epaminondas*, who had till then declined to join in the action, as being too bloody and violent, and in which too much innocent blood was like to be ſhed with the guilty, now appeared publicly in defence of it, but chiefly to put a ſtop to all further maſſacre, and to diſpel the fears of the *Thebans*. He was accompanied by a croud of the beſt citizens, and prieſts, the latter bearing garlands and crowns in their hands; and aſſured the affrighted people, that no blood had or ſhould be ſpilt, but that of their tyrants and oppreſſors. At the ſame time *Pelopidas* appeared at the head of his party, encompaſſed likewiſe by prieſts with garlands; and, having joined himſelf to that of *Epaminondas*, immediately called a general aſſembly of the *Thebans*, proclaimed liberty to them, and exhorted them, in the ſtrongeſt terms, to fight for their gods, and their country: upon which nothing was heard but loud acclamations of liberty from all parts of the city; and *Pelopidas* was unanimouſly proclaimed the preſerver of *Thebes*, and was charged with the management of the war, which was then going to be declared againſt *Sparta*.

Pelopidas proclaims liberty to the Thebans;

is proclaimed their deliverer and general.

PELOPIDAS then acquainted his countrymen with all that had been done the preceding night; and, at the ſame time, took that occaſion to ſend *Phyllidas* to all the gaols in the city, to releaſe thoſe brave *Thebans*, whom the tyrannic *Spartans* kept in fetters; which was immediately done: and a great number of them, being thus reſtored to liberty, deſired only to have ſome arms given them, and to be allowed to fight for their country. Having ſucceeded thus far, whilſt he was congratulating them and himſelf upon their good ſucceſs, he proceeded next to acquaint them, that the moſt difficult part was ſtill behind, to wit, the wreſting the citadel out of the hands of the *Lacedæmonians*; which was, beſides its natural ſtrength, defended by fifteen hundred men, with a good number of citizens and others, who were fled thither for refuge and protection, and had declared themſelves on the *Spartan* ſide. It hath been juſtly obſerved againſt *Plutarch*, that, tho' he hath been very full and particular in his account of this remarkable revolution, yet he hath too ſlightly paſſed over the recovery of that citadel; and only ſays, that *Pelopidas*, *Melon*, and *Charon*, blocked it up, and, after ſome briſk attacks, got poſſeſſion of it, before the *Lacedæmonians* could ſend the gariſon any ſuccour. But, as it is not probable, that the regaining of ſo ſtrong a place ſhould be the work of a day, or have been effected with ſo ſmall a force as *Pelopidas* then had, we muſt have recourſe to *Diodorus Siculus*, who tells us, that the *Athenians*, early the next morning after the ſeizing on the city, ſent the *Theban* general five thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe; and that ſeveral other bodies of troops came in from other cities of *Bœotia*, to the number of about ſeven thouſand more; that *Pelopidas* beſieged the place in form with them; and that it held out ſeveral days, and ſurrendered at length for want of proviſions (C). However, the citadel, upon which the *Theban* liberty chiefly depended, was actually retaken, and the foundation thereby laid for that height of greatneſs and glory, to which the *Thebans* ſoon after roſe.

The citadel regained.

THEIR ſucceſs, however, ſo exaſperated the *Lacedæmonians*, that they ſent their king *Cleombrotus*, in the depth of winter, into *Bœotia*, to recover, if poſſible, their uſurped dominions; but, the ſeaſon not permitting him to perform any other exploit than the defeating of a few ſtraggling parties, he returned to *Sparta*, leaving the farther

The ruin of the power of the Spartans.

(C) Some, however, have ſuppoſed, that the gariſon ſurrendered rather out of fear of the *Thebans* fury and reſentment, than out of any neceſſity; and others infer, that it was not without ſome kind of treachery in the commanders; two of whom are affirmed to have been condemned to death for it upon their return to *Sparta*; and the third to have been ſo heavily fined, that, not being able to pay, he was forced to baniſh himſelf for life: for it was a conſtant maxim amongſt the *Spartans*, to die ſword-in-hand in defence of a place that was committed to their care; and the only thing they could urge in their defence was, that the greater part of the gariſon were merely allies and auxiliaries; and, not being tied by thoſe ſtrict rules, obliged the reſt to ſurrender. However that be, this noble exploit bore ſo near a reſemblance to that of *Thraſybulus* on the like occaſion, and mentioned in the hiſtory of the *Athenians* (3), whether it be conſidered with reſpect to the bravery of the actors, the difficulty and danger of the undertaking, the manner in which it was conducted, or the ſucceſs that attended it, that it was called *its ſiſter*. And indeed it was this that *Pelopidas* had in view, and propoſed as an example, when he exhorted his exiles not to ſet themſelves down contented under a lazy dependence on the *Athenians*, or meanly to fawn, for fear, upon every ſmooth-tongued orator, but to exert themſelves like *Thraſybulus*; and that, as he had advanced from *Thebes*, to break the power of the tyrants at *Athens*, ſo they ſhould, in like manner, march from *Athens* to *Thebes*, to ſet their country at liberty.

(3) *Plutarch. in Ageſil. Diod. Sic. & al. ſup. citat.*

pro-

proſecution of his deſign to *Sphodrias*, who then commanded in *Theſpia*. In the mean time the *Athenians*, who had lately aſſiſted the *Thebans*, as we hinted above, declined having any farther hand in the conteſt, for fear of drawing the reſentment of the *Spartans* upon themſelves; whilſt the *Thebans*, not finding themſelves in a condition ſingly to cope with the *Spartans*, were contriving ſome means to raiſe a miſunderſtanding between them and the *Athenians*, in hopes of bringing the latter back to their intereſt. An opportunity offered itſelf to their wiſh; and *Sphodrias*, who then commanded the *Spartan* troops, and was no leſs raſh and thoughtleſs, than he was bold and ambitious, was eaſily perſuaded to attack the *pyræeum*, or harbour of *Athens*, a thing which, they told him, would highly redound to his honour, and be no leſs grateful and advantageous to the *Lacedæmonians*. We have already given an account of this mad attempt, and of the ill conſequences it drew upon the *Spartan* commonwealth [d], and in particular that of determining the *Athenians* to declare themſelves on the ſide of the *Thebans*, beſides drawing ſeveral other cities, which were grown weary of the *Spartan* tyranny, into a confederacy with them. We have likewiſe ſeen the ſmall ſucceſs which the two *Spartan* kings, *Cleombrotus* and *Ageſilaus*, had in their freſh and alternate invaſion of *Bœotia*, and the ſignal advantages which the *Thebans* gained over them under the brave *Athenian* general *Gobrias*, both by ſea and land, eſpecially his celebrated victory at *Naxus*; and to which, as well as for thoſe of his ſucceſſor *Timotheus*, we ſhall refer our reader, to avoid needleſs repetitions [e].

A confederacy formed against them.

ib. m.

These ſucceſsful diverſions were no leſs improved by the brave *Thebans*, who not only recovered all the cities of *Bœotia*, but made a powerful invaſion in *Phocis*; ſo that the *Spartans* loſt ground daily, and became leſs formidable to them, till at length they began to act offenſively, and had many ſharp encounters with them; which, though they did not amount to deciſive battles, yet failed not to raiſe their courage, and gain them experience; and paved the way to thoſe great exploits, which they afterwards performed under the noble general *Pelopidas*, who had hitherto ſignalized himſelf in all thoſe encounters, particularly at the battle of *Tanagra*, formerly mentioned, in which he ſlew the *Lacedæmonian* general with his own hand; ſo that it was chiefly to his valour and conduct that they owed the greateſt ſhare of their ſucceſs. The next, which was fought ſoon after, was ſtill more remarkable, and glorious to him. He had formed a deſign of ſurpriſing the city of *Orchomenos*, one of the largeſt and moſt conſiderable in all *Bœotia*, and which was ſtill gariſoned by the *Lacedæmonians*; and was marching towards it, at the head of only three hundred foot, and ſome horſe (D), when he received intelligence, that a conſiderable body of *Spartans* were on their march to reinforce that gariſon; upon which he thought it adviſeable to retire, and, in his retreat, met them near the city of *Tegyra*. The rencounter was no leſs furious than ſudden and unexpected; but, *Pelopidas* having ordered his horſe, that were in the rear, to advance and engage them, and depending upon his foot for the main ſtreſs of the battle, the two *Spartan* commanders *Gorgoleon* and *Theopompus* fell almoſt upon the firſt onſet; and all that were near them being either ſlain, or put to flight, the remainder of the *Spartan* troops were ſeized with ſuch a panic, that they immediately opened a

Pelopidas's *ſucceſs againſt them.*

Spartans *totally defeated*

[d] See vol. ii. p. 615. [e] See ibid. & ſeqq.

(D) This ſmall body was, however, the very flower of the *Theban* army, and was dignified with the names of the *Sacred battalion*, and the *Band of lovers*, being equally famed for their fidelity to the *Theban* ſtate, and affection for each other, as for their ſingular courage and bravery. Some fabulous things are mentioned of them, not worth notice in a work of this nature, and from which we can only infer, that they were a brave reſolute ſet of young men, who had vowed perpetual friendſhip to each other, and had bound themſelves, by the ſtrongeſt ties, to ſtand by one another to the laſt drop of their blood; and were therefore the fitteſt to be employed in ſuch private and dangerous expeditions.

Their origin is commonly aſcribed to *Gorgidas*, one of the governors of *Bœotia*, in conjunction with *Pelopidas*; both which generals had the greateſt hand in all the notable tranſactions of that time: and we are farther told, that *Pelopidas* chiefly uſed them as a guard to the citadel, but employed them, as occaſion offered, in other ſervices of war; particularly, upon any engagement, he commonly intermixed them in the ranks among other troops, to animate them by their example. However, this laſt action we have been mentioning above, eaſily convinced him, that it was a much better way to keep them united in one body; ſo that he conſtantly charged from thenceforth at the head of them, without dividing them any more.

This brave and valiant little corps is affirmed to have continued invincible till the battle of *Chæronæa*, which happened ſome years after, when they fought againſt the *Macedonian* phalanx, till every man of them was cut down; inſomuch that, when *Philip* came on the morrow to take a view of the ſlain, he could not refrain from tears to ſee thoſe brave youths ſo cloſely united in death.

paſſage

paſſage for the *Thebans* to purſue their march. *Pelopidas*, however, did not think fit to quit the field of battle, till he had made a dreadful ſlaughter of the enemy, and thoroughly routed and diſperſed the reſt; ſo that he acquired more glory by this noble retreat, than he could have got, if he had ſucceeded in his original deſign againſt *Orchomenos*, this being the greateſt diſgrace the *Spartans* had hitherto met with; for they had at leaſt three times as many men in the field, and it never had been known before, that, in any of their wars, whether againſt *Grecians* or barbarians, they had been beaten by even an equal, much leſs by ſo inferior a number to theirs. And, on this occaſion, *Plutarch* rightly obſerves, that the breed of martial ſpirits was not confined to the banks of the *Eurotas*; but that true courage and bravery are the growth of every country, where the inhabitants are brought up with a ſenſe of honour and juſtice, and are more afraid of the leaſt diſgrace than of the greateſt danger [f]. And the *Thebans* were ſo ſenſible of the conduct and bravery of their two generals, as well as of the glory and advantage they were likely to reap from this ſignal victory, that they erected a ſumptuous monument, to perpetuate the memory of it, and of their great deliverers.

Athenians envy Thebans.

HOWEVER, theſe ſucceſſes of the *Thebans*, which were chiefly owing to their growing valour and experience, could not but be beheld with a jealous eye by the *Athenians*, who began now to think, that they gained ground too faſt; for which reaſon they judged it more expedient to forego, or, at leaſt, ſuſpend, their reſentment againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, than to raiſe the power of one ſtate upon the deſtruction of the other. An opportunity for ſuch an accommodation ſoon fell into their way; and *Artaxerxes*, wanting, at that time, ſome *Grecian* auxiliaries, to aſſiſt him in his *Egyptian* war, ſent embaſſadors to them, to put an end to their inteſtine broils, and to renew the peace of *Antalcidas*; which, at this preſent juncture, they eaſily brought about; and the *Thebans* were the only ſtate that oppoſed it, as we have already hinted. We have ſpoken of this expedition in its proper place, and of the aſſiſtance which the *Grecians* ſent to him [g]. Not long after this, the *Thebans*, who had taken no ſmall umbrage at the *Platæans*, on account of their ſingular fidelity to the *Athenians*, and looked upon their city as a continual thorn in their ſides, came to a reſolution to ſurpriſe it: upon which they applied to their allies for ſuccour and protection; which was readily granted to them. This failed not to exaſperate the *Thebans* againſt both, who ſent *Eurymachus*, at the head of three hundred men, who were immediately admitted into that city by ſome of the *Platæans* they had gained to their ſide [h]. We have likewiſe ſpoken of this tranſaction in the *Athenian* hiſtory; the conſequence of which was, that the city was raſed by them, and ſoon after that of *Theſpia*; which ſo exaſperated the *Athenians*, both cities having ſo well deſerved, not only of them, but of the common cauſe, in the *Perſian* war, that they broke off intirely, and would no longer act in conjunction with them. Soon after this, the *Grecian* affairs took a new and unexpected turn, in which every ſtate acted their ſeveral parts, as we have formerly ſeen, and ſhall not repeat here.

Platæa and Theſpia raſed.

HITHERTO the *Thebans* had only ſtrove to ſecure their regained liberty by allying either with *Athens* or *Sparta*, as occaſion ſerved, it being their conſtant maxim, when they were either in danger from, or deſerted by the one, to have recourſe to the other; in doing which they were always ſure to meet with a kind reception, becauſe whatever ſide they inclined to, they were of weight ſufficient to turn the ſcale; and the wars they had been ſo long engaged in, had brought them into ſuch excellent diſcipline and knowlege in martial affairs, that they began now to think of enlarging their territories, which they found too narrow for their ambitious views; and to make ſome gradual incroachments on their neighbours, as they ſaw other ſtates had done before them.

Thebes enlarges its territories.

THIS new ſpirit of conqueſt and ſuperiority is ſaid to have been raiſed by their great general and deliverer *Pelopidas*, in which he was ſeconded and ſupported by the noble and brave *Epaminondas*, a perſon who, tho', like him, endowed with all the neceſſary qualities to make a complete captain or patriot, had till then preferred a private life, and lived in a conſtant courſe of virtue, and the ſtudy of philoſophy. He had, as yet, ſeldom appeared in public, except to get himſelf excuſed from thoſe ſtate-employments which were ſo eagerly courted by others. This, however, had not hindered him from contracting an intimate friendſhip with *Pelopidas*, which had been daily improved by

Character of Pelopidas and Epaminondas.

[f] Vol. ii. p. 615, & ſeq. [g] Ibid. 131. [h] Thucyd. l. ii. Diod. l. xii.

the

the correſpondence of their tempers and principles, as well as by that noble zeal which both diſplayed for the good of their country; which laſt had made them, even before this time, appear together in action, and to ſuch advantage, that *Epaminondas*'s merit could be no longer concealed, nor, indeed, ſuffer him to continue longer in his beloved retirement: ſo that he ſaw himſelf, at length, deſervedly placed at the head of the *Theban* troops; where he gave ſuch early proofs of his future proweſs and abilities, as juſtly gave him the next rank to *Pelopidas:* only, this laſt having made a more early figure in the army, the ſucceſs which the *Thebans* had hitherto met with, was generally aſcribed to him. This did not, however, prevent the other from being looked upon as his ſecond, if not as his equal; ſo that both came now to be conſidered in the ſame light, as generals in the field, as governors at home, and as compleate ſtateſmen in the council: wherefore, when the general treaty for reſtoring peace to *Greece* came to be propoſed by the *Athenians*, and was upon the point of being executed by the reſt of the ſtates, the *Thebans* refuſed to agree to it, unleſs they were comprehended in it, under the name of *Bœotians*; and were ſtiled ſo accordingly.

THIS demand was, however, as ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the other contracting powers, as inſiſted on by *Epaminondas*, who was there as embaſſador, on the part of the *Thebans*. *Ageſilaus*, in particular, told him, in plain terms, that the *Thebans* ought to evacuate *Bœotia*, and leave the cities of it free and independent. To which he was anſwered by him, that the *Lacedæmonians* would do well to ſet them the example, by reſtoring *Meſſenia* to its antient proprietors, and *Laconia* to its antient freedom; for that the pretenſions of the city of *Thebes* to *Bœotia* were as well founded, at leaſt, as thoſe of *Sparta* to thoſe two countries. After this he went on, and ſhewed how far *Sparta* had aggrandized herſelf, at the expence of her neighbours; that peace might be indeed obtained, and upon a ſolid and laſting foot; but that this could not be otherwiſe done than by bringing all to an equality. This bold, though juſt remonſtrance, in which not only *Thebes*, but *Greece* in general, was concerned, failed not, however, to exaſperate the haughty *Spartan* monarch; and the *Athenians*, who had till now looked upon the *Thebans* as dependents either on them, or on the *Macedonians*, were not a little offended to hear their embaſſador talk in ſuch high terms. The reſult of this conference was, that *Ageſilaus* ſtruck the name of *Thebes* out of the treaty, and declared war againſt them [k], the ſucceſs of which we have already ſhewn in part, in a more proper place [l] (E); and ſhall only recapitulate as much of it, in few words, as is neceſſary to keep up the thread of the *Theban* hiſtory, or hath not been taken notice of before.

Epaminondas's reply to the Spartans.

Ageſilaus's raſh act.

THE *Thebans* were in no ſmall conſternation to ſee themſelves engaged in a war with the powerful *Spartans*, without any ally to aſſiſt them; and the reſt of the *Grecian* ſtates, having made peace with the latter, as we hinted in the laſt note, began to look upon the ruin of the former as unavoidable. However, they reſolved to make the beſt defence they could, and put their army under the command of the brave *Epaminondas*, aſſigning him, at his own requeſt, ſix others, to act as counſellors or aſſiſtants. The *Theban* army conſiſted, at moſt, but of ſix thouſand men, whereas that of the enemy was, at leaſt, thrice that number; but *Epaminondas* truſted moſt in his horſe, wherein he had much the advantage, both in their quality and good management: the reſt he endeavoured to ſupply by the diſpoſition of his men, and the vigour of the attack. He even

War with Sparta. Year of flood 1977. Bef. Chr. 371.

Epaminondas's diſpoſition of his army.

[k] XENOPH. Hellan. l. vi. DIOD SIC. l. xv. Vid. & PLUT. in Ageſil. & Pelopid. & CORN. NEP. in vit. Epaminond. [l] See vol. ii. p. 615, & ſeqq.

(E) This haſty rupture was, however, highly blamed by the *Lacedæmonians*, and their allies; and it was not without great difficulty, and ſome conſiderable demur, that the ephori were prevailed upon to conſent to it; though even then the king's act was condemned as the effect of paſſion rather than judgment, and as owing to a pique which he had againſt the *Thebans*, for having been called out of *Aſia* on their account; for which he took hold of every opportunity of being revenged on them. And it was with this view alſo, that he took care, before all things, to conclude a peace with all the reſt of the *Grecian* ſtates, and to tie their hands from aſſiſting them. It was indeed couched in ſuch vague and general terms, as if it was only to ſerve for the preſent juncture, and give him an opportunity of keeping or breaking it, as he ſhould ſee occaſion: which agrees with what he ſaid upon diſmiſſing ſome of their embaſſadors: *What can be amicably adjuſted, ſhall be ſo; and what cannot be otherwiſe remedied, muſt be determined by the ſword; it being next to impoſſible to provide againſt every thing by treaty* (3).

(3) *Plut. in Ageſil. Vid. & al. ſup. citat.*

refuſed to ſuffer any to ſerve under him in the engagement, but ſuch as he knew to be fully reſolved to conquer or die; and put himſelf at the head of the left wing, oppoſite to *Cleombrotus*; and placed the main ſtreſs of the battle there, rightly concluding, that if he could break the body of the *Spartans*, which was but twelve men deep, whereas his own was fifty, the reſt would be ſoon put to flight. He cloſed his own with the *Sacred band*, ſpoken of in a former note [m], which was commanded by *Pelopidas*; and placed his horſe in the front. His right, from which he had drawn ſo many men, he ordered to fall back, in a ſlanting line, as if they declined to fight, that they might not be too much expoſed to the enemy, and might ſerve him for a corps of reſerve, in caſe of need. This was the wiſe diſpoſition which our two *Theban* generals made of their few, but reſolute forces; and which ſucceeded, in every part, according to their wiſh. *Epaminondas* advanced with his left wing, extending it obliquely, in order to draw the enemy's right from the main body; and *Pelopidas* charged them with ſuch deſperate ſpeed and fury, at the head of his battalion, before they could reunite, that their horſe, not being able to ſtand the ſhock, were forced back upon their infantry, which threw the whole into the greateſt confuſion; ſo that, tho' the *Spartans* were, of all the *Greeks*, the moſt expert in recovering from any ſurprize, yet their ſkill, on this occaſion, either failed them, or proved of no effect; for the *Thebans*, obſerving the dreadful impreſſion they had made on them with their horſe, puſhed furiouſly upon the *Spartan* king, and opened their way to them, with a great ſlaughter.

and ſucceeds.

Cleombrotus *ſlain.*

Victory of Leuctra.

Upon the death of *Cleombrotus*, and ſeveral officers of note, the *Spartans*, according to cuſtom, renewed the fight with double vigour and fury, not ſo much to revenge his death, as to recover his body; which was ſuch an eſtabliſhed point of honour, as they could not give up without the greateſt diſgrace: but here our *Theban* general wiſely choſe rather to gratify them in that point, than to hazard the ſucceſs of a ſecond onſet; and left them in poſſeſſion of their king, whilſt himſelf marched ſtrait againſt their other wing, which was commanded by *Archidamus*, and conſiſted chiefly of ſuch auxiliaries and allies, as had not heartily engaged in the *Spartan* intereſt (F): and theſe were ſo diſheartened at the death of the king, and the defeat of that wing, that they betook themſelves to flight, and were preſently after followed by the reſt of the army. The *Thebans*, however, purſued them ſo cloſely, that they made a ſecond dreadful ſlaughter among them, which completed *Epaminondas*'s victory, who remained maſter of the field, and erected a trophy in memory of it. This was the concluſion of the famed battle of *Leuctra*, in which the *Lacedæmonians* loſt four thouſand men, and the *Thebans* but three hundred [n]. How the news of this unexpected defeat were received at *Sparta*, which loſt above four hundred of her citizens among the reſt of the ſlain, may be ſeen in their hiſtory.

Spartans *defeated.*

The city of *Thebes*, however, we may ſafely believe, received it with more ſincere joy; and our victorious general, deſirous to improve this great victory, ſent an herald, crowned with garlands, to communicate it, in form, to the *Athenians*, in hopes that this would be an effectual means to reunite them to their intereſt. But it proved quite otherwiſe; and *Athens*, which now looked upon them with a jealous eye, and had then in view the ſovereignty of *Greece*, choſe rather, if they could not wholly obtain it, to ſhare it with *Sparta*, than to let the *Thebans* into the whole; and therefore declined even giving their herald audience, and ordered him immediately to depart, tho' contrary to the laws of hoſpitality, which allowed ſuch perſons a time for refreſhment. *Jaſon* the tyrant of *Theſſaly*, who, as was lately hinted, had made an alliance with *Thebes*, received the news of this victory in a different manner; and tho' at war with ſome of his neighbours, found means to ſteal a private march thro' their territories, to come and join *Epaminondas*, whilſt a fleet was pretended to be preparing to tranſport him thither by ſea. He came to the *Theban* camp, at the head of fifteen hundred foot and five hundred horſe; and, upon *Epaminondas*'s diſcovering his deſign to him, of purſuing the *La-*

Jealouſy of the Athenians.

Jaſon *comes to the* Theban *camp.*

[m] See before, p. 91, note (D). [n] Plut. Diod. Sic. & alii ſupra citat. See vol. ii. p. 616.

(F) *Diodorus Siculus* adds, that they were encouraged to it, rather from the weakneſs of the *Theban* army, than their affection to the *Spartans*; ſo that they expected to have had nothing to do but to take the field, and to conquer without fighting, or, as he elegantly expreſſes it, ἀκονιτὶ, without duſt (4). No wonder they were ſo eaſily put to flight!

(4) *Lib.* xv.

cedæmonians to the very gates of *Sparta*, that prince plied him with all the rhetoric and politics he was maſter of, to deter him from it. He had, doubtleſs, ſome ſelfiſh views; and was not willing to ſee *Sparta* reduced ſo much below *Thebes*, as not to be able to make head againſt it: however, whether *Epaminondas* perceived his drift or not, he not only acquieſced with him, but even agreed to make a truce with them; and *Jaſon*, who undertook to manage it, went actually to the *Spartan* camp, and, with his uſual eloquence and addreſs, perſuaded them to accept of it; ſo that they immediately marched over mount *Cytheron*, and turned to *Laconia*, where *Archidamus* diſmiſſed his allies; and, with the poor remains of his army, lately the fineſt that ever that republic could boaſt, marched away for his metropolis. And one may ſafely ſay, this was the firſt time that ever that proud city received one in ſo diſgraceful a plight. *A truce concluded.*

In the mean time, the bad reception which the *Theban* herald had received at *Athens*, did not hinder ſeveral other ſtates, to whom the news was communicated in the ſame manner, from expreſſing their joy at it; ſeveral of whom were thereby induced to enter into freſh alliances with them, whilſt the *Athenians* were turning the defeat of the *Spartans* to their advantage, as we have ſeen in their hiſtory. Some of thoſe ſtates were, indeed, compelled to come into this alliance; but the far greater part did it either from inclination or intereſt, as they found they were moſt likely to be protected by them; ſo that *Thebes* was now become the aſylum of thoſe who apprehended the power of the *Spartans* or *Athenians*: and theſe refuſed, as well as the *Thebans*, to come into the treaty of peace which the *Athenians* had cauſed to be renewed; and objected againſt the freedom of ſeveral towns, over which they claimed a juriſdiction. *Thebes grown formidable.*

Amongst theſe ſtates, the *Mantineans*, by the help of the *Eleans* and *Arcadians*, took upon them to rebuild and fortify their city; and *Pauſanias* tells us, that *Epaminondas*, about that time, perſuaded ſeveral of the ſmall towns of the *Arcadians* to build one common city, by the name of *Megalopolis* [p], though *Diodorus* places it two years later, to wit, upon their great overthrow by the *Spartans* [q]. However, it is plain from what we have ſeen in the hiſtories of *Athens* and *Sparta*, that the reſtoring of thoſe antient ſtates to their liberty and privileges made ſeveral of them grow wanton and capricious, and fall into ſuch violent diſcords, as proved of worſe conſequence to them than the dominion of *Sparta*. *Megalopolis built.*

All this while *Jaſon*, taking the advantage of the truce between the *Thebans* and *Spartans*, daily increaſed his conqueſts, and his ſword brought thoſe under his yoke, which neither his gold nor eloquence could ſubdue; ſo that he was now grown to ſuch an height of power and ambition, that he was become formidable to all *Greece*; and might, in all probability, have gained the ſovereignty of it, had he not been aſſaſſinated by ſome of his own ſubjects, who were afterwards honoured as the reſtorers of the *Theſſalian* liberty. But this proved only a ſhort relief, and they came ſoon after to groan under a much ſeverer tyranny, to wit, that of *Alexander* of *Pheræa*, the brother of *Jaſon*, a man rightly deſcribed, in few words, as a monſter, with an heart of braſs, and who governed them with a rod of iron, as we ſhall ſoon ſee. However, as the *Thebans* had loſt a powerful friend in *Jaſon*, they took care to ſtrengthen themſelves by new alliances; and, beſides the *Arcadians* and *Eleans*, lately mentioned, had got the *Phocians*, *Locrians*, *Acarnanians*, *Eubœans*, and other ſtates, under their dependence; ſo that they were now in a condition to act offenſively againſt the *Spartans*, and, under pretence of aſſiſting the *Arcadians*, had entered *Peloponneſus* with a gallant army, with *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas* at their head. Here they were joined by the *Arcadian* and other confederate forces; ſo that the whole amounted to forty thouſand, ſome ſay fifty thouſand, men, beſides great numbers of thoſe who followed the camp, rather for plunder than fighting, and were computed about twenty thouſand more. The army was divided into four columns, and moved ſtrait towards *Sellaſia*, the place of their rendezvous, from which they purſued their march, with fire and ſword, towards *Sparta*; where they were, however, repulſed by the brave *Ageſilaus*, who was then returned to that metropolis, as we have already ſeen [r]. *Thebans get recalled, and enter Peloponneſus.*

To repair, in ſome meaſure, the diſgrace of this expenſive and ſucceſsleſs expedition, and, at the ſame time, to leave ſome laſting monument, which ſhould redound as much to his glory, as to the mortification of the *Spartans*, *Epaminondas* left not their territories

[p] In Arcadic. [q] Lib. xv. [r] See vol ii. p. 619.

Antient Meſſenians reſtored.

ritories till he had reſtored the poſterity of the old *Meſſenians* to their antient dominions, out of which they had been baniſhed near three hundred years [s], rebuilt their capital, and left a ſtrong gariſon for its defence (G). He was, however, like to have been ſtopped in his return by *Iphicrates*, whom the *Athenians* had ſent with twelve thouſand men, to intercept him; but this laſt loitered ſo long at *Corinth*, that the *Thebans* had paſſed the defiles of *Cenchreæ*, the chief place where he could have obſtructed his retreat, had he taken poſſeſſion of it time enough (H); and ſo continued his march till he came in full view of the city of *Corinth*. However, he found the roads choaked up with trees, rocks, ſtones, and every thing that could render them impaſſable, and the *Corinthians* well fortified, and reſolute on a ſtout defence. This rather whetted than damped his courage, and he came ſo furiouſly upon them, notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties, that they, in a panic kind of ſurprize at his intrepidity, abandoned all their intrenchments and outworks to the *Thebans*, and fled into the city, whither theſe purſued them ſword in hand, and made an horrid ſlaughter of them; inſomuch that *Corinth* muſt have unavoidably fallen into their hands, had their generals thought fit to purſue theſe advantages; but, whether they were afraid of the *Athenians* falling upon them, or apprehended ſome dangerous ambuſh in a country with which they were but indifferently acquainted, or whether the army was too much weakened through ſo many fatigues, or, laſtly, whether the coldneſs of the ſeaſon, it being then in the depth of winter, would not permit them to proceed farther, they immediately marched towards *Bœotia*. This gave ſuch an handle to their enemies, that they met with a very mortifying reception at their return to *Thebes*, where they were both arreſted, and confined, as ſtate-priſoners, for having preſumed to prolong their command four months longer than the time limited by law, which time took in almoſt the whole of their expedition from their firſt entrance into *Peloponneſus*. This was but a very ungrateful return for the ſignal ſervices they had done to the *Theban* ſtate; for the crime laid to their charge being capital, they were forced to ſubmit to be tried by the judges; and, as they had nothing to allege on their behalf, except the great advantages they had gained by their unavoidable ſtay, they readily owned the charge, and ſubmitted themſelves to the equity of the court. Their enemies, at the ſame time, neglected no art nor pains to incenſe the people againſt them; inſomuch that they were juſt upon the point of being capitally condemned, when *Epaminondas*, in a modeſt, but ſevere ſpeech, began to remind them of his late victory at *Leuctra*, and of the other ſervices he had done, both to *Thebes*, and to all *Greece*, whoſe liberty he had ſo lately reſtored; and, taking the whole fault upon himſelf, in order to ſave *Pelopidas*, ſpoke to them to this purpoſe: *I was in hopes, that my ſucceſſes, and the advantages you derived from them, would have been ſufficient motives to induce you to acquit me; but, ſince they are not, I only wait for your ſentence, and am ready both to accuſe and condemn myſelf: only let poſterity be as well appriſed of my crime, as they will be of my puniſhment. Let them know, that I am put to death for having ſo ſucceſsfully led your troops into* Laconia, *whither no enemy had ever penetrated before, and for having been the firſt who made that country feel the dreadful effects of your victorious arms: that I die for having reſtored the* Meſſenians *to their antient patrimony; for having reunited the* Arcadians, *and ruined the*

Corinthians *defeated and ſlaughtered.*

Epaminondas *and* Pelopidas *tried.*

His ſpeech to the court.

[s] See before, vol. ii. p. 351. 360. 595.

(G) Nothing could be more proper or likely to obliterate his late repulſe before *Sparta*, than the reſettling a people, who had made ſo conſiderable a figure in the early times of *Greece*, in their antient poſſeſſions, and dividing it by lot among them; and, at the ſame time, nothing could reflect a greater diſhonour on the *Spartans*, than their being forced to ſuffer themſelves to be deprived of a province as large as their own, and the moſt fertile in all *Greece*, after they had held it ſo long under them, and as a barrier againſt any invaſion on that ſide. And accordingly we find, that *Ageſilaus* was ſo exaſperated at it, that he made it the ground for continuing the war againſt the *Thebans*, inſtead of accepting the peace which they offered to him; tho' his refuſal was like to have cauſed the total ruin of *Sparta* itſelf, as we have ſeen in their hiſtory (5).

(H) His conduct, at ſo important a juncture, was accordingly very much blamed by the *Athenians* and *Spartans*; but that was all: ſo that it is not improbable the former had only ſent him on this errand, to make a faint ſhew of friendſhip to the latter; for it is ſcarcely credible, that the general, who had never yet been wanting in his duty, ſhould have been ſo remiſs in ſo important a caſe, or that the *Athenians* would have let him go unpuniſhed, if he had not had ſome private inſtructions from them for what he did.

(5) *See vol.* ii. *p.* 615, *&* *ſeqq.*

Lace-

Lacedæmonians; *for having increaſed your ſtrength, inlarged your conqueſts, and raiſed you to this preſent height of power and glory: all I farther beg is, that it may be ingraved upon my monument, that he, who hath done you all theſe ſervices, had been puniſhed with death.* Theſe ſevere reproaches had the deſired effect, and, his judges being aſhamed to proceed any farther, either againſt him, or his equally deſerving colegue, they were both honourably acquitted [t]. *Honourably acquitted.* Year of flood 1984. Bef. Chr. 346.

THIS proſecution had been chiefly carried on and encouraged by *Meneclides*, a diſcontented *Theban* (I), and a bold and able ſpeaker, who, by his artful calumnies at the tryal, had ſo far prevailed with the judges, as to get *Epaminondas* deprived of the government of *Bœotia* for a whole year, tho' he could not gain the ſame advantage againſt *Pelopidas*, who was a greater favourite of the people, as being his ſenior in point of time. Beſides, *Meneclides* was known to be a very proud, turbulent man, ill-natured, envious, and revengeful, and a perſon of the worſt character and morals. He had long ſince envied them their glory, reputation, and univerſal love, which their merit had juſtly gained them; and could not but expreſs a great diſlike at their acquittal, ſince it deprived him of even the hopes of ever being rid of two ſuch powerful rivals. All this *Pelopidas* was ſenſible of, as well as of his other cabals againſt him; and, being of a much warmer temper than *Epaminondas*, and ſpirited up by his friends, made no ſcruple to expreſs an uncommon reſentment againſt the uſage he had met with, and to ſeek an occaſion to be revenged on him, in ſuch manner as ſhould effectually ſuppreſs his inſolence for the future; and *Meneclides*, who dared not declare himſelf ſo openly againſt him, as he had againſt *Epaminondas*, but privately endeavoured to ſupplant him, by ſetting up *Charon* againſt him, ſoon furniſhed him with an opportunity, which we ſhall give our reader in a note, as being rather the effect of a private pique, than a matter of a public nature (K).

BY this time the *Spartans*, with much difficulty, had recovered themſelves from their great defeat at *Leuctra*, and ſettled their affairs in as good a poſture as they could; but, tho' they had repulſed the *Thebans* in *Peloponneſus*, yet, from the exploits their general had performed there, eſpecially in the diſmembering the whole kingdom of *Meſſenia* from them, they had ſtill cauſe to fear what their forces might do under two ſuch generals; and had accordingly taken due care to ſtrengthen themſelves againſt them, and to provide themſelves with a good number of auxiliaries from other ſtates, eſpecially from that of *Athens*, with whom they had renewed their old treaty, and had agreed, that each ſhould have the command five days alternately, as hath been already ſhewn in their hiſtory [u]. Soon after this treaty, the *Arcadians* renewed the war, and took *Pallene* in *Laconia* by ſtorm, put the gariſon to the ſword, and were preſently aſſiſted by the *Argives* and *Eleans*, and eſpecially by the *Thebans*, who ſent to them before he had put the finiſhing hand to it, yet *Meneclides*, who had it in his poſſeſſion, made no ſcruple to propoſe the hanging it up in ſome public place, with an inſcription, that it was in memory of the victory gained by *Charon* at *Platæa*, which he failed not to magnify with his uſual eloquence. *Pelopidas*, who could not but perceive the drift of this pretended patriot, and that it was plainly intended by him as a ſlur on that more complete one, which he and his collegue had ſince gained, thought himſelf obliged to oppoſe the motion: which yet he did with ſingular candour and modeſty, eſpecially with reſpect to *Charon*, to whom he took care to give all due praiſe; but, at the ſame time, made the people ſo ſenſible of the abſurdity of the propoſal, and of the malice and impertinence of its author, that they thought fit to lay an heavy fine upon him, even greater than they knew he was able to pay; which quaſhed his hopes of ever ſucceeding againſt ſuch a powerful rival, tho' it did not prevent his continuing a common diſturber of the government, till they forced him at laſt to baniſh himſelf for inſolvency (5). Spartans *prepare againſt the* Thebans. Arcadians *begin the war.*

[t] PLUT. & alii ſupra citat. [u] See vol. ii. p. 618.

(I) *Meneclides* had been one of thoſe *Thebans* who uſed to meet at *Charon*'s houſe, to conſult about ſurpriſing the city and citadel, and ſhaking off the *Spartan* yoke, and had his ſhare of merit in that noble tranſaction; but, being of an haughty, turbulent ſpirit, did not think his ſervices ſufficiently rewarded, and made it his buſineſs, upon all occaſions, to complain of the injuſtice and partiality of thoſe in power, and to calumniate thoſe that were ſet above him, particularly the two brave patriots and generals above-named; and only waited for an opportunity to accuſe them to the people, and gladly laid hold of this to have them tried for their lives.

(K) Some little time before the battle of *Leuctra*, lately mentioned, there had paſſed a ſkirmiſh at *Platæa* between the *Thebans* and *Spartans*, in which about forty of the latter had been ſlain. *Meneclides*, who was willing to raiſe it to the merit of a victory in favour of *Charon*, who commanded the *Thebans*, had procured a famed painter from *Cyzicus*, to paint the battle, in order to eclipſe that of *Leuctra*; and though the painter was forced out of *Thebes*, on account of a tumult that happened there,

(5) *Idem ibid.*

Gobrias *ſent to oppoſe* Epaminondas.

ſeven thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, under the command of *Epaminondas*; which laſt ſo alarmed the *Athenians* likewiſe, that they immediately ſent *Gobrias*, with ſome forces, to oppoſe his paſſage in good earneſt; and he ſo behaved himſelf againſt the *Thebans*, that he gained the whole glory of this ſecond repulſe: ſo that they were forced to abandon *Peloponneſus* a ſecond time, as we have already ſhewn in a more proper place [w]. This ill ſucceſs gave freſh occaſion to the enemies of *Epaminondas* to blame his conduct in the higheſt terms: notwithſtanding the ſingular bravery with which he and his troops had forced the paſs, even his friends could not but ſuſpect him of partiality for the *Spartans*, in not purſuing his advantage over them, and making a greater ſlaughter of them, when he had it in his power; whilſt his enemies made it amount to no leſs than treachery to his country; and, though ſo ſevere and ſo ill-grounded an accuſation could not but appear to the more conſiderate and unbyaſed as the effect of party-malice, yet it wrought ſo far upon the much greater part of the people, that their brave general was once more deprived of the government of *Bœotia*, and reduced to the condition of a private man. He did not continue long under this diſgrace, before an occaſion offered to make his ſervices again of ſuch neceſſity to the ſtate, as to give him an opportunity to retrieve his fame, and wipe off the ſtain, which his enemies had thrown upon him.

Epaminondas *degraded.*

Among the *Theban* allies who had engaged in this laſt expedition, eſpecially the *Argives*, *Eleans*, and *Arcadians*, theſe laſt, who, as we hinted above, had begun the war, by invading *Laconia*, were grown ſo elated at their extraordinary ſucceſs, that they would no longer act in ſubordination to the *Thebans*. They were inſtigated to this refuſal by their general *Lycomedes*, a man of birth and fortune, and of an ambitious ſpirit, who had the command of them in moſt of their late expeditions; and, by his ſucceſs and bravery, had ſo far gained their confidence and eſteem, that he began now to remind them, that the whole *Peloponneſus* did properly belong to them, as the original inhabitants of it; that they were the moſt populous nation in all *Greece*, and had been always moſt conſidered and eſteemed by the reſt for their ſingular ſtoutneſs and bravery, and, as ſuch, had always borne the firſt rank of auxiliaries; inſomuch that the *Spartans* had never done any thing againſt *Athens* without them, nor would the *Thebans* now have appeared againſt *Sparta*, had they not been ſupported by them: that, as they had formerly promoted the intereſt of the one, ſo they were now doing the ſame to the *Thebans*; ſo that, if they did not henceforth inſiſt upon an equal ſhare of the command in their turn with them, they would, in the end, find them *Spartans* too. This ſpeech made ſuch an impreſſion upon the *Arcadians*, that they made no difficulty to agree to whatever he ſhould propoſe, and to aſſure him, that there was nothing ſo difficult, that they were not ready to undertake. In the midſt of theſe broils, *Artaxerxes* made a ſecond attempt to reconcile the *Grecian* ſtates, in order to obtain ſome auxiliaries from them; but his meaſures were broken, by the *Spartans* inſiſting on having *Meſſenia* reſtored to them; which the *Thebans* abſolutely refuſed. In the mean time, theſe laſt were not ignorant of the meaſures which the *Arcadians* were taking againſt them, nor wanting in their reſentment, though they could eaſily foreſee, that they would be ſo far from anſwering their ſanguine expectations, that they would only excite others of their allies to deſert them, as they accordingly did; the conſequence of which would be, that the *Spartans*, who had received freſh reinforcements from *Perſia* and *Sicily*, would fall upon them with greater fury. The thing happened accordingly ſoon after, under the conduct of the brave *Archidamus*, the ſon of *Ageſilaus*, who gained that ſignal victory over them and the *Argives*, in which he killed ten thouſand of them, without the loſs of one man on his ſide; from which it was ſtiled by the *Spartans* the tearleſs victory [x]. This ſignal defeat was ſo far from being the only bad effect of their ill-timed folly and pride, that it brought a train of other misfortunes upon them; whilſt the *Thebans* and *Eleans* (the former of whom were highly diſpleaſed at their late meaſures, and the latter had withdrawn themſelves from them, on account of their refuſing to reſtore ſome of their towns, which the *Spartans* had taken from them) looked upon their preſent diſaſters as a juſt puniſhment for their arrogance and perfidy to them [y].

Lycomedes *corrupts the* Arcadians.

Artaxerxes's *negotiations broken.*

Arcadians *defeated.*

[w] See vol. ii. p. 618. [x] Xenoph. Hellen. l. vi. Diod. Sic. l. xv. Plut. in vit. Ageſ. & Pelopid. Pausan. in Lacon. Just. l. vii. Corn. Nep. & alii. See vol. ii. p. 618. 621. [y] Idem ibid.

All

ALL this while the *Thebans* had raiſed themſelves to ſuch an height of power, as had gained them the greateſt credit and influence, not only among their neighbouring ſtates, but even among foreign princes; inſomuch that they were invited to be moderators and umpires, particularly in *Macedonia*, where they quickly compoſed the quarrels about the ſucceſſion, and had taken at one time thirty, and afterwards fifty, *Macedonian* youths of diſtinction as hoſtages, and, among the former, *Philip* the king's brother, and father of *Alexander the Great*. This prodigious ſway of theirs was chiefly owing to the juſtice and equity, as well as great abilities, of *Pelopidas*; for, as to *Epaminondas*, he ſtill continued in the condition of a private man; but the next expedition of the former proved the means of raiſing the latter to his priſtine rank and credit. The occaſion and ſucceſs were as follows:

Thebans *become powerful.*

THE *Theſſalians*, who had groaned ſome time under the tyranny of the uſurper *Alexander* ſurnamed the *Pheræan*, ſent an embaſſy to *Thebes*, to implore their aid and protection: upon which *Pelopidas* was immediately ſent as embaſſador, to expoſtulate with them on their behalf. He was then in *Macedonia*, on the occaſion lately mentioned; and, upon his return, marched directly to *Pharſalus* in *Theſſaly*, in order to puniſh the treachery of ſome mercenaries, who had deſerted the *Thebans* in that expedition; but, when he came thither, he was ſurpriſed to be met by the tyrant, at the head of a numerous army, before that city, whilſt his own was but as an handful of men in compariſon of it. However, whether he ſuppoſed, or would be thought to do ſo, that *Alexander* came thither to juſtify himſelf, he went, with *Iſmenias* his collegue, to him, unarmed and unattended, not doubting but his employment, as embaſſador from ſo powerful a republic, joined to his own character and authority, would protect them from inſult or violence: but he found himſelf miſtaken, to his no ſmall ſurprize; and *Polybius* juſtly calls it an unpardonable imprudence to truſt himſelf ſo far in the power of one, whom he knew to be ſo wicked and perfidious; for he had no ſooner got them in his hands, than he cauſed them to be ſeized, and ſent priſoners to *Pheræ*. Not content with that indignity, he ordered, that every one that had a mind ſhould be admitted to ſee them, not doubting but his being thus expoſed would prove a means of breaking the ſpirit of the brave *Pelopidas*, againſt whom he bore the greateſt grudge: but it had a quite contrary effect upon him, and only ſerved as a means of ſending the tyrant ſeveral ſevere meſſages, and in a bold kind of defiance; particularly he ſent to tell him, "That it was imprudent and abſurd in him to cauſe ſo many innocent and "worthy citizens to be tortured and butchered, and to ſpare him, who, he knew, if "ever he eſcaped out of his hands, would not fail to make him ſuffer the puniſhment "due to his crimes." To which intrepid challenge the ſurpriſed tyrant ſent this anſwer: *Why is* Pelopidas *in ſuch haſte to die?* and received this reply, *It is, that thou mayſt periſh ſo much the ſooner, by becoming ſtill more hateful to* GOD *and man.* This laſt meſſage had ſuch an effect upon him, that, inſtead of making a ſpectacle of him any longer, he cauſed him to be more cloſely confined, and forbid any but his wife *Thebe* to ſee or ſpeak to him. This lady had heard ſo much of his intrepid bravery and good ſenſe, that ſhe readily accepted the office, and had ſeveral interviews with him, which we ſhall give our readers in the margin, becauſe we would omit nothing that *Plutarch* and other authors have preſerved to us, that contributes to the glory of this truly great man (L).

Theſſalians *apply to the* Thebans. Pelopidas *ſent thither.*

Impriſoned by Alexander.

His bold meſſage to him.

IN the mean time, the *Thebans*, highly reſenting the indignity offered to their embaſſadors, ſent immediately an army into *Theſſaly*; but, whether thro' ill fortune or ill conduct, the generals were repulſed, with great loſs, by the *Pheræan* uſurper, who, expecting ſome ſuch invaſion from that quarter, had taken care to put himſelf in a condition of giving them a warm reception; and met them accordingly, at the head of

(L) The firſt compliment this lady paid to him was, telling him, with abundance of meekneſs, and a flood of tears, that *ſhe highly pitied his wife*; to which *Pelopidas* anſwered, *And I you, who can bear with* Alexander, *when you are not his priſoner.* This reply made a great impreſſion on her, and rouſed in her ſuch a ſenſe of her huſband's ill uſage, that ſhe often repeated her viſits to that general, and freely acknowleged to him the many outrages ſhe had received from him. *Pelopidas*, on the other hand, forgot not any thing that could exaſperate her againſt him, till he had wrought her up to the higheſt pitch of reſentment. Theſe frequent interviews, and the conſequences of it, have given the whole affair the appearance of an intrigue between them; and it is not improbable, that ſhe would have gladly brought matters to that iſſue; but we can hardly believe, that either his age or virtue would ſuffer him to go ſuch a length; and it is more probable, that he encouraged her viſits, in order to conſult with her upon the proper means of revenging herſelf and him on her bloody huſband, as ſhe effectually did ſoon after, by the help of his brothers, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

An army sent to rescue him, defeated.

his forces; so that they found themselves obliged to retire soon after, without performing any other exploit than giving him the fruitless proof of their resentment, whilst he kept still pursuing them, and killed a great number of their men: and it was owing to the brave *Epaminondas*, who was among them only as a private centinel, that they were not totally cut off; for the *Thebans*, finding themselves in such imminent danger, which they attributed to the incapacity of their generals, had immediately recourse to him, whose valour and experience had been so often tried; and, partly by persuasions and intreaties, and partly by threats, obliged him to take the command: which soon gave a different turn to their affairs, and turned their flight into a safe and regular retreat; for he took the horse and light-armed foot, placed himself at their head in the rear, and charged the enemy with such vigour and bravery, that he obliged them to desist from their pursuit.

Epaminondas *takes the command.*

Marches against the Pherean tyrant.

However, as the army had suffered such loss before, as not to be sufficient to pursue them in their turn, he was obliged to return with them to *Thebes*, with their pusillanimous generals, where the latter were fined twelve thousand drachms each, and the former was reinstated in the command, and sent with a new reinforcement, to repair the late dishonour, and prosecute their revenge. The news of his being in full march on this errand, greatly alarmed the tyrant; and well it was for him, that the new *Theban* general, preferring the safety of his imprisoned collegue to all other considerations, forbore pushing hostilities to extremes, for fear of provoking the enemy to wreak all his fury on him: to prevent which, he contented himself, for a while, with hovering about with his army, and now-and-then with such slight skirmishes as should intimidate the tyrant, and bring him the sooner to make some satisfactory offers; for, as to himself, he thought it too dishonourable to enter into any treaty or alliance with a man who was universally abhorred, as an usurper, tyrant, and a monster of cruelty. His method succeeded according to his wish; and *Alexander*, being fully convinced of the superiority of the *Theban* general, in all respects, was glad to accept of a truce of thirty days, and to restore *Pelopidas* and *Ismenias* to him: upon which he immediately withdrew his forces, and returned with them to *Thebes*. *Epaminondas* gained no small reputation, not only for the conduct, sagacity, and bravery, with which he managed this whole affair, but much more for the regard he paid to the safety of the two *Theban* embassadors, and most of all for his generous behaviour to the *Theban* citizens, at his return, in overlooking their unjust resentment against him, and the noble use which he made of that command to which he was unanimously and immediately restored: upon which occasion, *Pelopidas*, and his collegue, failed not to do all possible justice to the merit of their deliverer [z].

Pelopidas *released, and* Epaminondas *restored.*

Excites the glory of the Theban *state.*

By this time *Thebes* was raised to a sufficient height of reputation and glory, for her strength and valour, the conduct and bravery of her generals, and for her justice and integrity, to begin to aim, in earnest, at the sovereignty of *Greece*, in her turn. The main obstacle to it was, that the other states grew so jealous of her present greatness, as to enter into the strongest alliances and confederacies, to prevent its farther growth; so that, not being able now to procure many allies at home, they made no difficulty to seek for them abroad; and the *Lacedæmonians*, by leading the van, gave them a plausible pretence to follow their steps, and to procure an alliance with *Persia*, which, at that time, they found was ready to accept of the offers on any terms: the only question was, which of the three states should be preferred, *Sparta*, *Athens*, or *Thebes*. At the same time, the latter proposed to their few confederates, to send likewise proper deputies to the *Persian* court, in order to support their respective interests; which they readily agreed to. These were the *Arcadians*, *Eleans*, and *Argives*; at the head of whose deputation *Pelopidas* was sent, on the behalf of the *Thebans*; which the *Athenians* being apprised of, appointed two on their part (M). These, being all arrived at the

Deputies sent to Persia.

[z] Plut. in Agesil. & Pelopid. Diod. Sic. & alii supra citat.

(M) Nothing more plainly shews, however, the degeneracy into which *Greece* was sunk by this time from its antient grandeur and pride; for, till now, such general deputations and congresses at the court of *Persia* had never been heard of, whatever application might have been made to it by private persons or states; for this was, in some measure, makeing it umpire of all their differences, and giving the *Persians* an advantage which neither they, nor any other nation, had ever had before; though the peace of *Antalcidas*, in which their monarch had the greatest sway, had, in some measure, paved the way to it, and prepared the *Grecians* in general to receive that foreign yoke: whereas, but a little before that, the *Persians* had met with the most mortifying repulses, and *Artaxerxes* himself been greatly distressed, whilst the *Lacedæmonians*, under their king *Agesilaus*, were ravaging his provinces even to the heart

the *Perſian* court, began to purſue each their reſpective intereſts; but *Pelopidas* had, by that time, gained ſuch credit at the *Perſian* court, both for his ſingular addreſs, and his extraordinary exploits, that he was diſtinguiſhed, in a particular manner, from all the other deputies, and was received by the king with the moſt manifeſt marks of honour and eſteem, particularly at his audience; where he repreſented to that monarch, that the *Thebans*, from the battle of *Platæa* to that preſent time, had conſtantly adhered to the crown of *Perſia*; whereas the *Spartans* had broken with them for no other cauſe than that they refuſed to join with them againſt him. He thence took occaſion to remind him of their late and ſignal ſucceſs at *Leuctra*, and invaſion of *Laconia*; intimating withal, that the overthrow of the *Arcadians* and *Argives* was owing to their not having been aſſiſted by them. He added ſeveral other judicious remarks, equally proper to incline the *Perſian* monarch to the *Theban* ſide; and ſucceeded ſo well in it, that *Artaxerxes* freely owned himſelf convinced, that the *Thebans* were the people on whom he could moſt ſafely depend; and, after having greatly applauded the equity of his demands, ratified and confirmed them with great readineſs, to the no ſmall mortification of the other ſtates. The ſubſtance of them was, that the liberties formerly granted to the other towns of *Greece*, ſhould be confirmed; that *Meſſenia*, in particular, ſhould continue free, and independent on the juriſdiction of *Sparta*; that the *Athenians* ſhould lay up their fleet; and that the *Thebans* ſhould be looked upon as the antient and hereditary friends of *Perſia* [a].

Pelopidas's *ſucceſs at the* Perſian *court.*

Treaty confirmed.

Year of flood 1935. Before Chriſt 363.

This laſt advantage, which they gained over the other ſtates of *Greece*, helped to complete the glory of *Thebes*, which till now had only held the ſecond rank, being ſtill rivaled ſometimes by *Sparta*, and at others by *Athens*, and to give it the ſuperiority over them, and conſequently over all *Greece*. *Pelopidas* had all the credit of this negotiation, upon whoſe return the *Thebans* ſet themſelves about making the beſt advantage of it. The firſt ſtep they took was, to ſend orders to all the deputies of the other ſtates, to aſſemble at *Thebes*, in order to ratify the treaty concluded at the *Perſian* court. They came accordingly; but, when the oath was tendered to them, they expreſſed an uncommon ſurprize, and abſolutely declined it, alleging, that they were ſent by their principals to hear the articles read, and not to ſign and ſwear to them, which they could not do without their knowlege and approbation. Some of them likewiſe, particularly *Lycomedes*, the *Arcadian* general, objected, that the place of congreſs ought not to be held at *Thebes*, but in *Arcadia*, where the ſeat of war then was: others objected againſt the partiality of the king of *Perſia*, in favour of the *Thebans*, as being plainly done with a view not to reſtore *Greece* to its antient liberty, but to ſecond their ambitious deſigns of enſlaving it; upon which the *Corinthians* openly declared, that they ſaw no occaſion for the treaty: ſo that the congreſs broke up, without any other effect than an univerſal diſcontent, notwithſtanding the pains which the *Thebans* took, by private conferences, to court ſome, and awe other ſtates into a ratification. The conſequence of all which efforts was, that they all followed the example of the *Corinthians*; and reſolved from thenceforth to oppoſe, with all their might, the growing power of the *Thebans*, and to defeat all their ambitious views and meaſures. All this while *Artaxerxes* beheld their diſputes and jealouſies with an unexpected indifference, and ſtiffly refuſed to concern himſelf farther about them; for this was, indeed, what he could not do, without bringing all the other *Grecian* ſtates upon him, who were, by this time, univerſally diſpoſed to unite againſt them and him, and to make it a common cauſe. The *Athenians*, above all the reſt, had given a manifeſt proof of their reſentment againſt that part of the treaty which obliged them to lay up their navy, by putting *Timagoras*, one of their deputies to the *Perſian* court, to death, upon his return from thence, as a betrayer of his country, and as having cloſed in with

Perſian *treaty rejected by the other ſtates.*

Athenian *deputy put to death.*

[a] Plut. in Ageſ. & Pelopid. Diod. Sic. & alii ſupra citat.

heart of his empire (6). *Sparta* therefore was juſtly blamed for having laid the foundation for this diſhonourable change; and for which nothing can be ſaid in their excuſe, but that their fear of being eclipſed, if not perhaps maſtered, by two ſuch powerful rivals as *Athens* and *Thebes*, had forced them upon that ſhameful and diſadvantageous expedient; in which they were, however, ſo far from ſucceeding, eſpecially againſt the latter, that they had the mortification to find it preferred to all the reſt, as will be ſeen by-and-by.

(6) *Plut. in Ageſ. & Pelopid. Diod. Sic. & alii ſupra citat. Vid. brief parallel. La Tour in vit. Epaminond. Stanyan, & alios.*

Pelopidas, instead of acting in concert with his collegue. What seemed most to countenance this accusation was, that he was, next to the *Theban* general, the most esteemed and caressed by that court, and had, with him, received the richest presents from the *Persian* king [b].

THESE discouragements, one would have thought, might have hindered the *Thebans* from the farther prosecution of their designs, especially as this last attempt had so far opened the eyes of their old allies the *Arcadians*, *Argives*, and other *Peloponnesian* states, that they absolutely refused to act any longer in concert with them; but, instead of that, it only set them on finding out means to oblige, since fair promises could not induce them to it. Hitherto the *Achæans* had forborn taking any part in the public quarrel, and were now looked upon as the propereſt means to force the rest to it. Accordingly, *Epaminondas* was sent against them, at the head of a powerful army; and, whether they were not able to make head against him, or had been privately brought over by him, they easily submitted to, and entered into an alliance with him, by which they engaged to act in concert with the *Thebans*. By this means the *Arcadians* soon found themselves distressed on both sides; on one by the *Achæans*, and on the other by the *Spartans*; which obliged them to have recourse again to their old allies the *Thebans*, who took occasion from thence to raise new commotions in *Peloponnesus*, as we have seen in the history of *Sparta* and *Athens*. Among those who suffered most on account of the *Thebans*, were the *Phliasians*, who, by reason of their situation, were the most exposed of all their allies, and were openly invaded by *Euphron*, a man of great power, who, during these disturbances, had set up a little kind of tyrannic government in *Sicyon*, and had now engaged the *Arcadians* and *Argives* to join with him against them; so that they were just on the brink of being swallowed up, having maintained already a close siege, and defended themselves with surprising success and bravery against so powerful a confederacy, by which their little city was surrounded on every side, especially after they had suffered so much from the *Lacedæmonians*, as we have elsewhere seen [c]. They were, however, happily relieved by the *Athenians*, who sent *Chares* to their assistance, and caused the siege of it to be raised.

Epaminondas *sent against the* Achæans.

Phliasians *invaded by* Euphron.

By this time the *Athenians* had found means to draw off the *Arcadians* from *Thebes*, and to make an alliance with them; the chief promoter and manager of which was *Lycomedes* the *Arcadian* general, lately mentioned, who was soon after murdered, upon his return from *Athens*, by a party of exiles; or, as others say, by the *Lacedæmonians*, who invaded *Arcadia* on account of that alliance, and slew him, and two hundred of his men, as has been formerly related [d]. However that be, the *Athenians* having, upon his new accession, made a treacherous attempt upon *Corinth*, of which they were the protectors, and, as such, had garisoned it with their troops, obliged the latter to break their alliance with them; which being a kind of declaration of war, they thought fit, first of all, to secure themselves, by concluding a peace with the *Thebans*; which they accordingly did, in conjunction with the *Phliasians*, and some other states; and upon these terms, that every one should enjoy their own: even the *Spartans* were, at least seemingly, induced to come into it, by the mediation of the king of *Persia*, who had sent a plenipotentiary to settle once more, as it was called, the tranquillity of *Greece*, tho', at the same time, they openly declared, that they would never listen to a peace, till *Messenia* was restored to them, in the condition they had received it from their ancestors. However, they agreed to be quiet for the present, as did also the other contending parties: and this patched-up peace was called putting an end to the *Laconic* or *Bœotian* war, after it had continued about five years from the battle of *Leuctra* (N).

Arcadians *ally with the* Athenians.

Corinthians *ally with the* Thebans.

Peace made,

HOWEVER,

[b] PLUT. in Ages. & Pelopid. DIOD. Sic. & alii supra citat. [c] See vol. ii. p. 615. [d] Ibid. p. 617.

(N) There is no small disagreement between the historians of those times about the dates of several of the above-mentioned transactions, between the battle of *Leuctra* and the peace we are speaking of; though they are commonly supposed to have all happened between these two epochas, or within the space of five years. There is likewise some dissonance between the facts themselves, as they are related by those various authors quoted below (7), and which would carry us too far to endeavour to reconcile, could it be done with any tolerable certainty; for which reason we shall con-

(7) *Vide Plut. in Agesil. & Epaminond. Diod. Sic. lib.* XV. *Xenoph. Hellen. lib.* VI. *& orat. in laud. Agesil. Corn. Nep. in vit. Epaminond. Pausan. in Lacon. Justin. lib* VI. *Athen. dipnosoph. &c.*

HOWEVER, the preſent diſtracted ſtate of *Greece* gave but little hopes, that it would be of any continuance; neither did the principal ſtates ſeem to have had any ſuch thing in view, but to have made uſe of it only to gain time and opportunity to conſult the beſt means of ſuppreſſing the growing power of the *Thebans*; the thing which, at this preſent juncture, gave them the greateſt unquietneſs: ſo that the greater ſtates ſaw themſelves under a neceſſity to keep their forces up in arms againſt them, whilſt the leſſer ones were ſo involved, either as acceſſary in their quarrels, or principals in their own, that, by the very next year, the old conteſts broke out with as much vehemence as ever. The *Arcadians* and *Eleans* began with reviving their reſpective rights to the country of *Triphylia* (O), which had hitherto paſſed from the one to the other; and the latter, being defeated in this laſt conteſt, were forced to apply to *Sparta* for help, whilſt the former, being now ſupported by the *Athenians*, haraſſed the country of *Elis*, and had ſeized on ſeveral towns in it. By the next year the *Eleans*, who, as we have formerly ſeen, were the original poſſeſſors of the *Olympic* races, and the preſidents over theſe games, had that honour taken from them by the *Piſæans*, who, encouraged by the *Arcadians* and *Argives*, took upon them the management of that ſolemnity: but, in the very midſt of thoſe exerciſes, the *Eleans* fell ſo furiouſly on the *Arcadians* and *Argives*, that they had almoſt totally routed them; but, being at length overpowered, were forced to retreat back to their city, tho' with great honour and applauſe from the people who were there aſſembled from all parts of *Greece* (P).

and broken.

Triphylia *invaded.*

Piſæans *ſeize the* Olympic *games.*

THE *Thebans*, in the mean time, who were ever watchful over every thing that could be turned to their own advantage, failed not to take hold of theſe *Grecian* diſſenſions, as a pretence for increaſing their forces; and *Epaminondas* thought it a proper opportunity for his countrymen to make a bold effort to obtain the dominion at ſea, as they had obtained it, in a great meaſure, at land. He propoſed it to them in a public aſſembly, and encouraged their hopes from the experience of the *Lacedæmonians*, who, in *Xerxes*'s time, had, with ten ſhips only at ſea, gained the ſuperiority over the *Athenians*, who had no fewer than two hundred; and added, that it would be a diſgrace now to *Thebes*, to ſuffer two ſuch republics to ingroſs the empire of ſo extenſive an element, without putting in, at leaſt, for their ſhare of it. He reminded them of their late conqueſts and ſucceſſes, as well as of the vaſt treaſure they had heaped up by it, which could hardly be employed in a more noble attempt than the equipment of a gallant fleet; and that, if they were not now quite ſo expert in maritim affairs as their neighbours, they might ſoon become ſo; and, in the mean time, they could be eaſily aſſiſted by the *Rhodians*, *Chians*, and other ſeafaring nations: ſo that, if they were not wanting to themſelves, they had now a fair opportunity of making as great, if not a greater figure at ſea, than ever *Sparta* or *Athens* had done. He had ſcarcely ended ſpeaking, before the people, one and all, readily came into his propoſal, not without extraordinary applauſe, and immediately ordered an hundred gallies to be equipped; and in the mean while ſent him to *Rhodes*, *Chios*, and *Byzantium*, to ſecure them to their intereſt, and get what aſſiſtance he could from them. His negotiations had all the ſucceſs that could be wiſhed for, notwithſtanding the ſtrenuous oppoſition of the *Athenians*, and of their admiral *Laches*, who was ſent with a powerful ſquadron againſt him. But what more effectually thwarted all his meaſures, was the work that they found for him at land, and the obliging the *Thebans* to take part in the quarrels that then reigned among their neighbours; ſo that whatever projects they had concerted, proved

Thebans *aim at the dominion of the ſea.*

Oppoſed by the Athenians.

tent ourſelves with juſt obſerving that variety, wherever it happens, without ſwelling the hiſtory with long and intricate notes; which would be hardly excuſable in a work of this nature, were they even more ſatisfactory than we have reaſon to think thoſe to be, which have hitherto been attempted by thoſe who wrote *ex profeſſo* (8).

(O) This ſmall territory, which is indifferently called *Triphylia*, *Triphalia*, *Triphylis*, and *Triphyllos*, was ſituated on the coaſt of *Peloponneſus*, between *Elis* and *Meſſenia* (9); and contained, among other towns of leſſer note, thoſe of *Samicum*, *Lepreum*, and *Hypana*; the former of which was the only maritim one; the reſt were ſituated in the inland. The *Arcadians* and *Eleans* had long contended for this diſtrict, and commonly the longeſt ſword carried it: the former were chiefly eager for it on account of its maritime town of *Samicum*; but the latter had the beſt right to it.

(P) This was ſo much the more wondered at, becauſe the *Eleans* had never, till then, ſignalized themſelves for any feats of arms, but rather bore a quite different character. However, though they loſt their aim at this time, and the *Piſæans* kept the field, and proceeded with the ſports, yet they went ſo far as to proteſt againſt the legality of that *Olympiad*, and abſolutely refuſed its being regiſtred in their annals.

(8) *De hoc vide Sylb. Gedoyn. not. in Pauſan. Palmer. antiq. Græc. Marſ. Brit, La Tour, Stuyan, & al. mult.* (9) *Polyb. lib. iv. c. 77. Pauſan. & alii.*

abortive

abortive for the preſent; and the death of *Epaminondas*, which happened not long after, put an effectual ſtop to them, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel [c].

Plot at Thebes *diſcovered.*

DURING the abſence of that general, and of his collegue *Pelopidas*, the *Orchomenians*, being ſpirited up by ſome *Theban* fugitives, had formed a deſign to change the *Theban* government into an ariſtocracy; and three hundred horſemen of the former had been actually ſent, to put it in execution. Their project, however, was timely diſcovered by the vigilance of the magiſtrates, who cauſed them to be ſeized, and put immediately to death. They next ſent a ſufficient force againſt the city of *Orchomenos* (Q), with orders to put all the men to death, and to ſell the women and children for ſlaves; which was punctually done; after which they raſed that noble city to the ground. *Pelopidas* was then on his way to *Theſſaly*, at the head of a powerful army, whither he had been ſent to aſſiſt the *Theſſalians*, who ſtill groaned under the tyranny of *Alexander* the *Pheræan*, and had made ſeveral brave efforts to recover their liberty, but had ſtill been overpowered by that uſurper. It happened, however, that, as he was upon his march, an eclipſe of the ſun obliged him to ſtop ſhort, tho' contrary to his own opinion, who was above minding ſuch ſuperſtitious fooleries; but the reſt of the army, being, according to the ignorance and ſuperſtition of thoſe times, greatly alarmed at it, obliged him to give way to them, they looking upon him to be chiefly concerned in that ſiniſter omen; and the augurs having confirmed the people in that notion by other ſigns, and pretending that the *Theban* ſun was on the point of being eclipſed, *Pelopidas* having, in vain, endeavoured to diſpel their fears about him, and explode their notion, as ridiculous, and beneath his regard, reſolved to march on; which he did accordingly, at the head of only three hundred horſemen, who attended him as volunteers. He was ſoon after joined by the *Theſſalians*, and encamped in the face of the enemy, tho' far ſuperior in number, and conſiſting of above twenty thouſand men. A fierce engagement ſoon enſued, in which both ſides fought with uncommon bravery. The place where the battle was fought was called *Cynocephalæ* (R), from ſeveral little hills on it, between which there ran a large plain. Both ſides endeavoured, at firſt, to poſt themſelves on theſe eminences with their foot, whilſt *Pelopidas* ordered his cavalry to charge that of the enemy on the plain; which they did with ſuch ſucceſs, that they ſoon put them to the rout, and purſued them over the plain. This obliged the tyrant to gain the tops of the hills, where he greatly annoyed the *Theſſalians*, that endeavoured to force thoſe aſcents; ſo that *Pelopidas* was obliged to give over his purſuit, to come to their relief. This immediately inſpired the *Theſſalians* with freſh courage, who began again to charge the enemy at ſeveral onſets; and ſoon threw them into ſuch diſorder, that they were forced to give way. *Pelopidas* no ſooner perceived the advantage, than he began to look about for *Alexander*, with a deſign of engaging him; and, upon his having found him out, as he was commanding his right wing, and endeavouring to rally his men, moved directly to him; and, being got near enough to be heard by him, challenged him to decide the battle by ſingle combat with him. *Alexander*, inſtead of accepting the offer, turned about, and, with all the ſpeed he could, ran to ſcreen himſelf amongſt his guards; upon which *Pelopidas* charged him with ſuch furious ſpeed, that he obliged him to retire farther, and ſhelter himſelf within their thickeſt ranks; the ſight of which made him attack him with freſh vigour, and fight more deſperately againſt him. He tried in vain, ſeveral times, to break through their ranks to come at him, cutting down great numbers of thoſe that came forward to oppoſe him: his eagerneſs, at length, expoſed him ſo far to the darts that were ſhot at him at a diſtance, that ſome of them went quite

Orchomenos *raſed.*

Pelopidas *ſent into* Theſſaly.

The battle of Cynocephalæ.

[c] Vide PLUT. DIOD. SIC. C. NEP. PAUSAN. &c.

(Q) Of this city, which was one of the wealthieſt in all *Bœotia*, we have had occaſion to ſpeak in the hiſtory of *Achaia*. The puniſhment it now underwent was juſtly looked upon as an uncommon piece of cruelty among the *Græcians*, and ſuch as would have been ſtrongly oppoſed by the two *Theban* generals, had they been then preſent; for they are rather admired for their magnanimous generoſity towards thoſe that fell into their hands; they never having been known to put any man to death, whom they had conquered, nor deprived any city of its liberty, after they had taken it (1).

(R) Theſe were hills, or rather eminences, in the neighbourhood of *Scotuſſa* in *Theſſaly* (2), and were called *Cynocephalæ*, or *Cynos-cephalæ*, from their reſemblance to dogs heads. This place afterwards became famous for ſeveral battles fought under the *Romans* (3); and thoſe authors who make mention of it, ſpeak of theſe eminences as ſmall hillocks, between which ran a conſiderable plain.

(1) *Vide Plut. in Pelopid. & Epaminond.* (2) *Strab. lib.* ix. *ſub fin.* (3) *Vid. Plut. in vit. Flamin.*

through

through his armour, and gave him a desperate wound or two, while the rest advanced, and stabbed him in the breast with their spears. Thus fell the great *Pelopidas*, whose excessive eagerness to lay his enemy at his feet, made him rush precipitately on his own death (S), which fell out on the first year of the one hundred and fourth *Olympiad*. Pelopidas slain.

It

(S) It is plain, that *Pelopidas* suffered himself to be hurried too rashly on his fall by his hot and firy temper; and that he exposed himself more than was consistent with his usual prudence in other cases: so that his untimely fall deserves rather to be pitied than commended. But it is to be remembred, that he fought in the cause of liberty; in which case his zeal, joined to the impetuosity of his temper, could not be easily restrained, but more especially at this juncture, when he was engaged against a profligate tyrant and usurper; one who not only oppressed some of the most faithful allies of *Thebes*, but had been base enough to affront and imprison him, and his collegue, when they came to him in quality of embassadors from their state; upon which account he could not but feel a more than common eagerness to rid the world of such an inhuman monster.

We must likewise observe, that, about this time, this noble spirit of patriotism was greatly sunk all over *Greece*; and that the cause of liberty was, in some measure, deserted by most other great states; insomuch that the very *Spartans*, who had so bravely exerted and signalized themselves formerly in favour of the oppressed, were so far sunk from that noble spirit, that they were then making their servile court to *Dionysius* the tyrant of *Sicily*, and supplying him with officers. The *Athenians* were likewise kept in pay at that time by this very *Alexander*, and had so far debased themselves as to erect a statue in honour of him. And we may safely say, that *Thebes* seems to have been the only commonwealth that retained any remains of that antient love of liberty, and concern for the injured. This therefore was a proper time for *Pelopidas* to advance his own and his country's honour, and to let the other states of *Greece* see, that the *Thebans* were the only people who stood up in defence of liberty, and waged wars against all tyrants and oppressors; as it was indeed their chief motive in entering into this expedition, and putting it under the conduct of a general, who was a declared enemy to all usurpers, and arbitrary government; for such he had always shewed himself from his very first appearing in public, as will be further seen by the remainder of his excellent character, which we are now going to give our reader.

Pelopidas was of one of the best families in *Thebes*, and was possessed betimes of a large fortune, which he only made use of in relieving such as wanted and deserved his assistance. *Epaminondas* was one of the first of whom he made choice, as an object worthy of his bounty, though he never could prevail upon him to accept of any presents from him; which singular modesty wrought so far upon him, that he resolved, from that time, to imitate that illustrious youth, and to conform himself to a plain, frugal, and laborious life; so that, from thenceforward, there appeared nothing either in his dress, table, or way of living, but the most unaffected simplicity, even when he was afterwards raised to the highest posts in the *Theban* commonwealth. He did not content himself with a close imitation of so brave a patriot, but readily joined with him in his design of promoting the same spirit among his fellow-citizens; a reformation which they thought so much the more necessary, as they observed how much it had contributed to the *Spartan* glory and interest, whilst the present low figure which *Thebes* then made in *Greece*, was owing to their indulging themselves in luxury, corruption, and every destructive vice. But in this noble work *Epaminondas* is justly reckoned to have had the greatest hand, as will more fully appear in the character we shall draw of him in the sequel, whilst *Pelopidas* being more intent on the public affairs of state, his constant application had made him so far negligent of his own private ones, that he very much impaired his estate, notwithstanding his plainness and œconomy; so that, having, by that time, a great number of children to provide for, he found himself under some difficulties he had never before so much as thought of; and even then, when some of his friends took occasion to observe to him what an useful and necessary thing money was, he only replied, that *it was so only to that man yonder*; pointing to a poor blind and lame object that stood in his view.

But tho' there was such a conformity of manners between him and *Epaminondas*, the same plainness and frugality, the same disposition to virtue, and love of their country, yet *Pelopidas* was always more fond of the exercises of the body; whereas *Epaminondas* was quite given up to those of the mind; and this it was made the former shine in the world much sooner than the other, who preferred a quiet and studious life: this did not, however, hinder their entering into the strictest friendship, which, *Plutarch* tells us, did not begin to shew itself in so eminent a degree till the siege of *Mantinea*, or soon after the peace of *Antalcidas*; by which time *Epaminondas*, whom the service of his country forced from his private studies, gave some of the first marks both of his valour and merit, and of his affection to *Pelopidas*. They were both at that time engaged together, and their wing giving way, they both stood their ground, and fought in each other's defence, till *Pelopidas* received a grievous wound, which made him fall among the slain. *Epaminondas*, tho' wounded likewise, and believing *Pelopidas* to be dead, yet chose to fall with him rather than leave his body in the power of the enemy; and had certainly been slain in the bloody conflict, had not the *Spartan* king *Agesipolis*, with whom the *Thebans* were then allied, come up from the other wing, and snatched them from imminent death (4).

It is most likely, that this action happened before the siege of *Mantinea*, from the account *Pausanias* gives of it, though it be not taken notice of, nor particularly described, by *Plutarch*, or any other writer; nor doth it appear from what was said at the beginning of this relation, concerning these two generals entering into action, that they had signalized themselves together so early. However, this circumstance, which so strongly cemented their friendship, and comes so well attested, was too remarkable to be omitted, especially as the success of their exploits afterwards was chiefly owing to that perfect union, and good understanding, which so remarkably shone between them, without the least alloy of that jealousy or rivalship either at home or

(4) *Vide Plut. in vit. Flamin. Liv. hist. lib.* xxxiii. *c.* 7, *& alios.*

Description of the mournful Pomp.

It is scarce possible for words to express the grief and despair which not only his brave volunteers, but likewise the *Thessalians*, and other allies, shewed at the sight of their slain general: some of the latter, who had perceived the danger he was exposed to, came down the hill, with all possible speed, to his relief; but when they perceived, that they were come too late to save him, both they, and the rest of the little army, thought on nothing but how to revenge his death. They rallied accordingly both horse and foot, as quick as possible; and began to charge the enemy afresh, and with such desperate fury, that they, at length, gained a complete victory over them, and killed above three thousand of them in their pursuit, besides a much greater number, which they had slain on the field of battle, tho' they still looked upon all these advantages as vastly too small to compensate the loss of their brave general. But, when they came to be a little cool after the slaughter they had made, it was then that they, the *Thebans* especially, displayed one of the most mournful scenes that can be imagined. They lamented him in the most tender manner, and in the most affectionate terms, stiling him their father, their protector, saviour, instructor, and every thing that was great and excellent, whilst the auxiliaries not only bore a mournful and sympathizeing part with them, but appeared even to vie with them in their expressions of the livelicst grief and concern for their loss, and strove, by all endearing ways, to honour his memory. The whole army was seized, it seems, with such a sense of their loss, that they did *not* so much as stay to put off their arms, unbridle their horses, or even to dress their wounds; but ran in crouds to the deceased body, and heaped the spoils of the enemy about it. They cut off their own hair, and the manes of their horses; and those that retired into their tents, neither kindled a fire, nor took any kind of refreshment. In their mournful procession, attending the bier, they not only shewed him all the marks of honour, but every city through which they passed came to meet the funeral pomp, with their magistrates and priests at their head, both they and the inhabitants carrying crowns, golden armour, and other trophies, and accompanied the corpse to the place of its interment, where the ceremony was performed by the *Thessalians*, with a pomp and splendor worthy of so great a general; for these, it seems, had begged it as a singular favour of the *Thebans*, that they might bury him; and, in the most pressing terms, had urged it as a kind of right due to them, as being the greatest sufferers *in this public loss*: *For*, said they, you have indeed lost a great general, and in that we share in common with you; but we have likewise lost, in him, all our hopes of recovering our liberty; and, under this heavy misfortune, our paying these last honours to him, may prove some small alleviation to our sorrow. Upon all which considerations the *Thebans* were easily prevailed upon to grant them their request. Soon after which, having received some fresh reinforcements from *Thebes*, they rallied their troops, and their spirits, and thought on nothing but of revenging the death of their brave general. They did not, however, do it with that severity which one might have reasonably expected, or which would, in all likelihood, have been done, had *Epaminondas* been at their head; but, whether the generals had been bought by the usurper, or the troops did not care to pursue their advantage any farther, they contented themselves with

Pompous funerals.

Thebans *defeat* Alexander.

abroad, which had proved so fatal to *Athens*, *Sparta*, and other *Grecian* states. The case was indeed very different with respect to these two great patriots; they had no private interest, no selfish designs of their own, nor any ambition, but how to promote the public welfare; and were above all sordid views of enriching themselves at their country's loss; so that whatever success either of them had, was equally pleasing and acceptable to the other, as long as the *Theban* state reaped the benefit of it.

What farther relates to *Pelopidas*'s particular character, is as follows: He was stout, active, and indefatigable, bold and intrepid, and so successful, that he never lost one battle. So well was he fixed in the hearts and affections of the *Thebans*, that he was chosen thirteen times governor of *Beotia*, and, as *Diodorus* says, without interruption, from the time of their recovering the citadel of *Cadmea*, which laid the foundation for the recovery of the *Theban* liberty, in which he had the greatest hand, as we have already seen. Upon the whole, therefore, he may be justly looked upon as the second, and, in many respects, the first man of *Thebes*, especially in the noble part he bore in shaking off the *Spartan* yoke, and restoring *Thebes* to its antient privileges and government. And even in this so far was he from envying his coadjutors any share of their glory, that he seemed even willing to raise it above his own. He would indeed have been glad, that *Epaminondas* might have shared some part of the honour of so glorious an enterprize, and often and earnestly pressed him to it; but he declined it as a scene that was like to occasion too much outrage and bloodshed; and modestly told him, that, if the others, who were concerned in it, were as moderate as their chief, he should make no difficulty to join with them; but he plainly foresaw, that some of them would carry their anger and resentment too far, which would necessarily involve the innocent with the guilty. However, he approved, in the main, of their design, as the cause of liberty; and though he avoided engaging in the desperate and bloody part, yet he contributed greatly to the success of it, and from that time strictly united hand with him, in raising the *Theban* state to the height of power and greatness in which we have seen it above; and we may see, that with these two the *Theban* glory rose and fell.

ſtripping him of all his ill-gotten conqueſts, and reſtoring theſe cities to their antient libertie, which had ſo long groaned under his tyranny, and let him go quietly to his own capital, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

A LITTLE before *Pelopidas*'s death, the *Perſian* king, *Xenophon* tells us, ſent an embaſſador to *Thebes*, with orders ſealed with the royal ſeal, to receive the oaths of alliance from all the ſtates of *Greece*, which was then renewed, and in which that monarch inſiſted upon the *Thebans* being now comprehended, who had been excluded out of it in a former one, thro' too great a partiality in *Ageſilaus* againſt them. This proved a deadly blow to all *Greece*; and the *Thebans*, among the reſt, received no ſmall mortification from all the other ſtates, whoſe deputies, there aſſembled, refuſed abſolutely to include the *Thebans* in it, on the ſame foot and rank with *Sparta*; ſo that the embaſſador inſiſting upon it, and refuſing to accept of their oaths, unleſs they engaged to aſſiſt *Thebes* with all their might, and upon all occaſions, the congreſs broke up, every one chooſing to return to their reſpective homes, rather than ſign any ſuch treaty. *Embaſſy from Perſia.* *Congreſs broke up.*

This put the *Thebans* under a great difficulty, it being equally dangerous to attempt to force ſo many nations to ſubmit to the *Perſian* monarch's orders againſt their will, or to incur his reſentment by not doing it. *Epaminondas* choſe the mildeſt way, which was to ſave his country's honour, without expoſing it too far; and contented himſelf with obliging the *Achæans*, as being the neareſt to *Bœotia*, to enter into an alliance with them. He invaded them accordingly with a powerful army, and ſtruck them with ſuch a panic, that, not being able to make head againſt him, they ſent deputies to throw themſelves at his feet, and implore his mercy; which he readily granted, and told them, that he was not come to ſubdue them, but to court their friendſhip, aſſuring them of his protection: upon which the alliance was ratified on both ſides; and *Epaminondas* returned with his army into *Bœotia*, without committing the leaſt hoſtility againſt them. However, as their vicinity to the *Spartans* made them juſtly apprehenſive of being called to an account for that alliance, they prayed him, that he would not leave them to their mercy: whereupon he appointed them *Theban* magiſtrates in moſt of their cities, and left ſtout gariſons in them; and, by this wiſe conduct, and a feigned kind of war, he obtained from them what they had refuſed in time of peace. *Achæans invaded.* *Aſſiſt the Thebans.* *Put under its protection.*

ABOUT the ſame time, the *Corinthians* gave ſuch a proof of their fidelity to the *Spartans* their antient allies, as obtained them the friendſhip and favour of *Epaminondas*, and of the whole *Theban* ſtate. They were then engaged in a troubleſome and dangerous war againſt the *Athenians*, who attacked them both by ſea and land, whilſt their own troops, both horſe and foot, which had been raiſed in haſte, were quite unfit to make head againſt them. However, they made ſhift with them, ſuch as they were, to defend their capital with great vigour and courage, and gained ſeveral conſiderable advantages againſt the *Athenians*: but this made them afraid, leſt they ſhould call in the *Thebans* to their aſſiſtance; for, had theſe joined forces with them, *Corinth* muſt have been inevitably ruined; and they had behaved lately in ſuch a manner to them, eſpecially in their ſtrenuous oppoſition to the *Perſian* treaty lately mentioned, that they had all the reaſon in the world to dread their reſentment no leſs than their power. On the other hand, ſhould they have endeavoured to obtain an alliance with them, they were in no leſs danger from the *Lacedæmonians*, who would not have failed to have made them pay dear for their treachery to them; for the *Corinthian* territories being ſituate juſt between thoſe of *Thebes* and *Sparta*, as we have elſewhere ſhewn, they were ſure, that whatever ſide they called to their aſſiſtance would engage the other as fiercely againſt them. In this ſad dilemma they were, when their accuſtomed policy ſuggeſted the following ſucceſsful expedient:

THEY ſent immediately deputies to *Thebes*, to make ſome overtures of peace; which being there accepted, they further propoſed, that their allies ſhould likewiſe be conſulted upon it, to the end that thoſe that were for war might there declare it, and might be authorized to purſue it; and thoſe who were for peace might conclude and ſecure it. This ſecond propoſal being likewiſe agreed to by the *Thebans*, the *Corinthians* ſent their deputies to *Sparta*, to deſire that republic's conſent to the peace; who addreſſed themſelves to the *Spartan* council in words to this effect: "You ſee before "you, O *Lacedæmonians*, your friends and allies, who come to acquaint you with "their intentions, and are unwilling to do any thing without your knowlege and "conſent. Every thing aſſures us, that your deſign is for carrying on the war: whilſt "we find ourſelves quite exhauſted, and unable to continue it, and, on that account, "come to beg of you to conſent, that we may make peace both with you, and with the "*Thebans*. It is your intereſt, as well as ours, to give us ſome time to breathe, and

"to

" to recover our exhauſted ſtrength; for, by this means, you will engage us, as your " allies, to be again ſerviceable to you, whenever we ſhall be in a fit condition for it; " whereas, by obliging us to ruin ourſelves by a new war, you deprive yourſelves for " ever of all future aſſiſtance from us." This ſpeech had the deſired effect; and the *Spartans* gave them leave to make peace with the *Thebans*, though, at the ſame time, they declared, that, as to themſelves, they were ſtill under a neceſſity of continuing the war with them, till *Meſſenia*, which *Thebes* had deprived them of, was reſtored to them, in the condition they had received it from their anceſtors.

THE *Corinthians* loſt no time to acquaint the *Theban* ſtate with what they had done, and to deſire the concluſion of the propoſed treaty of peace; whereupon the *Thebans*, who had not underſtood them in that ſenſe, agreed only to admit them into their alliance, but refuſed to make any abſolute treaty of peace with them. To this they replied, that ſuch an alliance could not anſwer their end, ſince it would not free them from the war, which they were ſo deſirous to ſhun; and that their power was confined to the concluding of a peace, without any other conditions. At the ſame time they gave the *Thebans* to underſtand, that the fear of diſobliging their old friends and allies the *Spartans*, and of expoſing themſelves to their reſentment, was the only motive of their refuſing the propoſed alliance with *Thebes*.

Peace concluded by Epaminondas.

THIS modeſt ſpeech wrought differently with the *Theban* council; and ſome of the more ſordid members of it were for caſting off all friendſhip or regard to the *Corinthians*; but it wrought a quite different effect on the noble and generous *Epaminondas*, who took occaſion from it highly to applaud and extol their fidelity to their old friends, eſpecially at this critical juncture, when their declining an alliance with the *Thebans* expoſed them to the effects of their reſentment, which they were now in no condition to avert. This, he rightly obſerved to the council, was the more to be admired and encouraged by the *Theban* ſtate, whoſe glory it was to protect the injured, and humble the oppreſſors, and by no means to permit a people to be ſufferers for their ſingular uprightneſs and fidelity: in conſequence of which, he readily granted the requeſted peace, not only to them, but to all their allies, who ſhould be deſirous to be included in it, and upon this only proviſo, that, in caſe of a rupture between *Thebes* and *Sparta*, *Corinth* ſhould remain neuter, and not take part with either ſide; which the *Corinthians* not only complied with, but religiouſly obſerved during the whole war, which was ſoon after declared between thoſe two ſtates. But to return to *Pelopidas*:

News of Pelopidas's *death at* Thebes.

THE news of his death had no ſooner reached the *Theban* capital, but the whole city was ſeen in as deep a mourning as his army. However, they ſent a reinforcement to it of ſeven thouſand foot, and ſeven hundred horſe, as well to revenge the death of that general, as to improve the victory he had gained over the enemy; by the help of which they fell ſo furiouſly on them, that they quickly broke, and totally defeated, the ſhattered remains of *Alexander*'s army; who was thereupon forced to ſue for peace, and to accept it on ſuch conditions, as the conquerors thought fit to impoſe, though in the mean time they were much more moderate than he deſerved, or had reaſon to hope for, or would, in all likelihood, have obtained, had their brave general been ſtill alive; for they contented themſelves with obliging him to reſtore all the towns he had taken from the *Theſſalians*, to withdraw his gariſons out of all the places he had unjuſtly ſeized, and to bind himſelf, by an oath, to take part with the *Thebans* in their wars, when and where-ever they ſhould require it; and, on theſe terms, they ſuffered him to return in peace to his own dominions. Here his late misfortunes having rendered him more cruel and bloody than ever, ſo that his tyranny was become quite inſupportable, he was at length diſpatched in his bed by his wife *Thebe*, aſſiſted by her brothers, about ſeven years after his defeat. His body was afterwards dragged along the ſtreets, trodden under foot, and left a prey to the dogs, though all too ſhort of his deſerts, conſidering the horrid butcheries, and inhuman cruelties, he had been guilty of, and of which the reader may ſee a ſpecimen at the bottom of the page (T).

Alexander *defeated.*

Murdered.

Thebans puſh on their good fortune.

ALL this while the *Thebans* were watching to improve every commotion that happened, every ſucceſs they met with, to the forwarding of their then reigning and favourite

(T) Among other inſtances of his cruelties, we are told, that he uſed to condemn ſome to be buried alive; others to be ſewn up in bears and boars ſkins, and to be baited and ſhot at for his diverſion. He had likewiſe ſurpriſed and maſſacred, in the moſt dreadful manner, the inhabitants of whole cities, who were in friendſhip and alliance with him: but to friends and foes he was ſuch a monſter of perfidy and cruelty, that he was become hateful to all about him, and ſo deſerved a much more ſevere death than that he met with.

vourite project of increaſing their power above all the reſt, and, in their turn, to give aws to *Greece*. Their late ſucceſs in *Theſſaly*, and the rupture between the *Arcadians* and *Mantineans* at the ſame time, about ſome conſecrated money, which the former had taken out of the temple of *Olympias*, to pay their troops employed againſt the *Eleans*, and which the latter called a downright ſacrilege (U), beſides other diſcords that reigned in the other ſtates of *Greece*, gave freſh encouragement to *Thebes* to ſet up for arbitreſs in thoſe diſputes; and ſo much the more, as thoſe, who had embezzled the ſacred money, and wanted rather to embroil matters, than to have them brought to light, ſent that republic word, that the *Arcadians* were juſt upon the point of revolting to the *Spartans*, and adviſed them to come and put an immediate ſtop to it; and, at the ſame time, diſpatched ſome private directions to a *Theban* officer in *Tegea*, to apprehend ſeveral of their own people, as diſturbers of the peace; which was accordingly done, and ſeveral eminent perſons were confined, as priſoners of ſtate; but were ſoon after diſcharged, and loud complaints were made againſt ſuch arbitrary and unjuſt proceedings. The officer was accuſed, before the *Theban* ſenate, for having intermeddled in their affairs, and endeavoured to interrupt the good correſpondence between the two ſtates. It was even inſiſted on by ſome of the *Tegeans*, that he ſhould be indicted, and proceeded againſt, by his principals; whilſt the more moderate ſort, who foreſaw the conſequences that were like to attend ſuch appeals, and that it would infallibly bring the *Thebans* upon them, loudly proteſted againſt their marching into their territories, and did all they could to prevent it; but in vain did they try to oppoſe it: the *Thebans* were then become too powerful and ambitious to miſs ſo fair an opportunity of getting once more footing in *Peloponneſus*, as they had long ago meditated; and *Epaminondas* was ſo far from making a ſecret of their deſign, that he told the *Arcadian* deputies, in juſtification of it, that, as it was on their account that the *Thebans* had engaged in the war, they had acted treacherouſly with them in making peace with *Athens* without their conſent; however, that when he was got with his army on his march into *Peloponneſus*, to aſſiſt his friends, he would ſoon ſee what proofs they, the *Arcadians*, would then give of their fidelity. This ſpeech did not fail to alarm them greatly, eſpecially as it was ſpoken in ſuch a magiſterial ſtile, and threatening tone. Even thoſe, who were beſt affected to the *Thebans*, could not forbear expreſſing their diſlike of it; and all, that had the welfare of *Peloponneſus* at heart, readily agreed with the *Mantineans*, that there was no time to be loſt to uſe all proper means to prevent the impending ſtorm.

Epaminondas enters Peloponneſus.

Anſwer to the Arcadians.

A confederacy formed againſt the Thebans.

ATHENS and *Sparta* were accordingly applied to, and were eaſily prevailed upon to aſſiſt the *Mantineans*, and to come into a ſtrict confederacy againſt the *Thebans*; and, to prevent all diſputes about the command of the army, it was agreed, that each ſtate ſhould have it in its own territories; which plainly ſhews how terrified they all were at the apprehenſion of a freſh deſcent of the *Thebans* into their territories: for this was a point which neither the *Spartans* nor *Athenians* would have ſo readily given up to the *Arcadians*, though theſe had formerly as ſtrenuouſly inſiſted upon it, even when they were almoſt reduced to the laſt extremity, and had never been able to obtain it till now. But *Epaminondas* was then in full march, at the head of his *Bœotian* troops, with ſome *Eubœan* auxiliaries, and a body of ſtout *Theſſalian* horſe; and was moreover to be joined by the *Meſſenians*, *Argives*, and ſeveral other nations, as ſoon as he had entered *Peloponneſus*. The confederate army againſt him had ordered their rendezvous at *Mantinea*, the place which, they naturally concluded, would be firſt attacked, as being the chief ſeat of thoſe who had revolted from the *Thebans*. But, whilſt they were ſecuring themſelves on that ſide, *Epaminondas*, who wiſely conſidered how far this confederacy and expedition muſt have drained the city of *Sparta* of its main ſtrength, broke up privately from *Nemea*, where he had lain for ſome time encamped, and marched all that night, with a deſign to have ſurpriſed that important capital; but, his

His attempt on Sparta fruſtrated.

(U) They did not content themſelves with condemning the action as ſacrilegious, but brought over ſeveral of the council of ten thouſand, who had at firſt conſented to it, not only to retract their opinion, but to proteſt againſt the deed as impious and infamous, and ſuch as would intail a curſe on their poſterity. The debate about it was chiefly between the *Mantineans* and *Tegeans*; but it was carried to ſuch an height on both ſides, and was likely to have cauſed ſuch ill blood among them, that the *Arcadians* thought it neceſſary to make up matters as well as they could between the two contending parties, as well as with the *Eleans*; but thoſe who had the greateſt ſhare of the money, being unwilling to refund it, found means to put them into a greater confuſion, by engaging the *Thebans* in the quarrel.

project being timely discovered, as we have seen in the history of that republic [i], the vigilant king took care to disconcert it; so that, though the *Theban* general made several vigorous assaults on that city, he was so stoutly repulsed, and the *Spartans* behaved with such intrepid valour, that he was forced to retire, and turn his thoughts against *Mantinea*, which he judged by this time to have been quite defenceless. He judged rightly indeed; for the place was not only drained of its troops, but likewise of its inhabitants, who took that opportunity, whilst the scene of war was in *Lacedæmon*, to gather in their harvest, and were scattered all over the country; so that he would not have met with any difficulty in gaining the town, had not the *Athenian* auxiliaries come unexpectedly to its relief, and given him a fresh repulse, as we have formerly seen [k].

Against Mantinea.

These two last defeats greatly exasperated the *Theban* general, who had never till now been used to them, and could not but foresee, that they would not only lessen his reputation with his allies, but, if not timely relieved, would sully the glory of all his former exploits. What added to his present difficulties was, that the time allotted him for this expedition was almost expired; so that he had but a short space left to undertake some brave atchievement, which might recover his and his country's honour, and keep up the spirits of his auxiliaries, and those under his protection. He was moreover got very far into the enemy's country, and saw plainly enough how narrowly they watched all his motions, and how well prepared they were to oppose him, whatever attempt he resolved upon, whether to attack them, or to retreat; which last, he knew, could not be done, without abandoning his allies to them. Under all these difficulties, he rightly considered, that no time must be lost; but that he must immediately resolve upon a decisive battle, in which, if his pristine fortune followed him, he might at once retrieve his affairs, and make himself master of *Peloponnesus*; or, if that failed him, as it lately had done, fall honourably in the attempt. We have already given an account of the ill success of this action with respect to *Epaminondas* [l]; to which we shall only add, that he made the wisest disposition of his troops, attacked and fought with the most intrepid courage and conduct, and had opened himself a way through the *Spartan* phalanxes, thrown them into the utmost confusion, and made a terrible slaughter of them, insomuch that the field of battle was covered with their wounded and slain, when, in the heat of the fight, having ventured himself too far, in order to give them a total overthrow, the enemy rallied again, pouring their utmost fury, and three whole vollies of darts, at him, some of which he drew out, and returned to them, till at length, being covered with wounds, and weakened with the loss of so much blood, he received a mortal wound from a javelin, and was, with great difficulty, rescued from the enemy by his brave *Thebans*, and brought alive, though speechless, into his tent [m]. As soon as he had recovered himself, he asked his friends that were about him, what was become of his shield; and, being told that it was safe, he beckoned to have it brought to him, and kissed it. He next inquired, which side had gained the victory; and, being answered, The *Thebans*, he replied, Then all is well. And, upon observing some of his friends bewailing his untimely death, and his leaving no children behind him, he is said to have answered, *Yes, I have left two fair daughters, the victory of* Leuctra, *and this of* Mantinea, *to perpetuate my memory* (X). Soon

The battle of Mantinea. Epaminondas's valour and conduct.

Wounded and slain.

Last words.

[i] Univers. hist. vol. ii. p. 619. [k] Ibid. [l] Ibid. [m] Plut. in eund. & in Agesil. Xenoph. Hellen. ubi supra. Diod. Sic. lib. xv. Corn. Nep. in vit. Epaminond. Pausan. in Messen. & Lacon. Justin. lib. vi. c. 7.

(X) The generality of the best historians, such as *Plutarch*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Cornelius Nepos*, *Pausanias*, &c. assure us, that *Epaminondas* was never married, but preferred celibacy, as a life that suited his studies better, at first, and his attendance on the public interest of his country, after he came to make a figure in it. *Polyænus*, an author of no great exactness, is the only one that hath affirmed the contrary, and pretends that he was married, and had a son by his wife; and, to add weight to this, says, that *Phœbidas*, who surprised the *Cadmean* citadel, was so deeply in love with her, that she was obliged to acquaint her husband with it, who thereupon advised her not to discourage his addresses to her; intending to make him fall into a snare he had laid for him. A base artifice this, and unworthy of so excellent a patriot and philosopher, and, as such, rejected as a scandalous fiction!

However, according to him, this intrigue ended in the death of *Phœbidas*, who, he says, was stabbed by a troop of young men in womens apparel; which is likewise contradicted by the historians above-quoted, who mention him as commanding a body of *Spartan* troops several years after. *Stesibrotus* (which is the name of *Epaminondas*'s pretended son) is represented by him as a rash extravagant youth, unworthy in every respect of such a father, except in point of courage, or rather rashness, which hurried him on, contrary to his express orders, to give battle to the enemy, and for which he gave him

Soon after this, upon the drawing of the point of the javelin out of his body, he fell, as it were, in the arms of victory; and, congratulating the good fortune of his country, expired. Year of flood 1986. Before Christ 362.

THE conſequence of that noble general's fall, and of this bloody fight, in which neither ſide could boaſt much advantage over the other, but a great loſs of men on both ſides, inſomuch that *Xenophon* makes it a drawn battle, was, that both parties agreed on a ceſſation of arms, and parted, as it were by conſent, to take care of their wounded and ſlain (X). The *Thebans* indeed thus far gained the greater ſhare of glory, that they renewed the fight, and, after a moſt deſperate conteſt, gained the victory over thoſe *Spartans* that oppoſed them, and reſcued the body of their dying general out of their hands. However, an effectual end was put to this bloody war, and a general peace agreed on by all but *Sparta*; who refuſed it only becauſe the *Meſſenians* were included in it [n]. But, as to the *Thebans*, they had no great reaſon to boaſt of this dear-bought victory, ſince their power and glory began to decline from that very time; ſo that it may be truly ſaid, that it roſe and ſet with their great general (Y). *A general peace concluded.*

BUT

[n] XENOPH. ubi ſupra, lib. viii. PLUT. JUSTIN. DIOD. SIC. &c. ubi ſupra.

him up without pity or reluctance to the ſeverity of the law, and cauſed him to be put to death; as if it had been worth while to raiſe a ſon to that great patriot, merely to bring him to ſo melancholy an end. However, as our author tells that ſtory with a ſerious air, and ſeems to think, that it enhanced the glory of his hero, we could not avoid mentioning it upon this occaſion, as not taken notice of by any other antient author, and juſtly exploded by all the moderns.

(X) The author above-quoted adds, that each party did indeed erect trophies as victors; but that neither of them took any towns, or gained any acceſſion of territories, or increaſe of power; and that things remained in the ſame ſituation after the battle as they were before: however, he is, not without good grounds, ſuſpected to have been a little too partial and prejudiced in his account of this action, and to have purpoſely avoided ſaying any thing that might ſeem to give the preference to the *Thebans*; for, according to the generality of the authors quoted above, they had manifeſtly gained the victory, though in too much concern and confuſion, after their general fell, to purſue it as they might otherwiſe have done: and the only ground on which the enemy claimed it on their ſide, was on account of ſome *Eubœans*, and other auxiliaries, whom the *Athenians* had ſlaughtered in their retreat (5).

(Y) *Epaminondas*, in all reſpects, whether as a ſoldier, ſtateſman, or philoſopher, is allowed to have been not only the firſt man of his time, but the greateſt, perhaps, that any age or nation ever produced, being poſſeſſed of all thoſe virtues in an eminent degree (and without the leaſt of any one vice or failing), which, in other great men, were neither ſo perfectly united, nor ſo wholly free from contrariety. He was of one of the greateſt and moſt opulent families in *Thebes*; but *Polymnis* (that was his worthy father's name) had been ſo liberal in his education, in furniſhing him with the beſt maſters that *Greece* could afford, not only in philoſophy, rhetoric, and other liberal ſciences, but for all ſorts of exerciſes and accompliſhments ſuitable to his rank, and the hopes he had conceived of him, as well as in the magnificent manner in which he rewarded them, that he had quite embeziled his eſtate, and had hardly any other fortune to leave him, than what he had beſtowed on him in this manner: inſomuch that his houſe was juſtly eſteemed at that time one of the beſt ſchools in *Greece*, and open to all the world. And *Epaminondas*, in this reſpect, trod ſo cloſely in his father's ſteps, and ſhewed ſuch a noble contempt of riches, that when *Pelopidas* firſt took notice of him, and would have aſſiſted him with part of that noble fortune he was then poſſeſſed of, he not only generouſly refuſed all his offers of that kind, but inſpired him with the ſame indifference for wealth and grandeur; and we have ſeen, in the character of that patriot, what effect his example and reaſoning had upon him. As for himſelf, he kept ſo ſteady in this noble diſpoſition, notwithſtanding the great honours he had enjoyed, and the great ſucceſs he had had, that he ſcarcely left enough to bury him at his death; and in this and all other reſpects, he proved himſelf a true philoſopher in practice as well as in ſpeculation.

Neither was he more deſirous of fame than of wealth; and, if we may believe ſome antient writers (6), he was ſo far from affecting popularity or applauſe, that all his great offices were, in ſome meaſure, forced upon him; and he ſeems to have been acted by no other motive than the intereſt and honour of his country. It is plain, however, from the anſwer he gave his mourning friends awhile before his death, mentioned a little higher, as well as from ſome of his other ſayings and actions, that he was far from being inſenſible of his own merit, and that he did not decline praiſe, tho' he did not covet it. And, indeed, the only thing he appears to have been covetous of, was his time, which was wholly conſecrated to the improvement of his mind, and the ſervice of his country, inſomuch that he made even his diverſions ſubſervient to thoſe ends. His exerciſes in riding, running, wreſtling, &c. were rather practiſed by him, as means to fit and harden him for all the toils and fatigues of war, than with a view of gaining glory, by endeavouring to excel in them: and it was with this view, that he expected and encouraged them in others; for he had ſuch an averſion to ſlothful and indolent officers, that he diſcarded one of them for being too fat, alleging, that if he had uſed the proper exerciſes belonging to a ſoldier and commander, he would not now have appeared with ſuch an overgrown carcaſe as would require two or three ſhields to cover his belly.

Whilſt he thus took care to inure himſelf to the practice, he did not neglect the improving his genius in the theory; and modeſtly declined appearing in the army till he made himſelf thoroughly maſter of it, as we have had occaſion to hint a little higher.

(5) *Conf. Xenoph. & alios ſupra citat.*

(6) *Juſtin. Plut. ubi ſupra.*

He

The ill consequences of it.

BUT it was not *Thebes* alone that suffered by his loss, since we may safely add, that all *Greece* shared in it; for the peace, which was suddenly concluded upon it, seems not only to have slackened the zeal of the principal states of it, but even to have thrown them, as well as the *Thebans*, into a perfect state of indolence and remissness; insomuch

He had been assisted in this last by *Pelopidas*; and what progress he made in it may be easily gathered from the excellent disposition of his forces, his manner of attacking, rallying, &c. upon all occasions, more especially at the two famous battles of *Leuctra* and *Mantinea*, in which he appears to have outdone his predecessors. But what hath set him in a superior light to most other *Grecian* generals, is, the difficulties and discouragements he met with at his first appearing in this character, and being obliged to command a people who had been, till very lately, sunk into a state of sloth and indolence, and were still riper for slavery than conquest; whereas the other *Grecian* generals, especially those of *Sparta* and *Athens*, found their troops ready formed to their hands, inured to discipline, fatigue, and dangers, and fired with a noble ambition for the honour and interest of their country; trained up and led by experienced officers, and supported by their brave fellow-citizens, in their resolution either to conquer or die. They were, moreover, spirited by the remembrance of former successes and victories, and the fame they had acquired upon several noble occasions; so that their commanders had little else to do than to pursue the track they were in, and to lead them on in the glorious path they had been inured to.

Most, if not all, these advantages were wanting in the *Theban* troops, when *Epaminondas* was nominated to the command; for tho' they had been obliged to take part in some of the late wars, which was rather done to assist their protectors than with a view of asserting their liberty, or gaining any degree of glory or superiority over their oppressors, yet they had neither discipline, ambition, or spirit, suitable to the noble designs of their general, nor any proper officers to train them up to it. It must be owned, however, that *Pelopidas* had already gone a good way towards it, and had been still assisting him in it; but *Epaminondas* is nevertheless justly allowed the highest share in this great change; and by his bravery and zeal, as well as by his extraordinary genius, to have supplied all those defects, and, in some measure, to have created rather than raised an army; and, by his discipline and example, to have convinced the *Thebans*, that they were capable of acting as principals, and fighting their own battles; and, in a short interval, to make that brave and successful attempt for the superiority over the rest of the *Grecian* states, as we have seen they did; for it was his bold defiance of the *Spartans* that brought on the noble battle of *Leuctra*. And it appears, that he afterwards contributed more towards the effectual humbling (we might have even said reducing) of them, than any one man, or, indeed, than all the other states of *Greece* put together. He was no less remarkable for the strict discipline which he kept among his troops; and as he exacted nothing from them but what they saw him foremost in practising, so he was used to say to them, *If I am your general, you must act as soldiers*: Bœotia, *being a flat country, is now made the scene of war; and you must expect to keep it no longer than your hands are upon your shields.* By these, and such-like speeches, as well as by his example, he had so inured them to his will, that there was no enterprize so arduous and dangerous, in which they did not follow him with the utmost confidence and alacrity.

What completes the high character of this excellent patriot, as well as general, is, that his social virtues, both with respect to his country and himself, shone even with a brighter lustre than his military ones. Every circumstance almost of his life is a pregnant proof of it. Never man shewed a more generous disinterestedness with regard to himself, nor a more sincere and unshaken zeal for the public good. As an instance of it, we are told, that the *Persians*, knowing of what consequence it was to bring him over to their interest, spared neither promises nor bribes to effect it; but were so far from succeeding in it, that they received a very mortifying repulse from him. *Diomedon* of *Cyzicus*, in particular, had been sent to corrupt him, if possible, by a large sum of money; and, before he ventured to attempt him, had, by the help of five talents, gained over a favourite of his, named *Micythus*, to sound him upon it. *Epaminondas* rejected the offer with a scorn and indignation worthy of so great a patriot; telling him, that he would never let the wealth of the whole world in competition with the interest of his country. *It is plain*, continued he, speaking to the *Persian* agent, *that you do not know me; and I am not surprised, that you should form a judgment of me from yourself; and therefore am ready to forgive it: but I advise you, at the same time, to make the best of your way home, before you get a further opportunity of corrupting another* Theban. *As for you*, said he to *Micythus*, *if you do not immediately return the five talents, I will infallibly deliver you up to the magistracy.*

His behaviour to *Jason* was still more noble and singular. He was lately come to *Thebes*, to negotiate an alliance with the *Thebans*; and actually obtained it by means of *Pelopidas*, as we have already seen; and as he did not doubt but *Epaminondas*'s narrow circumstances would easily induce him to accept of some present from him, so he tried to gain his friendship by such considerable ones as he little thought would have met with so stout a refusal from so indigent a person: but, to his great surprize, he found them not only rejected with the utmost scorn and indignation, but himself severely reproved for offering them. *This attempt of corrupting me*, said that noble patriot, *I resent, as the greatest indignity that can be offered to me, and shall look upon it in no other view than as a declaration of war; and, as I am born a member of this free state, I shall be so far from selling the freedom of voting of my fellow-citizens, that I will maintain it with all my might.* This inflexibility was so much the more to be admired, because it was dangerous to exasperate so powerful a prince, who was bold and successful, and at the head of an hitherto victorious army. However, *Pelopidas*, more politic, perhaps, than he, found means to appease *Jason*'s resentment, and to send him back into *Thessaly*, fully satisfied with his new alliance (7).

Not long after this arrived *Theanor*, with presents from *Arcesius*; and, upon the debating whether they

(7) *See before, p. 94, 95.*

should

inſomuch that, looking now upon themſelves as rid of all their fears on their account, they gave themſelves, in ſome meaſure, up to luxury and idleneſs, to ſhews, ſports, and feſtivals; and thereby gave the *Macedonians*, hitherto a barbarous and obſcure nation, an encouragement to make that bold attempt on the *Grecian* liberties, which they ſoon after did, and of which the reader may find an account in the hiſtory of *Athens*, and elſewhere; for we confine ourſelves, here, to the ſhare which the *Thebans*, and other auxiliaries, bore in that war; the firſt of which was in the ſuccour which they gave to the *Eubœans*, by which they got an entrance into that iſland, as we have already mentioned in its proper place; and, its inhabitants being now divided into two factions, one party had recourſe to the *Athenians*, and the other to the *Thebans*; and the former, who, among other advantages, had been uſed to draw a conſiderable Thebans *in* Eubœa.

ſhould be accepted, *Epaminondas* declared againſt it, in words to this effect, and addreſſed to *Theanor*: Jaſon, ſaid he, *reſented my rejecting the vaſt preſents with which he deſigned to corrupt me; and I gave him ſuch an anſwer as his attempt deſerved. Your offers are, indeed, more honourable, and conſiſtent with virtue; and as ſuch we eſteem them; but then they are like phyſic to a man in health. Should you, or any of our allies, who imagined us to be at war, and incapable of maintaining it, ſend us a ſupply of men, arms, and proviſions; but expect that we ſhould accept of it, when they found us enjoying a profound peace? The caſe is much the ſame. Your generoſity hath made you look upon us as ſinking under the poverty of our condition, whereas that very poverty, inſtead of being burdenſome to us, we look upon as our greateſt happineſs, glory, and delight, and as the moſt welcome gueſt that can come within our walls. The philoſophers who ſent you, have, in that, made the nobleſt uſe they could of their wealth; and you may aſſure them, that we highly commend and thank them for it; but tell them, at the ſame time, that we make the ſame right uſe of our poverty.* Theanor, ſtill deſirous to engage him to accept ſomething valuable from him, begged, that he would take, at leaſt, as much as would reimburſe him the charges which *Polymnis* his father had been at, in the maintenance and funeral obſequies of his late preceptor *Lyſis*. To which he replied, That *Lyſis* had abundantly repaid him, in the pains he took to make him cheriſh the practice of poverty. This occaſioned ſome friendly debate between them, in which *Theanor* endeavoured to make him ſenſible of the neceſſity of acquiring, at leaſt, an honourable competency; which only gave the other an opportunity of diſplaying his talent in praiſe of his favourite notion of poverty, which he did with ſuch forcible reaſoning, as left *Theanor* without reply.

The truth is, *Epaminondas* had a double view in practiſing and promoting this darling virtue of poverty; *viz.* to keep himſelf proof againſt corruption, and, by his precepts and example, to reform, as much as in him lay, the luxury and depravity of the *Theban* nation. We have already ſhewn how far it had prevailed upon the noble *Pelopidas* to imitate and aſſiſt him in this noble deſign; and hope our *Engliſh* readers will not be diſpleaſed, if we ſubjoin ſome few inſtances of the excellent method he took to promote it among the reſt of his countrymen, eſpecially as he had frequent occaſion to obſerve how much it had contributed to raiſe the *Spartan* ſtate to that height of glory and power to which they were arrived.

He was one day invited to a ſumptuous feaſt, in which he obſerved a profuſion of every thing that was delicious and coſtly, and yet contented himſelf with ſome of the meaneſt fare, and would drink nothing but ſour wine; and, being aſked, why he did ſo, anſwered, *For fear I ſhould forget how I live at home.* Upon ſuch another invitation, he was ſo ſhocked at the luxury and profuſion of the diſhes, and high perfumes, that he cried out, *I thought you were going to offer ſome grand ſacrifice to the gods, inſtead of a ſhameful debauch*; and went away immediately; neither could any intreaty bring him back. But the moſt remarkable reproof he gave the *Thebans* on this head, and the laſt we ſhall mention, was on one of their grandeſt feſtivals, in which every citizen appeared in a moſt ſplendid dreſs, and anointed with the richeſt perfumes: the ſolemnity was to conclude with mutual entertainments, at their reſpective houſes, in which nothing was to be ſpared that could promote their mirth and good chear. *Epaminondas*, inſtead of following the vogue, appeared in a plainer dreſs than uſual, and without either ornament or perfume; and, inſtead of feaſting with any of them, kept walking up and down in a penſive mood, in the public ſquare of the city; and, being aſked by one of his friends why he thus declined to partake of the public rejoicing, replied, *I do it, that there may be at leaſt one perſon to mind the ſafety of the city, whilſt the reſt are drowned in wine and mirth.* By which ſatirical reproofs he, by degrees, ſo far reformed the manners of the *Thebans*, that they ſeemed to vie with one another in the emulation of his virtues.

As neither bribes nor promiſes could gain him from the intereſt of his country, ſo no threatnings nor dangers could make him betray the honour of it. It was this noble ardour, among other inſtances, with which his life is fraught, that made him go and fight for it as a private centinel, when his ungrateful countrymen had been induced, by the prevailing faction, to ſtrip him of all his poſts. And, how nobly he behaved in that low capacity, we have elſewhere ſeen, as well as his ſingular friendſhip and fidelity to *Pelopidas*, on ſeveral occaſions, and his generoſity to his other friends.

To conclude his excellent character, as it has been drawn by *Plutarch*, *Xenophon*, and other writers; he was judicious and grave, but yet affable, continent, and patient of injuries, compaſſionate to others, and ſo ſtrictly juſt, and ſo ſincere a lover of truth, that he would not tell a lye even in jeſt. As for his learning, we have already touched upon it; and, in this province, he made a greater progreſs in his ſearch after knowlege of all kinds, than any philoſopher of his time, who was ſo by profeſſion. He was eſteemed a fine ſpeaker, but was far enough from valuing himſelf upon, or making oſtentation of it, ſince it was ſaid of him, that nobody knew more, or ſpoke leſs, than he. And yet he was ſo far from admiring the *Laconic* ſtile, or magiſterial brevity, for which the *Spartans* valued themſelves, that he ſeverely raillied them for it, and told them, that, among other marks of ſuperiority over them, he had made them lengthen their monoſyllables.

ſiderable revenue from thence, were not a little alarmed at the latter having ſuch footing in it; but, as they had their hands full, and had enough to do to maintain their juriſdiction in other parts, they did not exert themſelves ſo vigorouſly as the caſe required, till their brave general *Timotheus*, with his uſual eloquence, rouſed them up to it: *What!* ſaid he, *the* Thebans *in* Eubœa, *and you ſtill here! They in action, and you ſtand deliberating! You have not yet covered the ſea with your veſſels! you are not running down to the* Piræeum! *you are not yet under ſail!* By theſe ſhort ſpeeches, which *Demoſthenes* takes notice of as a proper pattern to be made uſe of on another occaſion, he ſo ſhamed the *Athenians*, that they had made all the neceſſary preparations in five days, and ſoon after drove the *Thebans* out of it; who had neither forces nor ſpirit now ſufficient to oppoſe them.

Diod. Sic.

Theſſalians.

THIS is, probably, one of the laſt inſtances of their being applied to by any ſtates, or of their making any figure in *Greece*. They ſcarcely bore any ſhare in the ſocial war; and, in the *Phocian*, of which we have given an account in ſpeaking of that nation, they were one of thoſe ſtates that declared againſt it, and ſent their quota of troops with the *Theſſalians* and *Locrians*, and were defeated, with the latter, by *Philomelus* the *Phocian* general, at the firſt onſet, and, with the former, at the next: but the *Thebans*, having increaſed their troops to thirteen thouſand men, came up againſt him, and not only for a time ſtopped his progreſs, but ſoon after gained a conſiderable advantage over him in a woody country, where, being much ſuperior in number, they ſlew a great many of his forces; and *Philomelus* himſelf was either killed among them, or thrown down a precipice, according to others, and loſt his life. Upon this, the *Thebans*, thinking the *Phocian* war at an end with their general, withdrew their forces; but his brother *Onomarchus*, a perſon equally concerned in it with the deceaſed, being likewiſe fined by the *Amphictyonic* court in a greater ſum than he could pay, put himſelf at the head of the *Phocians*; and, having obliged the *Theſſalians* to remain neuter, renewed hoſtilities againſt the other two, and took ſeveral places from them. The *Thebans*, being thus invaded, were forced to come out againſt him, and oppoſe his farther career; which they, with great difficulty, performed, having ſent but juſt before five thouſand of their forces to aſſiſt *Artabazus* in *Aſia*. In the mean time *Onomarchus*, after having gained ſeveral advantages againſt *Philip* of *Macedon*, was at length defeated, taken, and hanged, by that monarch; and all the other priſoners were condemned likewiſe to death, as guilty of ſacrilege. The *Phocian*, or ſacred war, as it was then ſtiled, was, however, far enough from being brought to a concluſion by the death of that general, and his adherents, though, from that time, it began to take a new face, and was carried on in a different way. *Phylus*, the brother of *Onomarchus*, a wealthy *Phocian*, put himſelf ſoon after at the head of their troops; and having, by dint of money, augmented his army with ſome thouſands of auxiliaries, renewed it with freſh vigour in *Bœotia*; but he was ſo effectually worſted in three different engagements againſt the *Thebans*, that he thought fit to abandon the country, and turn his forces againſt the *Locrians*; where though he proved ſomewhat more ſucceſsful, yet he was ſoon after carried off by ſickneſs, and ſucceeded by *Phalecus*, *Onomarchus*'s ſon, then a

Phocian war.

Thebans defeated.

But, next to the love of his country, his prevailing paſſion was ſtudy; to which he was ſo ſtrongly bent, that it may be regarded as almoſt the only inſtance of a perſon's acquitting himſelf ſo nobly to the public, conſidering the contrary byas of his inclination. And it was looked upon as no ſmall wonder, that a man who had been ſo long hid from the world, and buried, as it were, among his books, ſhould break out at once into ſo great and tumultuous a ſcene of action, ſhould be able to negotiate his country's intereſt abroad, direct the government at home, and lead his army with ſuch ſurpriſing ſucceſs againſt the united powers of *Greece*: but as his genius was equal to all theſe things, ſo had his application been likewiſe, during the time of his obſcurity; and, being once made ſenſible by his friend *Pelopidas*, of what he owed to his country, and what the public, at that juncture, expected from him, he at once rouſed himſelf from his darling retirement, and from that time gave himſelf ſo much to action, that he made ample amends for it, ſince ſcarcely any man ever performed ſo much in ſo ſhort a time. We are told, that the great *Achæan* general, *Philopœmen*, made him his conſtant pattern to ſuch a degree, that he came but very little ſhort of him, in valour, conduct, and integrity; but he had naturally too much of the ſoldier in him, and was apt to be too rough and choleric; whereas *Epaminondas* was cool, affable, and gentle; and never ſhewed any fierceneſs but in the field. Upon the whole, he ſeems to have been deſigned to raiſe the glory of *Thebes* above all her neighbours at that time, and that ſo ſuddenly, that it was ſaid to have been born with him; and it will appear by the ſequel of this hiſtory, to have, in a great meaſure, expired with him (8).

(8) *Vide Plutarch. Xenoph. Diod. Sic. & alios ſupra citat. Meurſ. la Tour, Palmer, & Stanyan hiſt. Græc. & al. mult.*

minor,

minor, and under the tuition of *Maſeas*; which laſt was likewiſe killed in the firſt engagement he had with the *Locrians*. From this time, the war was turned into mutual ſkirmiſhes and depredations; in which though the *Thebans* generally came in for a good ſhare of the plunder, yet were they ſo far exhauſted by the war, the burden of which had chiefly lain upon them, that they were reduced to great ſtreights, and were forced to have recourſe to the king of *Perſia*, from whom they eaſily obtained the ſum of three hundred talents. *and exhauſted.*

By this time the *Phocians*, who had likewiſe ſuffered greatly by the war, had ſo far infringed on the treaſury of the *Delphic* temple, that all *Greece* bitterly reproached them for it; ſo that, to avoid a worſe conſequence, they were forced to appoint commiſſioners to inquire into that affair, and to puniſh thoſe who had the greateſt hand in it. The firſt thing theſe did was to turn *Phalecus* out of his generalſhip, though he was reſtored to it again, as ſoon as juſtice had been done on the other delinquents, among whom one *Philo*, who had been intruſted with the bulk of the wealth, was condemned to be racked to death. This laſt, in the extremity of the torture, impeached many of his accomplices, who were likewiſe put to death, though they had reſtored all that was left of it in their hands (Y); but, as the *Thebans* had not ſuch a rich repoſitory to go to, they were at length ſo exhauſted by continual depredations, that, being no longer able to ſuſtain the war to any advantage, they ſaw themſelves forced to have recourſe to king *Philip*, who had, till now, affected a kind of neutrality in their quarrels; but was not a little pleaſed to ſee the contending parties haraſs and weaken each other to ſuch a degree, as would ſoon give him an opportunity of acting a quite different part. Nothing could therefore have happened more anſwerable to his ambitious views, than this falſe ſtep of the *Thebans*, nor at the ſame time be more likely to prove fatal not only to themſelves, but to the liberties of all *Greece*, as it accordingly did; for the *Theſſalians*, who had been privately drawn into *Philip*'s intereſt ever ſince his acceſſion to the throne, were now eaſily prevailed upon to enter into this new confederacy; after which, ſeveral other *Grecian* ſtates, when they found themſelves oppreſſed by their neighbours, made no difficulty to apply to the *Macedonian* king, as to a common friend and protector, and ſeldom failed of meeting with ſuitable encouragement; and, though this did not happen till ſome time after, that is, till he had got an abſolute ſway in the court of *Amphictyons*, yet the *Thebans* are juſtly blamed for having been the authors of this fatal precedent, and conſequently thereby of betraying the liberties of *Greece*.

Have recourſe to king Philip.

Ill conſequences of that confederacy.

For hitherto *Philip* had not been engaged in this war; and what he had done againſt *Onomarchus*, and his accomplices, was only under pretence of protecting the *Theſſalians* againſt their oppreſſors: but his ſucceſs againſt the one, and ſeeming generoſity to the other, gained him ſuch eſteem, as eaſily induced him not only to inlarge his views, but to act more openly, and, under pretence of marching againſt the ſacrilegious *Phocians*, to attempt the gaining the ſtreights of *Thermopylæ*, which would have opened an eaſy way to him into all *Greece*. He was, however, repulſed for this time in that attempt by the *Athenians*, who lay moſt expoſed to his paſſage, as we have elſewhere ſeen. But this failed not to alarm them, and the other ſtates of *Greece*; and *Demoſthenes*, who, by this time, was grown into ſome reputation, had no ſmall hand in opening the eyes of the *Greeks* to the danger they were in from that aſpiring monarch. But, the war not turning to the advantage of the *Athenians*, they found themſelves obliged to ſue to him for peace; which, being exactly what he wiſhed, he readily granted, though ſtill, on ſome pretence or other, he deferred the execution of it, till he had brought his forces into *Theſſaly*, in order to fall upon the *Phocians*, who were now ſupported only by the *Spartans*. We have already ſpoken of this peace, which *Philip*, by his great largeſſes and munificence, got to be made ſo much in his favour, that he was ſuffered to purſue his own meaſures, to ſeize on the ſtreights of *Thermopylæ*, to pour his numerous forces into *Phocis*, in conjunction with the *Thebans*, and to put an end to that long and deſtructive war; which he ſoon and eaſily effected, as we have related in the hiſtory of the *Macedonians*.

Philip's *policy*.

Attempt on Thermopylæ.

Peace with Athens.

Succeſs againſt the Phocians.

These ſucceſſes had, by this time, given the *Macedonian* monarch ſuch footing in *Greece*, and ſuch an abſolute ſway, eſpecially over the *Amphictyonic* court, the far

(Y) The amount of what had been rifled out of the *Delphic* treaſury, during this war, in preſents, bribes, and other exigences, was computed, we are told, to have amounted to above ten thouſand talents; an immenſe ſum, and exceeding by far what *Alexander the Great* found afterwards in that of the *Perſians*, as we have ſeen in the hiſtory of the *Macedonians*.

greater part of whom his gold had intirely gained to his intereſt and ſervice, and his ambitious views became ſo viſible, that *Demoſthenes* was again forced to ſound the alarm, and to propoſe to his *Athenians* the forming a new confederacy againſt him; to which they readily agreed. The *Thebans*, of all the reſt of his allies, were looked upon as ſo conſiderable, that they were the firſt that were thought worthy to be invited into this new alliance; and our *Athenian* orator offered himſelf to be one of the deputies, and to prevail upon them to accept of it; and was accordingly ſent on that important errand. *Philip*, on the other ſide, being no leſs emulous to keep them in his intereſt, ſent thither likewiſe his own deputies, the principal of whom was *Python*, a *Byzantine* by birth, who had been lately made a free citizen of *Athens*; but had been ſince gained over by that monarch. Theſe, being allowed to ſpeak firſt, failed not to diſplay their rhetoric in favour of the *Macedonian* king, and to recapitulate to the *Thebans* the ſingular advantages which their alliance with him had procured to their ſtate, and the many other ſignal favours they had received from him; reminding them at the ſame time of the frequent provocations and injuries they had ſuffered from the *Athenians*. They made uſe of ſeveral other motives to confirm them in their friendſhip with the *Macedonians*, ſuch as the great proſpect of plunder which *Attica* would yield them; which would be of a greater advantage to them than having their own country made the ſcene of a bloody war, which muſt infallibly prove the caſe, if they preſumed to ally with the *Athenians*. They concluded with putting it to their option, whether they would join with *Philip* in his invaſion into *Attica*, or ſit neuter, and give him a free paſſage through *Bœotia*, or be the firſt that ſhould feel the effects of his reſentment for their ungrateful deſertion of him.

Demoſthenes *alarms the* Athenians *to invade the* Thebans.

Philip's *deputies.*

THE *Thebans* eaſily felt the weight of all theſe arguments, as well as the danger to which their declaring on either ſide was like to expoſe them, and againſt which they were but poorly prepared, having ſtill a lively remembrance of the miſeries they had endured, eſpecially as the wounds they had received in the *Phocian* war were yet freſh upon them. Upon theſe conſiderations, they ſhewed ſo little inclination to concur with either part, that nothing leſs than the eloquence of *Demoſthenes* could have determined them to lay aſide all fear, gratitude, and other prudential motives, and expoſe themſelves, in the condition they were in, to the dangers of a new war. But when the *Athenian* orator, who was to ſpeak next, came to diſplay his talents, and to ſet *Philip*'s ambitious views in a true light; to ſhew them the neceſſity of acting againſt him as the common enemy of *Greece*; when he came, from the inſtance of his lately ſeizing the city of *Platæa*, and the manner of his doing it, to ſhew them how it was likely to fare with *Thebes* and *Bœotia*, ſhould that monarch ſo far ſucceed as to ſubdue *Attica*, and that he would never ſtop ſhort till he had brought all *Greece* under his yoke; the *Thebans* were ſo effectually alarmed at their own and the public danger, that they could ſcarcely contain themſelves; and the force of his diſcourſe rouſed them up to ſuch a kind of enthuſiaſm, that they immediately declared themſelves againſt their late ally and protector, and readily entered into the propoſed confederacy at all adventures. We have ſeen the ill ſucceſs of it in the *Athenian* hiſtory, to which we refer our readers[1]; and ſhall only add, that it ſoon after brought on the famous battle of *Cheronæa*, which was won by the *Macedonians*, and in which the *Thebans*, who were in the right wing, behaved with their uſual bravery, till *Alexander*, king *Philip*'s ſon, fell deſperately upon their *Sacred legion*, and cut them all to pieces; after which the reſt of the wing was eaſily routed by that young prince.

Demoſthenes's *ſpeech.*

Thebans *ally with* Athens.

Sacred legion *cut off.*

UPON the defeat of the confederates, *Philip*, though he treated the *Athenians* with great moderation, yet ſhewed ſuch reſentment againſt the *Thebans*, for renouncing their alliance with him, that he uſed them rather like traitors and criminals: and indeed it was not to be expected, that he, who aſſumed the ſame arbitrary ſway over his allies, which he did over his ſubjects, would eaſily forgive ſuch a ſignal defection at ſo critical a juncture; ſo that, notwithſtanding the peace being on the point of renewal on both ſides, he not only made them pay dear for the ranſom of their priſoners, but even for leave to bury their dead. Soon after this, we are told, that he found a way, either by the ſword, baniſhment, heavy fines, or other ſeverities, to clear the city and ſtate of *Thebes* of the principal men, who had been moſt zealous in oppoſing his intereſt, and to ſeize upon moſt of their eſtates; by which means he ſo intimidated the reſt, that the greateſt part of them became intirely his creatures. His next ſtep was, to recal thoſe who had been baniſhed for ſacrificing their country to his intereſt; and theſe he pro-

Philip's *revenge on the* Thebans.

[1] See vol. ii. p. 545, & ſeqq.

moted to the higheſt poſts in the government and magiſtracy, and granted them, beſides other large gratuities, the power of life and death over thoſe who had been the chief promoters of their baniſhment. By theſe, and other the like ſeverities, he ſecured to himſelf an arbitrary power over them; and, having moreover obliged them to receive a *Macedonian* gariſon into their citadel, he ratified the peace with the *Athenians* and them. Theſe were ſome of the fatal conſequences of their alliance with that foreign and ambitious monarch, in which, if they ſuffered more than the other *Grecian* ſtates, they could blame none but themſelves, ſince they themſelves laid the foundation of all the diſaſters with *Greece* felt then and ſince.

An Account of the famous Retreat of the ten thouſand Greeks, *under the Conduct of the great* Xenophon; *commonly ſtiled* Xenophon's *Retreat.*

* *See* Octavo Edition, *Vol.* VII. *p.* 438.

THIS celebrated tranſaction, which was a march of two thouſand three hundred and twenty-five miles, the longeſt we read of in hiſtory, through the territories of a powerful and victorious enemy, and under all the dangers and difficulties that can be imagined, having been but barely mentioned in our firſt edition of this work; and ſeveral of our friends and correſpondents having complained of it, as an unpardonable omiſſion of one of the moſt remarkable pieces of antient hiſtory; we ſhall now give it to our readers, as it contains a long and memorable ſeries of dangers and difficulties, ſurmounted by an army of ten thouſand men, under the conduct of one of the wiſeſt and completeſt generals of antiquity, and tranſmitted to poſterity by his own inimitable pen (A).

Length of their march.

THE

(A) It plainly appears, however, that this work (which came out under the name of *Themiſtogenes*, of *Syracuſe*, and is ſo quoted accordingly by *Xenophon* (1), tho', from the elegancy and ſweetneſs of the ſtile, univerſally allowed to be his) was not penned by him immediately after his return into *Greece*, much leſs in the ſame order of time as the tranſactions happened; for *Xenophon* had neither wife nor children when he ſet out upon this expedition; whereas, at the very end of this hiſtory, where he mentions the offerings made to *Diana* (2), he takes notice of his ſon's going a-hunting with the reſt, on the anniverſary feſtival of that goddeſs. From which we may ſafely conclude, that he muſt have written it at leaſt twenty years after the retreat we are upon; that is, as is commonly conjectured, after his retirement to *Sciluns*, not long after the battle of *Chæronea*, which was fought in the ſecond year of the ninety-ſixth *Olympiad*. We may add, that he doth not ſeem even to have kept regular journals of that memorable march; ſo that we need not wonder, if many curious particulars, relating to time, place, and other circumſtances, had, by that time, ſlipt out of his memory.

Much leſs can we ſuppoſe him to have been furniſhed with proper inſtruments for making obſervations on the ſituation of places, and their diſtance from each other, on the courſe and breadth of the rivers they either croſſed, or coaſted along; and other material particularities of the like nature: all which, joined to their being utter ſtrangers to thoſe countries they travelled thro', hath proved the ſource of a great number of unſurmountable difficulties, which we meet with in this account; and which have exerciſed the wit of ſome of the beſt critics to clear up, tho', in many reſpects, to very little purpoſe, as may be ſeen in the authors quoted below (3); and which, for that very reaſon, we ſhall either paſs by, or content ourſelves with the bare mention of, to avoid entering into too large a field; though, where they have been cleared to ſatisfaction, we ſhall readily inſert them in the notes, in as few words as the ſubject will allow.

Whether *Themiſtogenes* above-mentioned wrote an account of this retreat, as ſome learned men believe, or *Xenophon* only borrowed his name, to avoid oſtentation, as is more commonly thought, it ſeems, upon the whole, as if other writers had given ſome account of it; which not being ſatisfactory to our author, obliged him to give the world a more perfect one, from ſuch memoirs as he had taken of it, the reſt of which he might ſupply either from his own memory, or by the aſſiſtance of thoſe who had had a ſhare in that expedition; for *Diodorus* hath alſo written an account of thoſe tranſactions, but varies from him in ſo many particulars, that he ſeems to have taken them from any author rather than from *Xenophon*, whoſe name he doth not ſo much as men-

(1) *Hellen. l.* ii. (2) *Lib.* vii. *ad fin.* (3) *De his vid. int. al. Hutchinſon, d'Ablancourt, de Liſle's map. de la retraite des* 10,000. *Forſter, & al.*

Sad condition after Cyrus's death.

THE reader may recollect the diſmal ſituation in which we left this ſmall number of auxiliaries, after the battle of *Cunaxa*, and the death of *Cyrus*, in whoſe behalf they had engaged in this expedition [a]; their camp plundered, themſelves in a victorious enemy's country, and at a vaſt diſtance from their own, and expecting every moment to feel the ſevereſt effects of the king's reſentment. It was in this extreme difficulty, that *Xenophon* began to give ſome ſignal proofs of his bravery and ſagacity, as well as of his ſingular eloquence, by which he not only inſpired the deſponding *Greeks* with freſh courage, but perſuaded their remaining chiefs to reſolve upon this noble, though arduous and dangerous retreat (B); and, after the death of *Clearchus*, to appoint him their

[a] See vol. ii. p. 139, 140.

tion, even where he had the greateſt ſhare of the merit; nor, indeed, upon any other account than his making war againſt the *Thracians* (4); whereas he gives the glory of the whole march to *Cheirofophus*, whom he names as the general choſen by the reſt to conduct it (5).

Several other difficulties are likewiſe raiſed about the number of paraſangs, or leagues, which this march is ſaid to have conſiſted of, about the diſtances aſſigned from place to place, the points they ſteered; and more particularly, the time which this expedition took up. The moſt material of them will be taken notice of in the ſequel; at preſent it will be ſufficient to ſay, that the difficulties of thoſe marches, the badneſs of the roads, and their ignorance of the countries through which they traveled, might eaſily deceive them, and make them fanſy each journey longer than it really was. We may add, that the *Perſians*, who were their enemies as well as their guides, and rather deſigned to haraſs and fatigue, than to lead them through the beſt and ſhorteſt ways, might purpoſely increaſe the length and difficulties of their march, by conducting them over hills, and rough unknown paths, through woods and marſhes, and all the moſt difficult roads and paſſes; and perhaps alſo lead them about, and backward and forward, eſpecially in rainy and foggy weather, when they had not the ſun to guide them. Hence probably it comes, that our author mentions ſeveral rivers, towns, and even people, which we can find no account of in any other; and of which it is impoſſible to form any conjecture, unleſs we were better acquainted with thoſe countries than we really are, notwithſtanding the great helps we have ſince had from modern travelers and geographers, as the reader may plainly ſee, by comparing the different accounts they have given us of the places they have ſeen (6).

(B) We are ſenſible it would carry us too far, were we to give our readers all the noble inſtances of his eloquence, and perſuaſive talent, ſuch as he was forced to make uſe of on divers preſſing occaſions, with no leſs ſucceſs than applauſe, as he himſelf hath tranſmitted them to us, in this excellent relation: yet our *Engliſh* readers will not be diſpleaſed to ſee a ſpecimen or two of it, that they may the better judge of the reſt. He tells us, That, upon his revolving within himſelf the deſperate condition of the *Greek* army, on the death of ſeveral of their beſt officers, and the little care that was taken by the ſurviving ones for the preſervation of their troops, he at once rouſed himſelf, with a ſoliloquy, to this effect; "Do I ſtay for the coming of a new "general from *Greece* to command us? or do I "wait for years to undertake it myſelf? But in vain "ſhall I hope for the latter advantage, if I ſuffer "myſelf to be taken by thoſe Barbarians. And is "this a time for me to lie ſlumbering in my bed, "when, for aught I know, we may be attacked by "them by break of day?" He got up, and, having gathered together ſome of the head-officers, ſpoke to them to this effect: "Sleep is quite fled from "me, as I imagine it is from you, conſidering the "condition we are in: the enemy hath, doubtleſs, "by this time, got together the ſhattered remains "of their army: but what preparations have we "made to oppoſe their fury? Should our remiſſneſs "ſuffer us to fall into the hands of an exaſperated "king, who ſcrupled not to cut off the head and "hand of his dead brother, what can we expect "from him, who have fought ſo vigorouſly to de-"throne him, but the moſt ignominious treatment, "if not, perhaps, the moſt cruel of deaths, to deter "all men from ever engaging againſt him? We "ought therefore to hazard any thing rather than "fall into his hands: I own, that while the truce "laſted, I deeply bewailed our wretched condition, "and envied thoſe Barbarians, whom we beheld "maſters of a large and fruitful country, and abound-"ing with all ſorts of proviſions, ſlaves, cattle, "gold, and ſumptuous apparel, whilſt we were de-"ſtitute of them all, and could get nothing for our-"ſelves but by dint of our money, which, by that "time, was almoſt exhauſted, whilſt our oath to "them forbad us to ſupply our wants by any other "way: but ſince they themſelves have broken the "peace, I foreſee the great advantages we ſhall now "gain by an open war; and the gods, who are the "arbiters of it, will not fail of giving the victory "to the *Greeks*, who paid ſuch regard to their "oaths, as to forbear infringing upon their property, "notwithſtanding the pinching wants we laboured "under, rather than to thoſe Barbarians, who "have made no ſcruple to add perjury to their "cruelty and injuſtice. So that we may engage in "the preſent war with much greater confidence than "they, ſince the gods are on our ſide. Our bo-"dies are better ſeaſoned againſt cold, heat, or la-"bour, than theirs, and our minds more firm and "reſolute; and, if we are ſtill bleſſed with ſucceſs, "we ſhall make them more obnoxious to wounds "and death. Others of our ſtrateges (chiefs) may "think juſt as we do now: don't let us therefore "ſtay till they come and excite us to it by their "example, but let them rather receive it from us. "Shew yourſelves to be the braveſt of all the *Greek* "commanders, and the fitteſt to lead them on. As "for me, I am equally ready to follow you, if you "will take the command; or to be your leader, if "you deſire it; and ſhall be ſo far from declining "the taſk, on account of my youth, that I ſhall "think all the ſtrength and vigour of it barely ſuf-"ficient to ſurmount the difficulties we ſhall meet "with."

(4) *Bibl. l.* xiv. *c.* 5. (5) *Ib. c.* 6. (6) *See de Liſle's map above quoted, Rauwolf, Tavernier, Herbert, Tournefort, & al.*

Thus

their general, and the chief conductor of it. What ſtill enhances his merit on this occaſion, is, that he had till then ſerved only as a volunteer, and without any commiſſion or command; and was, as is commonly ſuppoſed, under thirty years of age, when he was raiſed to that dignity (C).

THE firſt ſtep which the *Perſian* monarch had taken, with regard to the *Grecian* army, was to ſend *Phalinus*, with expreſs command to them to lay down their arms, and to come and beg his pardon, at the gate of his pavilion. This was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the *Greek* chiefs, one of whom, *Proxenus*, aſked him, Whether the king demanded it as a conqueror, or deſired it as a friend: if the former, why did he not rather come, and diſarm them by force? but if the latter, he deſired to know, what he would give them in exchange. Being anſwered, that the king had a right to demand it, in the firſt ſenſe, ſeeing *Cyrus* their maſter was dead, and themſelves wholly in his power, and ſurrounded on all ſides by his troops, *Xenophon*, who was one of the company, gave him this reply: "You ſee that we have nothing left but our arms, and "our valour. Whilſt we have the former, we can eaſily make uſe of the latter; but if "we deliver up thoſe, we give up all indeed. Think not therefore, that we will part "with the only two advantages we have left us; but rather, that we will try with "them to gain thoſe that are in your poſſeſſion." When *Phalinus* heard this, he ſaid, with a ſmile, "You ſpeak elegantly, indeed, young man, and like a philoſopher; but "you will find yourſelf greatly deceived, if you imagine, that your valour can be "proof againſt the king's numerous forces."

Ordered to lay down their arms.

Xenophon's brave reply.

HE told them furthermore, that ſeveral of the *Greek* chiefs, leſs ſanguine than they, eſpecially after the death of *Cyrus*, had offered themſelves and their troops to ſerve under the king, either againſt the revolted *Egyptians*, or on any other expedition, and with the ſame bravery and faithfulneſs with which they had ſerved his brother. All which was ſaid to intimidate, and ſow jealouſies amongſt them; when *Clearchus*, who

Thus ſpoke our noble orator; and had the pleaſure to hear his propoſal applauded by all the reſt, and himſelf deſired to take the command upon him. There was only one, named *Apollonides*, that oppoſed it; and, in his affected *Bœotian* dialect, took upon him to ſay, that all attempts for returning into *Greece* were chimerical and impracticable, unleſs it was by ſoothing the king to conſent to it. He was going to give his reaſons for it, and to lay the dangers and difficulties of ſuch an enterprize before them, when *Xenophon* briſkly interrupted him, by ſhewing him how ſtrangely blind he was to what he had before his eyes, and deaf to what ſo forcibly ſtruck upon his ears. "Were you not, ſaid he, "with us, when that monarch, elevated with his "victory, and the death of his brother, ſent "us an order to lay down our arms? Have "you forgot what low ſhifts he made uſe of to "incline us to peace, when, inſtead of obeying his "command, we marched ſtrait up againſt him, "and were juſt on the point of attacking him; "and what promiſes he made to ſupply us with "proviſions, till he had obtained peace from us? "And when afterwards, truſting to his faith, our "generals went unarmed, to treat with his ſatraps, "were they not uſed in the vileſt and moſt perfi-"dious manner, and put to ſuch ignominious tor-"tures, as make them, perhaps, to this day, wiſh "for death? And you, who know all theſe things, "can you call it an impertinent advice, when I ex-"hort you to ſtand in your own defence? or dare "you propoſe to us to ſue again to the king for his "favour?" Then, addreſſing himſelf to his colleagues, "I think ſuch an infamous man as this "ought to be degraded from our company, and his "command, and only employed in carrying our "baggage. A *Greek* with ſuch a mind, and ſuch "language, ought to be looked upon as a ſhame to "his country, and a diſhonour to all *Greece*." He was accordingly degraded on the ſpot; and, as there was no time to be loſt, they haſtened to ſummon the reſt of the *Greek* captains, not doubting but they would be all charmed, by *Xenophon*'s eloquence, into a ready compliance with this grand deſign; which, as it was the main ſpring of that glorious retreat, reflects no leſs honour on his divine maſter *Socrates*, under whoſe wings he had been brought up, ſince the ſucceſs of it was as much owing to the eloquence as to the valour and bravery of his diſciple.

(C) It is not, indeed, eaſy to determine juſtly of what age he then was: for, if what *Diogenes Laertius* ſays be true, that he died in the firſt year of the one hundred and fifth *Olympiad* (7); and *Lucian*, that he lived to be upwards of ninety years old (8); he muſt have been, at leaſt, in the fifty-firſt year of his age, when he went on this expedition. But this is altogether inconſiſtent with what we have obſerved him to have ſaid of himſelf, in the laſt note, eſpecially in the laſt ſpeech there mentioned, that *he would not excuſe himſelf by reaſon of his youth*. He was there ſpeaking to the officers who commanded under *Proxenus*, who had been lately put to death, in the thirtieth year of his age: ſo that he muſt be ſuppoſed to have been ſome years younger than he, or elſe what he ſaid would have rather looked as a banter upon the youth of that commander.

We may add, that, in his conference with *Phalinus*, a *Greek* in high credit with *Tiſſaphernes*, about laying down their arms, that officer makes no ſcruple to call him a young man, as will be ſeen in the ſequel; and himſelf takes frequent notice of his being one of the youngeſt officers. Upon all which accounts he is commonly ſuppoſed to have been about twenty-three or twenty-four; or, allowing the moſt that can be, near, but under, thirty years of age.

(7) *Lib.* ii. *c.* 22. (8) Περὶ μακροβίων.

Clearchus's answer to Phalinus.

came in the interim, addreſſed himſelf to him, in words to this effect: "You, *Phalinus*, are a *Greek*, as well as we, and are no ſtranger to our preſent ſituation; and "we expect rather, that you ſhould tell us what, in honour, we ought to do. In the "name of the gods therefore, give us the moſt ſalutary advice; and let it be recorded, "that *Phalinus* was ſent by *Artaxerxes* to command the *Greeks* to lay down their "arms, but that his ſingular prudence ſuggeſted to him the means of ſaving them." This he ſaid, in hopes of inſpiriting his deſponding troops by his means; but *Phalinus*, who had nothing of the *Greek* but his birth, ſoon diſconcerted his hopes, by telling him, that he could ſee no other way for them to ſave themſelves, but to ſubmit to the king's orders, ſince it was not in their power to oppoſe them. Whereupon the *Greek* general bravely replied, "If that be your opinion, it is not ours; and you may tell the "king, that, if he chooſes our friendſhip, he will find it more for his ſervice to leave "us our arms; but that, if he means war againſt us, we ſhall have too much need of "them to defend ourſelves." Being aſked, what anſwer he ſhould return to the king, whether peace or war; "As he pleaſes," replied he; "peace, if we ſtay; war, if we "march." *Phalinus*, not being able to get a poſitive anſwer from him, went away.

Ariæus's meſſage to the Greeks.

Immediately afterwards came ſome deputies from *Ariæus*, to whom they had offered the crown of *Perſia*, in the room of *Cyrus*, but who had abſolutely declined it, and reſolved to retire into *Ionia*; and by theſe they were given to underſtand, that he would wait for the *Grecian* army all that night; but that, if they did not join him by that time, he would depart without them. Upon which *Clearchus* ſent him word, that they would come up to him accordingly, if they reſolved upon a retreat; but if on any thing elſe, he was at liberty to ſteer what courſe he pleaſed. The *Greeks* thereupon having agreed to join *Ariæus*, and to coaſt along the *Euphrates*, reached his camp towards the cloſe of the evening: and *Clearchus*, accompanied with ſome other officers, went immediately to his tent, where the *Perſian* ſatraps were gathered together; and both concluded a mutual alliance, by which the *Perſians* engaged to guide the *Grecian* army homeward, without fraud or delay. The treaty being ratified, and ſworn to on both ſides (D), *Ariæus* was aſked, what route he thought beſt for the army to take: whoſe anſwer was, Through richer countries than thoſe it hath lately gone through; whereby their marches being made longer by half during the firſt days, they might gain a much larger ſpace between it and that of the king; which laſt, being much more numerous, would never be able to overtake them.

They agree to join him.

IT is plain by this, that he had no other view but to make the ſpeedieſt retreat he could: but fortune, ſays *Xenophon*, directed us to a more glorious one; for, as ſoon as day-light appeared, they found themſelves near ſome villages ſituate on the plains of *Babylon*; whence, having the ſun on their right, they perceived, at ſome diſtance, a body of cavalry, as they imagined, tho' it was no other than the king's baggage, conſiſting of a vaſt multitude of beaſts of burden; from which, and from the clouds of duſt that darkened the air, they concluded, that his army was not far off. But by that time the day began to decline, the *Greeks*, through fatigue, and want of proviſion, were ſo exhauſted, as to be in no condition to fight, much leſs to go back. *Clearchus*'s vanguard had lodged itſelf in ſome villages, the very timber of whoſe houſes had been carried off by the *Perſians*. The *Greeks*, who paſſed that night with no ſmall uneaſineſs, were ſeized, in the dead of it, with ſuch a panic, that nothing but the moſt hideous outcries could be heard, till *Clearchus* cauſed a proclamation to be made thro' the camp, promiſing a talent to the perſon that diſcovered the author of the uproar: by which they all perceived it was only a falſe alarm; and all was quiet again.

Perceive the king's army.

BY break of day *Clearchus* had ranged the *Greek* army in ſuch a gallant order of battle, that *Artaxerxes*, inſtead of commanding them to lay down their arms, ſent deputies to him to treat of a peace. He made them wait ſome time, that they might take a full view of his army; and, at length, told them, that it would be time enough to treat of peace after the battle was over; for, added he, our troops want proviſions, and will not liſten to any but thoſe that bring us a ſupply of them. They returned ſoon after,

(D) The ceremony of ratifying this alliance by oath was performed by the ſacrifice of a bull, a wolf, and a ram; the blood of which being mixed together, in the hollow of a ſhield, the *Greeks* dipped their ſwords, and the *Perſians* their ſpears, into it. This cuſtom of ratifying of treaties by the ſacrifices of peculiar animals, is of very old date, and mentioned by *Homer*, and other antient authors; but, in the preſent inſtance, the *Greeks* only were ſincere, as the ſequel will ſoon ſhew.

after, with a promiſe from the king of a ſufficient and ſpeedy ſupply: upon which it was agreed among the *Greek* generals, to accept of the proffered alliance, though *Clearchus*, willing to make them think they could do without it, made them wait a good while for the anſwer. As ſoon as the treaty was agreed on, the *Greeks* were conducted through a long plain, ſo interſected with chanels, that they were forced every mile to cut down vaſt numbers of palm-trees, and lay bridges over them; and *Clearchus* was ſeen foremoſt in that laborious taſk, in order to encourage the reſt. At length they arrived at a delicious plain, where they found plenty of wheat, palm-wine, and dates of exquiſite colour and taſte; only the wine proved ſo ſtrong as to give them violent head-aches.

A treaty of peace concluded.

A ſupply of proviſions.

HERE they halted three days; at the end of which came *Tiſſaphernes*, attended by the queen's brother, and a numerous retinue; and, under pretence of a particular eſteem for them, as he was now made governor of the *Perſian* provinces that bordered upon *Greece*, aſſured them, that he had almoſt obtained from the *Perſian* king, as a reward for his former ſervices, the ſingular favour of being their conductor into *Greece*; but was, at the ſame time, charged to aſk of them, what had induced them to take up arms againſt him; and adviſed them not to exaſperate that monarch by too haughty an anſwer, ſince that would effectually prevent his being able to ſerve them. The *Greeks* were far enough from giving any credit to his great profeſſions of friendſhip, looking upon him rather as their bittereſt enemy; but this was not a time for them to betray any miſtruſt; and *Clearchus* had addreſs enough to excuſe their joining with *Cyrus*, and, at the ſame time, to obſerve, that they had not committed the leaſt hoſtility againſt the *Perſians*, from the time they heard of that prince's death; from which it was plain they had acted only as his allies, and not as enemies to the king. Upon this, *Tiſſaphernes* agreed with them, that the truce ſhould continue till his return; and, engaging to ſend them freſh ſupplies of proviſions, returned immediately to the *Perſian* camp. He came three days after, and acquainted them, that the king had (with difficulty, and even againſt the advice of many of his counſellors, who oppoſed their being ſuffered to return home) given him leave to conduct them to their own frontiers: and he engaged to accompany them quite to the *Ægæan* ſea, and to furniſh them with proviſions all the way, on condition that they ſhould pay for them, and forbear all kinds of hoſtilities. This being likewiſe ſworn to on both ſides, he promiſed that he would ſoon return, and be ready to march at their head.

An halt of three days.

Tiſſaphernes ſent to treat with them.

Promiſes to conduct them to Greece.

HE made them, however, wait full twenty days for him; during which time there was no ſmall miſtruſt in the *Greek* camp; eſpecially as they obſerved now-and-then ſome new ſatraps coming into that of *Ariæus*, to aſſure him, and his men, that the king wholly forgave their revolt: ſo that this delay was looked upon as a ſtratagem of the *Perſian* king, to gain time to reunite his forces, in order to fall more furiouſly on theirs, at the firſt river or poſt they were obliged to paſs; and, as for *Ariæus*, the only friend they had now left, they did not doubt but he would give them the ſlip, whenever that happened. *Tiſſaphernes* being at length come, his troops, and thoſe of *Ariæus*, were immediately joined, and began their march as one body or camp; which ſo far alarmed the *Greeks*, that they took care to encamp at the diſtance of three or four miles at leaſt from them.

The Greeks in great doubt.

SEVERAL other miſunderſtandings, which happened between the two armies, increaſed their mutual diffidence. However, after three days march, they reached the wall of *Media*, which was an hundred feet high, and twenty in thickneſs, all built of brick, joined with a ſtrong cement. It extended itſelf from the *Euphrates*, near that part on which *Babylon* ſtood, quite to the *Tigris*, and is ſaid to have been about twenty paraſangs or leagues in length: above it northward, about fifteen or twenty more, were cut ſeveral canals, which opened a communication between theſe two rivers; though, if what *Arrian* ſays be true, that the level of the latter was much lower than that of the former, the ſtream muſt run from this to that [a]. It is by theſe canals, that this river diſcharges thoſe vaſt floods of water which fall into it in the ſpring from the melted ſnows, which would otherwiſe cauſe it to overflow, as the *Nile* doth *Egypt* [b]. However, through this wall the armies marched, ſtill under the conduct of *Tiſſaphernes*, and then croſſed over two large canals, formed by the *Tigris*, which, dividing themſelves into leſſer chanels, watered that whole plain. They arrived at length on the banks of that

Their march through the wall of Media.

[a] ARRIAN. de Alexandri [illegible] l. vii

[b] STRAB. lib. vi. PLIN. n. hiſt. lib. v.

Encamp near Sitace.

celebrated river, over which they threw a bridge, whilſt the *Greeks* encamped near *Sitace*, a conſiderable town, about fifteen ſtades ſhort of the *Tigris* (E), and out of ſight of the *Perſians*, whom they ſaw no more from that time. Here *Proxenus* and *Xenophon*, taking an evening-walk together before the quarter where the heavy-armed men encamped, obſerved a ſtroller aſking one of the out-guards, where he might meet *Proxenus* or *Clearchus*; and pretending, that he had been ſent by *Ariæus* to acquaint them, that a numerous body lay in ambuſh againſt them in the neighbouring park, and were to ſurpriſe the *Greeks* that night; and that *Tiſſaphernes* deſigned to break down the bridge, in order to incloſe them between the two branches of the river. He was forthwith brought to *Clearchus*, to whom he repeated the ſame advice; which threw him into no ſmall conſternation, when a young ſoldier preſent made him ſenſible of the abſurdity of the meſſage. "To attack us (ſaid he), and break down the bridge, "are things inconſiſtent; for, if they attack us, and beat us, what need is there of "breaking down the bridge? And, if we beat them, and the bridge be broken "down, they can neither receive ſuccour from the army, nor retreat themſelves to "it (F)." Upon which, they contented themſelves with ſending a ſtrong detachment to guard the bridge for that night, and marched over it in the beſt order the next morning by break of day, without oppoſition. Some *Perſians*, indeed, they perceived at a diſtance; but they retired immediately at the ſight of them, being only ſent to obſerve whether they would croſs over.

A falſe alarm.

Go over the bridge.

Army croſs the Phyſcus.

THE *Grecian* army marched four whole days, or about twenty paraſangs, through a large plain, which lies between the *Tigris* and the *Phyſcus*, which laſt was an hundred feet wide, and over which they found a bridge. Near it ſtood the antient and populous city of *Opis* (ſince called *Seleucia*), where they were met by a *Perſian* ſatrap, who was a natural brother of *Artaxerxes* and *Cyrus*, and was marching to the aſſiſtance of the former, at the head of a numerous army, which had been drawn out of the cities of *Suſa* and *Ecbatane*; but ſtopped to ſee the *Greek* forces paſs by him. *Clearchus*, who was at their head, made them march two and two, and halted now-and-then with his vanguard, in order to make his army appear more numerous; and the *Perſian* ſatrap was highly taken with the ſight. From thence they marched about thirty paraſangs more in ſix days, through a deſert part of *Media*, and came at length to ſome rich and fertile valleys, which were the appennage of *Paryſatis* the queen-mother; and theſe *Tiſſaphernes*, who never loved that princeſs, ſuffered to be plundered by them of every thing but ſlaves. Here having refreſhed themſelves, they continued their march through the *Median* deſerts, keeping ſtill the *Tigris* on their left, without meeting with any towns, except the large and opulent city of *Cœnæ*, which they paſſed by on the firſt day of their march, and, at the end of four more, came to the banks of the river *Zabatus*, where they halted three days [c] (G).

March thro' the Median deſerts.

[c] XENOPHON. ubi ſupra, lib. ii. paſſ.

(E) *Sitace*, or, according to *Stephen* of *Byzantium*, *Sitace*, was the capital of a province in *Aſſyria*, called from it *Sitacene*, ſituate on the direct road between *Suſa* and *Babylon* (8), and of a conſiderable extent on the north of *Media*. *Sitace* ſtood fifteen ſtades from the *Tigris*, and in the neighbourhood of *Babylon*, and mount *Zagrus*. *Pliny*, ſpeaking of the laudanum of *Perſis*, affirms, that it grew on that mount, on the confines of the *Sitacean* territories (9). It is very probable, that *Sitace* is the very ſame that is called *Sita*, by *Diodorus Siculus*. This being the firſt city that is mentioned in his account of his retreat, we thought it neceſſary to ſettle its ſituation, as well as we could, from the authors above-named.

(F) This was rightly judged, all things conſidered; but they found ſtill greater reaſon to ſuſpect this meſſenger, when, upon *Clearchus* aſking him of what extent the country was between thoſe two arms of the *Tigris*, he anſwered, that it was very large, and contained many great and conſiderable cities, beſides a multitude of villages: ſo that they rightly concluded it to be an artifice of *Tiſſaphernes*, from an apprehenſion of the *Greeks* ſettling in that iſland, which was defended on one ſide by the *Tigris*, and on the other by the great canals; and where the country was rich and fertile, large and populous, and might ſerve them as a retreat, if they ſhould make war againſt the *Perſian* king. Beſides, had it been a real meſſage from *Ariæus*, it would rather have been diſpatched to *Menon* the *Theſſalian*, who was his intimate friend, than either to *Clearchus* or *Proxenus*, whom he knew to be too diffident to give credit to it. This bridge was of a conſiderable length, being ſupported by twenty ſeven large boats, and wide and ſtrong in proportion.

(G) This river, which our author ſays was four hundred feet wide, and at ſome ſmall diſtance from the *Tigris* (1), is ſuppoſed by ſome to be the ſame with the *Zaba*, mentioned by *Cedrenus* and *Caliſtus* (2), but whether the greater or leſſer of that name, is ſtill undetermined.

(8) *Strabo, lib.* xvi. *See alſo Ptolem. lib.* vi. *c.* 1. *Plin. lib.* vi. *c.* 27. (9) *Plin. lib.* xii. *c.* 17.
(1) *Cyriacor. lib.* ii. *c.* 3. (2) *Vide Ortel theſaur.*

THEIR mutual diffidence ſtill reigning, though without any act of treachery on the *Perſian* ſide, *Clearchus*, who feared the conſequences of it, took the fatal reſolution of going himſelf to confer with *Tiſſaphernes*, and to put him in mind of the oaths which had paſſed between them, and of the dreadful puniſhment that would attend the infringement of them. He went on, with obſerving to him of what great ſervice the *Greeks* might be to him in the ſuppreſſing of the *Myſians*, *Piſidians*, and other nations, particularly the *Egyptians*, who were ever diſturbing the tranquillity of thoſe provinces that were now put under his government; aſſuring him, that their forces, which were the fitteſt for ſuch ſervices, would be the moſt ready to engage in it, not only as auxiliaries, but likewiſe in grateful return for the obligations they ſhould then juſtly owe to him as their deliverer; and concluded his ſpeech with words to this effect: "When I "conſider all theſe things, I am ſo much ſurpriſed at your diffidence of us, that I would "gladly know who it is that could inſpire you with it, or induce you to think the "*Greeks* capable of any ſiniſter deſigns againſt you." To this the *Perſian* ſatrap, affecting the ſame open frankneſs, and willingneſs of extinguiſhing theſe dangerous jealouſies, anſwered, That he was highly pleaſed with his ſpeech, and the wiſe ſtep he had taken of reviving their mutual confidence. He took occaſion, in his turn, to obſerve to him, that, as all the deſigns they could poſſibly form againſt the *Perſians* would infallibly fall doubly upon themſelves, their whole ſafety only depended on their friendſhip and fidelity: "For (continued he) had we any *ill intention* againſt you, "how eaſily could we put it in execution? Are not our forces ſtrong and numerous "enough to ſurpriſe and deſtroy you? How many ſtrong paſſes are there in your way "to *Greece*, where we could, with eaſe and ſafety, ſtop your progreſs? And, if this "would not do, how eaſily could we famiſh you, by burning all ſorts of proviſion "before you? And is it to be ſuppoſed, that, having ſo many eaſy ways in our "power of deſtroying you, we ſhould chooſe that only one which would be moſt de-"trimental to us, and expoſe us, by ſuch perfidy, to the hatred and reſentment of the "gods? Since therefore I have hitherto treated you in a different way than was in my "power to do, aſſure yourſelves that I did it with a deſign to convince you of my "fidelity to, and confidence in you; and that, as *Cyrus* had formerly been ſupported "by you in his march, I might alſo, by the ſame faithful troops, be conducted back "to my government. You have reminded me of the many ſervices I may expect "from you at the end of our journey; but there is one main one you have omitted: it "is the peculiar prerogative of the king to wear his tiara upright; but he, who ſhall "then have the diſpoſal of your forces, may have it in his power to do ſo, whenever "he ſhall think fit."

Jealouſy between the two camps.

Clearchus's *conference with* Tiſſaphernes.

His treacherous anſwer to him.

CLEARCHUS, being now fully ſatisfied of his ſincerity, and that theſe miſunderſtandings had been raiſed by ill-affected perſons, agreed with him, that they deſerved to be very ſeverely puniſhed, and engaged to bring to him, by the next day, ſome of the chief officers of his army; at which time *Tiſſaphernes* promiſed to let him know, whether they were thoſe that had accuſed him of having treacherous deſigns againſt *Clearchus*. As ſoon as *Clearchus* was got to his *Greeks*, he began to extol *Tiſſaphernes*'s fidelity, and bitterly to inveigh againſt thoſe, that had been the authors of theſe jealouſies and miſrepreſentations, vowing, that he would have them all confronted, and their perfidy puniſhed as it deſerved. Accordingly, he would have carried the greateſt part of the *Grecian* chiefs to *Tiſſaphernes*, had he not been ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the whole council, who unanimouſly inſiſted on the danger of truſting the *Perſian* ſo far, and of putting the lives of ſo many illuſtrious chiefs into the power of that treacherous ſatrap. However, *Clearchus*, naturally hot and imperious, ſo far gained his point, that four of them, and twenty ſubalterns, were induced to accompany him; and theſe were eſcorted by two hundred ſoldiers, who went with him, under pretence of buying ſome proviſions. They had no ſooner reached *Tiſſaphernes*'s pavilion, than *Clearchus*, with the other four *Greek* chiefs, to wit, *Proxenus* a *Bœotian*, *Menon* a *Theſſalian*, *Agias* an *Arcadian*, and *Socrates* an *Athenian*, were conducted in, and, upon the ſignal given, were all five immediately ſeized; whilſt the twenty ſubalterns, who ſtaid without, were inhumanly butchered on the ſpot, and the two hundred ſoldiers cut in pieces by the *Perſian* cavalry. The *Greeks*, from their camp, could eaſily deſcry ſome extraordinary commotion in that of the *Perſians*; but could neither know what it was, nor what cauſed it, till *Nicarchus*, an *Arcadian* ſoldier, who had been wounded in the belly, came, bearing his bowels in his hands, and acquainted them with all that had paſſed. Upon hearing the dreadful news, they ran, in the utmoſt ſurprize and confuſion,

Clearchus's *ill-fated confidence.*

Seized by Tiſſaphernes.

Subalterns butchered.

fuſion, to their arms, expecting to be forthwith attacked by the whole *Perſian* army. They had juſt ranged themſelves in battalia, when they p rceived *Ariæus*, with *Artheaſus* and *Mithridates*, coming towards them, at the head of three hundred *Perſian* troops clad in armour. The former of theſe, deſirous to take the advantage of the conſternation he ſaw them in to make them lay down their arms, ſent to deſire the *Greek* chiefs that were left, or thoſe who had ſucceeded *Clearchus*, and his unfortunate collegues, to come forward: upon which *Cleanor* and *Sophænetus* immediately advanced, followed by *Xenophon*, who came to inform himſelf of the fate of his friend *Proxenus*. As ſoon as they were come within hearing, *Ariæus* ſaid to them, "*Cle-*
"*archus*, O ye *Greeks*, having been found guilty of perjury and treaſon, hath been
"puniſhed with death; and *Menon* and *Proxenus*, who diſcovered his deſigns, are
"honoured and rewarded. As for you, the king commands you to deliver up your
"arms to him; for his they are, as having belonged to *Cyrus*, who was his vaſſal."

Ariæus's meſſage to the chiefs.

To this the brave *Cleanor*, an *Orchomenian*, anſwered, in the name of the reſt, "O
"moſt perfidious *Ariæus*, and the reſt of *Cyrus*'s faithleſs friends, have you no regard
"to either gods or men? And, after having plighted your faith to us by the moſt ſo-
"lemn oaths, do you now go to deliver us up to *Tiſſaphernes*, the moſt impious and
"deceitful of all men?" To this the traitor coolly replied, "That it plainly appear-
"ed, that *Clearchus* was forming ſome ill deſigns againſt *Tiſſaphernes*, *Orontas*, and
"the reſt of the *Perſian* ſatraps." Upon which *Xenophon* rejoined, "If *Clearchus*
"hath ſo far perjured himſelf, he is juſtly puniſhed; but ſend back *Proxenus* and *Me-*
"*non* to us, who are both your benefactors, and our commanders; for, being our
"friends, as well as yours, they will be the beſt able to adviſe that which is fitteſt to be
"done by both." To this the Barbarian made no anſwer; but, having conferred a good while with his collegues, they all returned to their camp; and the four *Greek* generals, whom *Tiſſaphernes* had cauſed to be ſeized, were ſent by him to the king; who ordered them to be put to death [d] (H).

Clearchus *and his collegues put to death.*

THE reader may better imagine, than pen deſcribe, the conſternation the *Greeks* were in, when they came to reflect on their preſent diſmal ſituation; their beſt chiefs betrayed and butchered by the vileſt treachery; themſelves not only at ſuch a vaſt diſtance from *Greece*, but in view, and, in all likelihood, in the power, of a bloody

The ſad ſituation of the Greeks.

[d] Lib. ii. ad fin.

(H) This was the fatal iſſue of *Clearchus*'s too great credulity. *Xenophon* here only tells us, that they were beheaded, tho' ſome of his ſpeeches upon another occaſion, ſuch as one we have quoted in a former note, ſeem to intimate as if they had been tortured to death, in the moſt inhuman manner. *Clearchus* is allowed to have been one of the greateſt warriors of his age, and the fondeſt man of the martial trade; by which, however, he rather exhauſted than filled his coffers, being more laviſh of his money, in procuring men and arms, than the greateſt libertine after the moſt favourite pleaſures. His paſſion, as well as fitneſs for it, appears by his forwardneſs in expoſing himſelf to dangers, and attacking the enemy either by night or day, as well as by his conduct, and ſingular calmneſs, under the greateſt difficulties, which he viewed with ſuch unconcern, that his ſoldiers were ever ready to follow him through them; and were never better pleaſed than when he led them to ſuch dangerous exploits. They were wont to obſerve, on ſuch occaſions, his eyes ſparkling with fire, as if he were juſt then ſpreading fire and ſword; and, on the next moment, caſting ſuch ſerene and ſmiling looks, as filled them with confidence and bravery.

He was ſuch a maſter of the art of commanding, that few men exceeded him in it; and always took care to have his army well ſupplied with all neceſſaries; but, at the ſame time, had ſuch a majeſtic mien, ſtern look, and harſh voice, that a look of him ſtruck them with greater awe than the ſight of an enemy; and, indeed, he ſometimes puniſhed them with ſuch ſeverity, that he afterwards repented of it: ſo that, though they readily obeyed his commands, and followed him through the greateſt dangers, yet, when an opportunity offered of ſerving under any other commanders, they ſeldom failed of embracing it: ſo that thoſe who were obliged to ſerve under him, rather obeyed through fear than good will. This was his character as a commander; but it is obſerved of him, that he was unwilling to be commanded by others. He was about fifty years of age when he died.

Three of his unfortunate collegues, to wit, *Proxenus*, *Agias*, and *Socrates*, would have made a conſiderable figure in this expedition, if they had not been eclipſed by his ſuperior abilities: the former, eſpecially, was remarkable for his ſingular modeſty and integrity; which laſt, tho' it made him beloved by men of virtue and honour, yet expoſed him too much to the treachery of deſigning men. He died in the thirtieth, and *Agias* and *Socrates* in the fortieth year of their ages. As for *Menon* the *Theſſalian*, though he underwent the ſame fate with the other four, yet he was a perſon of a quite different character; proud, ambitious, and covetous, falſe and treacherous; and, in a word, one that ſtuck at nothing, though ever ſo baſe, to gain his ends. The reader may ſee a further diſplay of their characters, in *Xenophon* (3), whilſt we content ourſelves with this ſhort ſketch, to avoid running too great a length.

(3) *Ubi ſupra, in fin. lib.* ii.

and

and perfidious enemy, without friends, allies, proſpect of ſuccour, or even generals to command them; ſurrounded by as many enemies as there were men, and hemmed in by rivers and mountains, which now appeared to them as ſo many unſurmountable barriers. The only things that were left to them to depend upon were their arms, and their valour; but the former they expected every minute to be forced from them by the treacherous *Perſians*; after which, the latter, if they had any left, would ſerve them but in little ſtead, as *Xenophon* juſtly obſerved to *Phalinus*, on the ſame occaſion: ſo that they had every thing to fear, and little mercy to expect, from an exaſperated monarch, who could not but reſent their late tender of his crown to *Ariæus* [e], more than all the hoſtilities they had committed againſt him before. And accordingly, our author tells us [f], that they had, in ſome meaſure, given themſelves up to deſpair, even to the neglecting of their ſuſtenance, and of keeping up their watch with their uſual vigilance. Theſe conſiderations, which were ſtill more lively and pungent in our *Athenian* volunteer, having at length rouſed him, about the middle of that diſmal night, to conſult with the remaining chiefs about the propereſt means for avoiding the impending ſtorm, gave birth to that meeting, and noble ſpeech, which we have had occaſion to mention at the beginning of this relation [g].

As there was no time to be loſt, the reſt of the generals and captains were immediately ſummoned from their reſpective quarters to that where the heavy-armed men lay encamped; and they accordingly appeared, to the number of about one hundred, to whom *Hieronymus* the *Elean*, who was the eldeſt, addreſſed himſelf in words to this effect: "We have thought proper, gentlemen, to convene you at this time of the "night, to conſider with you of ſome expedient to extricate ourſelves, if poſſible, "from our preſent ſad ſituation; and deſire *Xenophon* to impart to you what we have "but juſt now heard from him." Upon which he ſpoke to them as follows: *Xenophon calls a council.*

"We are ſenſible, that the king, and *Tiſſaphernes*, have cauſed as many of us as *His ſpeech.*
"they could to be ſeized, and are no leſs deſirous to get us into the ſame ſnare. It
"therefore behoves us to take all proper means, not only to prevent our falling into
"their hands, but even, if poſſible, to get them into ours. The eyes of our army
"are fixed upon you: they will all loſe their courage, if you appear diſheartened;
"but, if you rouſe them up to their duty, you need not doubt their following your
"example. You are their ſuperiors, their generals, and guides; and as, in time of
"peace, you have the advantage of them both in riches and dignities, your honour
"requires it of you to ſhew, that you excel them alſo in war, both in wiſdom, cou-
"rage, and even, if need be, in labour alſo. Our firſt ſtep therefore, in my opinion,
"at this preſent juncture, ſhould be to fill up all our vacancies, and to chooſe proper
"generals and captains in the room of thoſe that are ſlain. There is no hope of ſuc-
"ceeding in any thing without chiefs, and much leſs in war; for, as diſcipline pre-
"ſerves an army, ſo the want of that is often the bane of it: and, as ſoon as you have
"appointed fit generals over it, I think it highly neceſſary to aſſemble, and ſpirit up
"the reſt of the ſoldiery. You cannot but have obſerved how dejectedly they repaired
"to their quarters, and how heavy they appear upon their guard; ſo that we can
"expect no ſervice from them while they are in this deſponding condition; but, if
"you can divert their thoughts from the dangers that threaten them, to the means of
"avoiding them, you will find them quite other men. You know, that it is neither
"number nor ſtrength that adjudges the victory; but that the ſide, which, under the
"protection of the gods, behaves with the greateſt reſolution, is generally ſure of it.
"I have alſo obſerved, that thoſe who, in war, moſt dread to hazard their lives,
"commonly meet with an ignominious death; whilſt thoſe, who look upon death as
"common to all, but glorious to the brave, generally live the longer and happier,
"and often to a good old age. Upon all theſe conſiderations, I think this a proper
"juncture for us to act with a becoming intrepidity, in order to inſpire our men to do
"the ſame."

Thus ſpoke the young *Athenian* hero, whoſe courage and wiſdom were greatly applauded by all, but eſpecially by *Cheiriſophus*, the *Lacedæmonian* chief; upon which each body was ordered to chooſe a chief, who was to be introduced directly into the aſſembly. All which was done, without loſs of time; and *Timaſion* the *Dardanian* was nominated to ſucceed *Clearchus*, and *Xenophon* his friend *Proxenus*: *Xanthicles* the *Achaian* *His advice applauded and followed.*

[e] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. ii. p. 139. [f] Lib. iii. c. 2, & ſeq. [g] See before, p. 118, 119. (B).

Achaian was choſen in the room of *Socrates*; *Cleanor*, an *Orchomenian*, in the room of *Agias*; and *Philyſius* in that of *Menon*. By this time day-light began to appear, and *Tolmides* the crier having aſſembled the ſoldiers, and the guard being ſet in their poſts, *Cheiriſophus* acquainted the army with the danger they were in, from the treachery of the *Perſians*; and in a ſhort, but pathetic ſpeech, exhorted them not to be caſt down, but ſtrive either to extricate themſelves by a glorious victory, or by an honourable death; leſt, ſaid he, in the cloſe of it, if we ſhould fall into their hands, we be made to ſuffer ſuch things as I hope the gods keep only in ſtore for them.

Cleanor's counſel.

HE was ſeconded by *Cleanor*, who began with a diſplay of the king's, *Tiſſaphernes's*, and *Ariæus*'s treachery and perjury, and with the manner in which they had trepanned *Clearchus*, and his four collegues, into their butchering hands; whom therefore he hoped the powers above would not ſuffer to go unpuniſhed. He concluded with telling them, that, in their preſent diſtreſs, it behoved them carefully to avoid falling into the ſame ſnare, and to fight manfully, and ſubmit the event to the gods.

Xenophon's addreſs.

XENOPHON ſtood up next, who, to inſpire the army with freſh courage, appeared in a dreſs that was more fit for a conqueror than a combatant, but which, he ſaid, would equally ſuit him, whether he conquered or died; and, with an intrepid air, ſpoke to them, to this effect: "What *Cleanor* hath ſaid of the treachery and perjury "of the *Perſians*, you are no ſtrangers to; and it would be baſe and ſhameful in us to "truſt any longer to, or treat with them, after their horrid butchery of our five brave "generals: but if we reſolve to revenge their deaths with the points of our ſwords, in "whatever ſhape we wage war againſt them, we have reaſon to expect, that the gods "will declare on our ſide, and crown it with ſucceſs." He had hardly ſpoken out theſe laſt words, when one of the ſoldiers, who ſtood near him, fell a ſneezing; which being taken for a good omen by the whole army, *Jupiter* was immediately adored by all, as the gracious author of it. After which *Xenophon* went on with obſerving to them, that ſince that god had declared on their ſide, they ought forthwith to engage themſelves to make him ſuitable returns, as ſoon as they were got to a place of ſafety. He then deſired all that were of his mind to hold up their hands; which was complied with by them all, and the vows were followed with ſinging of the *pæan*.

A good omen.

Reaſons for a brave retreat.

AFTER this *Xenophon* went on with his ſpeech, in which he forgot nothing that could inſpire them with intrepidity, and with a reſolution to make a ſafe and glorious retreat into their native country, or to die in the attempt. He reminded them, that the gods were not only bound in juſtice to aſſiſt them in it, but to puniſh their enemies for their perfidy; and gave them ſeveral inſtances, in which his countrymen the *Athenians* had, with an handful of brave and valiant men, cut in pieces whole armies of the *Perſians* (1); and mentioned particularly the late victory they had gained, in favour of *Cyrus*: "And will you, ſaid he, act leſs valiantly now for yourſelves, than you "did then for him, eſpecially after you have been witneſs of the enemy's cowardice, "and how they fled from you, at the firſt onſet? As for *Cyrus*'s daſtardly troops, "which have ſo baſely abandoned us, did not you ſee them give way, in the late "action? and are not ſuch ſhameful runaways rather to be wiſhed in the enemy's "army than in ours? I own we have no cavalry to oppoſe theirs; but then let us re-"member, that ten thouſand horſe are no more than ten thouſand men; and that in "battle men are ſeldom killed by the mettle of an horſe. And, I think, we can fight "more firmly upon our feet, than they upon their prancing and ſcared horſes; the "only advantage of which is, that they can flee with greater ſpeed upon them. If "you think it a grievance, that we ſhall no longer have *Tiſſaphernes* for our guide, "and the king to ſupply us with proviſions, let it be conſidered how much ſafer it "will be for us to be conducted by men of our own chooſing, than by ſuch a vile "traitor; men that will ſhare with us in the ſame dangers, and whoſe lives will be "our ſecurity for their faithfulneſs: and, as for proviſions, will it not be better for us "to get them by our valour, and to be our own carvers, than to buy them at ſuch "extravagant and diſadvantageous rates as we have done, conſidering the lowneſs of our "caſh?

(1) One ſingular inſtance he there reminds them of; to wit, of the vaſt army of the *Perſians*, and their allies, who came to invade their capital, and were bravely repulſed: ſo that the *Athenians* having made a vow to ſacrifice as many goats to *Diana*, as they ſlew of the enemy, they could not find enough: whereupon they reſolved to ſacrifice five hundred every year: which cuſtom, he tells them, was ſtill obſerved, in memory of that ſignal victory (4).

(4) *Lib.* iii. *p.* 201. *edit.* *Hutchinſon.*

" caſh? If you are frighted at the difficulties of repaſſing the rivers, by what we have " already experienced, I would have you conſider how probable it is, that the bar- " barians have purpoſely miſled us: however, at the worſt, it is but tracing them up " to their ſources; and there you may ford them, without going up to the knees in " water. But if all theſe ſhould fail us, we ought not to be diſheartened: we are not " inferior in bravery to the *Myſians*, *Piſidians*, and *Lycanians*, who have ſhaken off " the *Perſian* yoke, who are in quiet poſſeſſion of ſome of the fineſt provinces of the " *Perſian* empire, and have their fortified towns, and make frequent inroads into all " the neighbouring countries. After all, I know not whether it be not impolitic in " us to betray ſuch earneſtneſs after our native country; and whether it would not be " more wiſely done to order our matters as if we deſigned to ſettle ourſelves here. I " am ſure, that if the *Myſians* would conſent to leave their preſent abode, the king " would be ſo far from refuſing them proper and faithful guides to conduct them, that " he would even level the roads, and furniſh them with carriages, if they inſiſted " upon it; and I doubt not but he would as readily do the ſame for us, if he once ſaw " us diſpoſed to ſtay here: but I am afraid, that, in this caſe, our living in plenty " and eaſe, and the converſation of the beautiful *Mede* and *Perſian* women, would " ſoon make us forget our native home; and am therefore of opinion, that it is better " for us to return to *Greece*; and let our countrymen know, that it is their fault they " are no richer, ſince they might ſend all their poor hither, to be glutted with wealth; " for this, gentlemen, is the reward of victory." *Xenophon* thus proceeded:

Order of the march.

" THE next thing I have to propoſe to you is, in what manner we may march, with " the greateſt ſecurity; and, if neceſſary, fight with the greateſt advantage. And, " firſt of all, I think we ought to burn all our carriages, the care of which will but " retard our marches: the ſame I think of our tents and baggage, of which we ſhould " only preſerve that which is moſt neceſſary, either for war, or for our proviſions, that " we may march on the more regularly. One ſucceſsful victory will indemnify us; " for the conquered, and what belongs to them, will be ours of courſe. One main " point I muſt by no means omit: You know, that the *Perſians* did not dare to attack " us, whilſt we were under the conduct of ſuch experienced generals as we then had; " but ſince they have ſeized and butchered them, and think us under a kind of anarchy, " they will conclude, that we may be eaſily conquered by them: for this reaſon I " think it highly neceſſary, that our preſent generals be more cautious and vigilant, " and the ſoldiers more obedient and ſubmiſſive to them; which may be effectually " done, if you make an order, that every one of you that are preſent ſhall aſſiſt the " commander in puniſhing the ſtubborn and diſobedient. By this means the enemy " will find, that, inſtead of one *Clearchus*, we have recovered a thouſand, who will " not ſuffer a man to neglect his duty. If what I have propoſed meets with your " approbation, ratify it immediately, and let it be put in execution before the enemy " appear. And if any of you, though a private centinel, hath any thing better to " offer, let him do it without fear; for our preſervation is a general concern (K)."

Approved of by the whole army;

HE was ſilent; and *Cheiriſophus* only ſaid, that, if there ſhould be any neceſſity to add any thing to what *Xenophon* had propoſed, it might be done afterwards: " At " preſent, ſaid he, let us who are of his opinion, ratify what he hath laid before us." Upon which they all held up their hands; and *Xenophon* concluded his ſpeech, in words to this effect: " It is now evident, that we ought to march to ſome place where we " may ſupply ourſelves with proviſions; and I am informed, that there are many rich " villages, not above twenty ſtades from hence. Should the enemy attempt to ha- " raſs us in our march, it will be only like cowardly dogs, that bark after thoſe that " flee, but run away from thoſe that face them. Poſſibly therefore we ſhall retreat " with greater ſafety, if we diſpoſe the heavy-armed men and baggage in an hollow " ſquare: let therefore each man take his poſt before the enemy appear, that, when " they approach us, he may have nothing to do but to engage them. Let *Cheiri-* " *ſophus* the *Lacedæmonian* command the front; let the two eldeſt generals com-

(K) We have contented ourſelves with giving our readers the ſubſtance of this noble ſpeech, rather than a full tranſlation of it, which would have carried us too far; and by this we have alſo avoided entering into certain critical niceties, which, however proper in a regular verſion of this celebrated author, would not have been ſo in a work of this nature. At the ſame time, we hope our *Engliſh* readers will not be diſpleaſed with this freſh inſtance of the merit and abilities of a captain, to whoſe eloquence, as well as wiſdom, conduct, and bravery, the chief ſucceſs of this great tranſaction was owing.

" mand the flanks; and *Timafion* and me, who are the youngeft, for the prefent take " charge of the rear. We may hereafter find occafion to improve this difpofition; " and, if any of you can now offer any thing better, let him do it, or elfe approve of " mine, by holding up his hands:" Which they all did; and then he faid: " You " are now to depart, and execute what is determined. Whoever among you is de- " firous to return to his family, let him remember, that fighting bravely is the only " means to effect it: whoever hath a mind to live, let him endeavour to conquer: if " any of you covets wealth, let him ftrive to overcome; for the victorious not only " preferves his own, but is intitled to what belongs to the conquered."

and put in execution.

XENOPHON had no fooner ended, than they all went about their feveral works, burnt their carriages, tents, and fuperfluous baggage, and were juft fat down to dinner, when *Mithridates* appeared, with about thirty horfe, and defired to fpeak to the *Grecian* chiefs. This man, who had formerly ferved under *Cyrus*, was fent by the king, as a fit perfon to found their refolutions; and he, pretending the fame friendfhip to them that he ever had, told them, that if he found them upon any falutary expedient, he would bring all his men with him, and join them in it. After a fhort conſultation, *Cheirifophus*, in the name of the reft, told him, that their defign was to make as fafe and peaceable a retreat as they could; but that, if they met with any oppofition, they were refolved to fight their way through it. *Mithridates* tried in vain to perfuade them, that fuch an enterprize could not be carried on againft the king's conſent: his arguments rendered him the more fufpected to them. Upon which they immediately refolved, that from that time they would never admit of any farther treaty or parley with the *Perfians*, till they were got out of their dominions (L).

Mithridates *appears.*

Paſs the Zabatus.

As foon as they had dined, they began their march, and croffed over the river *Zabatus*, in the order that had been propofed by *Xenophon*; and their phalanx, which faced on the four fides, feemed to bid defiance to the enemy. They had not gone far, before the *Perfian* fatrap appeared again, at the head of two hundred horfe, and four hundred light archers and flingers. They advanced, at firft, as friends; but, as foon as they were got within fhot, they began to difcharge a volley of arrows and ftones; which greatly annoyed the *Grecian* rear, whofe bows did not carry fo far as the *Perfians*. *Xenophon*, feeing this, fell upon them with his rear; upon which they betook themfelves to flight, and, being light-armed, eafily kept out of his reach: neither did their cavalry, who could fhoot backwards from their horfes, fuffer the *Greeks* to feparate too far from the main army, as it had wounded many of thofe who were moft forward in the purfuit; fo that all the efforts of the fatrap ferved only to retard that day's march, which did not exceed twenty-five ftades. However, they reached, towards the evening, the villages which *Xenophon* had mentioned to them; and there *Cheirifophus* took the liberty of reproving him for having ventured to leave the main body to purfue the enemy, and expofing himfelf, without any probability of hurting them.

Annoyed by the Perfians.

Xenophon's *overfight;*

XENOPHON, who was for turning this mifchance to advantage, inftead of palliating it, readily owned he had been overfeen: " But, added he, we have reafon to thank " the gods, that, inftead of their doing us any harm, they have only fhewed us what " we ftill wanted, in order the better to fecure our retreat; for, fince the *Perfians* " could fo eafily harafs us, and yet keep out of the reach of our darts, it plainly " points out to us the neceffity, that we fhould furnifh ourfelves with fome horfe, to " give them chace, whenever they appear again. We have among us a good number " of *Rhodians*, who are much better flingers than the Barbarians, and can throw " leaden balls at them, inftead of ftones: let us, faid he, form them into a body, and " add fuch others of our men as are dextrous at that weapon. I have fome horfes " among our baggage, and there are fome more left by *Clearchus*, and others taken " from the enemy; let us pick out the beft of them, and form them into a fquadron, " which may, in their turn, annoy the enemy in their flight." His propofal was readily agreed to; and that very night two hundred flingers liſted themfelves into that

and advice.

A fquadron of horfe formed.

(L) The *Greek* chiefs had a double reafon for interdicting all future commerce with the *Perfians*, fince thefe turned them into a double advantage againft them; the one to pry into their councils and refolutions, and the other to inviegle their foldiers away: and, even from this laft conference with the *Perfian* fatrap, *Xenophon* tells us, that *Nicarchus*, an *Arcadian* captain, deferted over to them that very night, with about twenty of his men (5).

(5) *Ibid. p.* 216.

fquadron,

ſquadron, and the next morning fifty of them were mounted and provided with cuiraſſes; and *Lycius*, the ſon of *Polyſtratus*, an *Athenian*, was appointed to command over them. This new corps proved not only very neceſſary to repel the attacks of the *Perſians*, but even, at this juncture, to facilitate their march through a narrow valley, formed by a torrent, through which they were to paſs the next day, and where they expected to have been oppoſed by the enemy. *Mithridates*, however, did not appear till they had got out of it. He was then at the head of one thouſand horſe, and four hundred archers; and, highly fluſhed with his late ſucceſs, which he had greatly magnified to *Tiſſaphernes*, had engaged, with thoſe forces, to deliver up the *Greeks* to him. As ſoon therefore as theſe had advanced about eight ſtades beyond the valley, they ſaw him coming againſt them, at the head of his ſmall army, expecting to have made a diſcharge upon them, without expoſing himſelf to theirs. He had juſt begun to caſt ſome darts upon them, when *Lycius*'s horſemen, at the ſignal given by the trumpet, fell furiouſly on the *Perſians*, who were ſo terrified at it, that they fled, with all poſſible ſpeed, to the valley. In this purſuit the *Perſians* loſt many of their foot, and about eighteen of their horſe. The *Greeks*, at the ſame time, mangled the bodies of the ſlain, to create the greater horror in the enemy. *Defeat the* Perſians.

THE *Grecians*, having thus put the enemy to flight, continued their march, and came, at the cloſe of the day, to the banks of the *Tigris*, where ſtood a large uninhabited city, called *Lariſſa* (M); and on the next, after a ſix leagues march, came to an old uninhabited caſtle, which ſtood near the town of *Meſpila*, likewiſe inhabited formerly by the *Medes* (N). On the next they marched four paraſangs, during which they ſaw *Mithridates*, at the head of his own cavalry, to which he had now joined the troops of *Orontas*, the king's ſon-in-law, and a body of Barbarians, which had ſerved under *Cyrus*, beſides the army which the king's brother had brought to his aſſiſtance, and ſome other forces, which he had obtained from that monarch; all which together formed a conſiderable army. Some of them, as he approached, he placed againſt the *Grecian* rear, and others againſt their flanks; and, without venturing to attack them in form, contented himſelf with making a diſcharge of his darts and ſtones: whereupon the *Rhodians* and *Cretans*, who were diſpoſed in platoons, and much more expert at their bows and ſlings, let fly whole vollies at them, with ſuch ſucceſs, that both *Tiſſaphernes*, and the other diviſions, were glad to retire out of their reach: ſo that the *Greeks* continued their march the remaining part of the day, without any farther ſkirmiſhes, the *Perſians* keeping ſtill at a great diſtance behind them (O). *Tiſſaphernes's army increaſed; but repulſed;*

(M) *Bochart* is of opinion, that the right name of this antient city was *Reſen*, the ſame that is ſaid by *Moſes* to have been built by *Aſſur*, between *Nineveh* and *Calah* (6); and that the *Greeks* aſking what ruins thoſe were of the inhabitants, they anſwered, לרסן, *Lareſſen*; that is, of *Reſen*, the L being the article of the genitive caſe, which not being rightly underſtood, they ſoftened it into *Lariſſa* (7). His reaſon for that conjecture is, that no *Greeks* ſettled ſo far as theſe *Aſſyrian* parts till the time of *Alexander's* conqueſts, which did not happen till long after *Xenophon*'s death. Others, however, make no ſcruple to ſtile this city an antient colony of the *Theſſalians*, as its *Greek* name imports, and as ſome of the learned men in *Alexander*'s army diſcovered afterwards, from more authentic monuments.

As for the city itſelf, it was two leagues in circuit; and *Xenophon* adds, that it had been antiently inhabited by the *Medes*. The walls were twenty-five feet in breadth, and one hundred in height, built of brick; and the plinth of ſtone, and twenty feet high. It made the greateſt reſiſtance of any againſt the *Perſians*, till an eclipſe of the ſun frighted the inhabitants into a ſurrender. Near the walls of the city ſtood a large pyramid, tho' different from the taſte of thoſe we have deſcribed in treating of *Egypt* (8), and vaſtly inferior in bigneſs, being only one hundred feet ſquare, and two hundred in height; and into that ſtructure ran a great number of Barbarians for ſhelter, from the neighbouring villages, at the coming of the *Greek* army.

(N) The ruins of this city ſtill retained a great deal of its antient grandeur, and ſufficiently ſhewed the magnificence of the *Median* empire. The walls of it were ſix leagues in circumference, fifty feet broad, and one hundred in height; and ſtood upon a plinth of fine blue poliſhed ſtone, beautifully variegated with ſhells, fifty feet thick, and as many in height. Here the *Median* queen is ſaid to have taken refuge, when that empire was invaded by the *Perſians*: it held out likewiſe a long and ſtubborn ſiege againſt them; and might, in all likelihood, have baffled all their force, had not the inhabitants, like thoſe of *Lariſſa*, been ſeized with an unaccountable panic, ſtruck into them, as they ſuppoſed, by *Jupiter*, which obliged them to ſurrender.

(O) Our author here obſerves, that the ſlings of the *Rhodians* carried farther, not only than thoſe of the *Perſians*, but even than moſt of their archers could ſling their arrows. The *Perſian* bows are long; ſo that, when their arrows were taken up, they proved of great ſervice to the *Cretans*, who continued returning them to them; and, taking a great elevation, could reach them at a greater diſtance. Beſides this, the *Greeks* found a good ſupply of bowſtrings, and of lead to caſt into balls, in thoſe villages through which they paſſed; both which they ſucceſsfully employed againſt the enemy (9).

(6) *Gen.* x. 12. (7) *Phalrg. lib.* iv. *c.* 23. (8) *Univerſ. hiſt. vol.* i. *p.* 183, *& ſeq.* (9) Ἀνάβασ. *ubi ſup.*

HERE they ſtaid that day, and the next, to ſupply themſelves with proviſions, of which they found great plenty, as well as with other neceſſaries, mentioned in the laſt note; and, on the third, continued their march through an open country, whilſt *Tiſſaphernes* followed them afar off, without ſhewing any inclination to attack them. However, the *Greek* chiefs found reaſon to alter their method of marching in an equilateral ſquare, which they now ſaw was in no caſe a proper diſpoſition for a retreating army; and, upon ſeveral occaſions, might have expoſed them to the enemy's attacks, if they had had the courage to make any (P). They therefore reſolved to form ſix companies, of an hundred men each; theſe they divided into others of fifty each; and theſe again into others of twenty-five each; and appointed officers over them all. Theſe captains, when the wings cloſed upon a march, ſtaid behind ſo as not to diſorder the rear, and, at the ſame time, marched clear of the wings; and, when the ſides of the ſquare came again to be extended, filled up the centre, if the opening was narrow, with the companies of an hundred men each; if large, with thoſe of fifty; and, if larger ſtill, with thoſe of twenty-five: *ſo that the centre was always full.* Whenever, therefore, the army came to a defile or bridge, all confuſion was prevented by theſe officers bringing up the rear; and if a detachment was wanted upon any occaſion, theſe companies were always at hand.

THEY made four marches according to this diſpoſition, without meeting with any thing worth notice; and, on the fifth day, perceived a royal palace, and a number of villages about it: *the road to it lay over high hills,* that reached down from *the* mountain, under which ſtood one of thoſe villages. They marched over them without interruption from the enemy's cavalry, which, from the nature of the ground, could not act; but ſuffered very much from their infantry, which had poſted themſelves upon the tops of the hills, and haraſſed them exceedingly as they aſcended one hill, or deſcended another, their archers and ſlingers wounding great numbers of them; whilſt thoſe of the *Greeks*, not having room to extend themſelves, but being mixed with thoſe who guarded the baggage, became uſeleſs all that day. In this manner, the *Perſian* ſatraps continued, according to their uſual diſcipline, to drive their troops on towards the enemy; and, if the *Greeks* offered to advance towards them, they immediately retreated out of their reach, and, as ſoon as thoſe had rejoined the camp, ſet upon them afreſh: however, all theſe efforts did not hinder the *Grecian* army's march over three of thoſe hills; after which they came to a village, where the governor of the province kept his magazines of proviſions, ſuch as corn, barley, wine, meal, *&c.* Here they halted three days, not only to get themſelves a freſh ſupply, but likewiſe to take care of their many wounded (Q).

Annoyed by the Perſians.

ON the fourth day, as they deſcended into the next plain, *Tiſſaphernes*, with his army, overtook them; which obliged them to encamp at the next village they came to; they being unable any longer to maintain a running-fight, by reaſon of their wounded, or of thoſe who carried them and their arms. However, as they had encamped before the Barbarians could come up to the village, they ſoon let them know the difference between attacking them in their poſts, and haraſſing them in their march; ſo that *Tiſſaphernes* was forced again to retreat, and to keep to his uſual diſtance of ſixty ſtades from their camp, for fear of being ſurpriſed by them in the dead

(P) This inconveniency was more particularly found whenever the ſquare body came to a narrow road, to a defile between hills, or in paſſing over a bridge; at which times the wings, as our author rightly obſerves, were obliged to cloſe, and the heavy armed men conſequently, being forced out of their ranks, marched very uneaſily, being both ſqueezed too cloſe, and confuſed, and ſo became uſeleſs for want of keeping in right order.

On the other hand, when the wings came to extend themſelves again, the men who before were forced out of their ranks, muſt divide, and conſequently leave an opening in the centre, which could not but diſhearten thoſe who were thus expoſed, when the enemy was cloſe at their heels; to ſay nothing of the confuſion they commonly threw themſelves into in croſſing over a bridge, where every man was eager to go before another. We may add, that all theſe difficulties not only expoſed them to the enemy, which might one time or other induce them to attack them, but likewiſe greatly retarded their march; whereas this new diſpoſition was the moſt proper both to accelerate it, and to diſhearten the *Perſians* from attempting to obſtruct it. Some difficulties there are found in *Xenophon*'s text, on this new method, which we cannot enter into without going beyond our length; but theſe the curious will find ſufficiently cleared up by a late judicious tranſlator, to whom, for want of room, we ſhall refer them (1).

(Q) Our author ſays, they appointed eight phyſicians, or rather ſurgeons, to dreſs them; and that many of them were ſo deſperately wounded, that they were not able to march, but were carried by the reſt, who were too generous to leave them to the mercy of the Barbarians.

(1) *Spelman, vol.* i. *p.* 220.

of the night (R); and the *Greeks*, not thinking it expedient to purſue them, decamped alſo, and advanced about ſixty ſtades from them; inſomuch that they did not ſee each other either the next day, or the day after. On the fourth day they appeared on an eminence, on which they had taken care to poſt themſelves the night before, becauſe it commanded the road through which the *Greeks* muſt paſs. Hereupon *Cheiriſophus* ſent orders to *Xenophon* to come with his targeteers to the front. But he, being unwilling to leave the rear expoſed, came without them; and, obſerving that there was a paſſage to the top of the hill, above the enemy's poſt, offered himſelf to go, and diſlodge them thence; and, having received a reinforcement of targeteers from the front, and thoſe that were in the middle of the ſquare, began to lead them up the hill: they climbed it with ſuch ſwiftneſs, that it raiſed a great ſhout in both armies, each endeavouring to gain the top before the other. *Keep at a diſtance.*

It was on this occaſion, that *Xenophon* gave a ſignal inſtance of his moderation as well as bravery: "Come on, ſaid he, my brave ſoldiers; this is the laſt encounter we "ſhall have with the enemy, and which will ſoon open to us the way into *Greece*." Here he was ſmartly taken up by a *Sicyonian*, named *Soteridas*, who roundly told him, that he ſpoke at his eaſe, being on horſeback, whilſt he was quite foundered with lugging his ſhield. *Xenophon* no ſooner heard him than he leaped from his horſe; and, taking the ſhield in his hand, moved with double ſpeed up the hill, encouraging the reſt to follow him: which ſo exaſperated them againſt the *Sicyonian*, that they loaded him with ill language, and made him take up his ſhield again. *Xenophon* remounted his horſe, and led them on, till the craggineſs of the hill obliged him to diſmount afreſh, whilſt the *Greek* army from below encouraged him and his troops with their ſhouts; and, as ſoon as they had gained the top, they beheld with pleaſure the cowardly *Tiſſaphernes* and *Arieus* turning out of the road, and marching off with all the ſpeed they could. At the ſame time *Cheiriſophus* led his army down into the plain, and encamped for that night at a village, where they found plenty of all things, beſides ſome other villages, at a ſmall diſtance from the *Tigris*, all full of proviſions. Here they had, however, ſeveral of their men, who had ventured too far off to plunder, killed by the *Perſians*, whilſt *Tiſſaphernes* attempted to burn ſome of the more diſtant villages. *Xenophon's bravery and moderation.* *Puts the Perſians to flight.*

By this time *Xenophon* and his men had joined the *Greeks* in the plain; to whom he addreſſed himſelf as follows: "You ſee that the Barbarians, by the hoſtilities which "they commit, and which we have forborn, acknowlege us maſters of this country; "and I think, ſaid he to *Cheiriſophus*, that it would highly become us to free its poor "inhabitants from thoſe incendiaries." I am of your opinion (replied he); and I "think, that, if we ſet fire to it ourſelves, they will give over the ſooner." Notwithſtanding all this ſucceſs, every day made them feel ſome freſh difficulties: on the one hand, the plain before them was hemmed in by vaſt and inacceſſible mountains, and on the other by the *Tigris*, which was here ſo deep, that their longeſt pikes could not reach the bottom of it: there were no veſſels, or flat-bottomed boats, to be ſeen upon it, nor any poſſibility of throwing a bridge over it. At length came a *Rhodian* to them, who engaged to contrive a pontoon, upon which four thouſand men might be waſted over at once, provided they furniſhed him with ſuch things as he wanted, and gave him a talent for his reward. Being aſked, what materials he ſhould want; he anſwered, Only two thouſand leathern bags, which might be eaſily procured by flaying as many cattle, and blowing up their ſkins; which might be afterwards faſtened to each other with proper girts, and poiſed with ſtones let down into the water; and theſe being covered with faſcines and earth, to prevent the men ſlipping down, he engaged, that each bag would bear up two men, and ſo to ferry over four thouſand at one croſſing. This project ſeemed, indeed, very ingenious, and well contrived; the misfortune was, that there appeared ſome *Perſian* cavalry on the oppoſite ſhore, which would not fail of breaking all theſe meaſures: upon which the captains came to a reſolution of taking a quite contrary road from that they had gone, and of burning all the villages *Speech to the Greeks.* *New difficulties.*

(R) We ſhall not need to wonder at their keeping at ſuch diſtance from the *Greeks*, if we conſider the confuſion and danger, to which a ſurprize in the night would have expoſed ſuch a camp as theirs; for, as our author obſerves, their horſes were uſually tied together, to prevent their ſtraggling; ſo that, if an alarm happened, their riders had their houſings to fix, their horſes to looſe and bridle, and their corſlets to put on, before they could mount: all which could not be done in the night, eſpecially upon a ſurprize, without difficulty and confuſion, in ſo numerous an army as *Tiſſaphernes* then had.

they

they left behind; by which means the enemy would be kept in ſuſpenſe, not knowing which way they deſigned to march.

Uncertain how to ſteer their courſe.

WHILE the ſoldiers were buſy in getting a ſupply of proviſions, the chiefs, ſtill at a loſs what to reſolve, held a council among them; in which having ſeverally examined their priſoners, concerning the countries that lay round them, they were informed, that the ſouth road led to *Media* and *Babylon*, through which they came; that the eaſt road led to *Suſa* and *Ecbatanæ*, where the king was ſaid to paſs the ſpring and ſummer; the weſtern, which lay over the *Tigris*, led to *Lydia* and *Ionia*; and the northern, which was over high mountains, led to the country of the *Carduchi* (S), a warlike and unconquered nation, which had once defeated a *Perſian* army of an hundred and twenty thouſand men, none of which ever returned, the roads being impaſſable. The priſoners added, that whenever they were at peace with the *Perſian* governor of the plain, there was then an intercourſe between the two nations; and that, having got over thoſe barbarous countries, they would enter into the fertile plains of *Armenia*, of which *Orontas* was then governor, where they might either ford over the *Tigris*, or march round the ſpring-head of it, and from thence continue their route with eaſe and ſafety which way they pleaſed. The *Tigris* being impaſſable on the weſt, they had no way left to go but northward over the mountains; and, being afraid leſt the paſſes ſhould be guarded by the enemy, they reſolved to keep their march as ſecret as poſſible; and, having offered the uſual ſacrifices, ordered the ſoldiers to go to reſt, and to be ready to march on the firſt ſignal [c].

Take the northern road.

ACCORDINGLY the orders for marching were given a little before the laſt watch of the night; ſo that they had time enough to croſs the plain before them whilſt it was dark; and *Cheiriſophus*, who commanded the van, was got to the ſummit of the firſt hills, before he was perceived by the enemy. *Xenophon* brought up the rear at the head of the heavy-armed, which were the moſt dreaded by the *Perſians*, tho' theſe did not dare to attack them whilſt they were going up the hill. As ſoon as they had paſſed it, they followed their van into the villages that were diſperſed in the valleys and ſides of the mountains. The *Carduchi* no ſooner perceived them, than they betook themſelves to flight with their wives and children, and gave them a fair opportunity of ſupplying themſelves with plenty of proviſions. The *Greeks* had, till now, flattered themſelves, that they might, with eaſe, obtain a friendly paſſage through their country, as both were enemies of the *Perſians*; and therefore, inſtead of purſuing them in their flight, they called after them, and, by the tone of their voice, and other geſtures, endeavoured to bring them to a friendly parley. But, when they found them deaf to all their invitations and motions, *Cheiriſophus* encamped his troops in the firſt villages he met with; but forbore meddling with any thing but ſuch proviſions as they ſtood in need of. *Xenophon*, with his heavy rear-guard, fared much worſe, ſuffering greatly not only from the craggedneſs of the roads, and the difficult aſcents and deſcents, but likewiſe from looſe bands of the *Carduchi*, who came upon them unawares, and haraſſed them with their vollies of darts and ſtones (T). And well it was for him that they

The Carduchi *fly from them.*

Xenophon haraſſed by them.

[c] XENOPHON, ubi ſupra, in fin. lib. iii.

(S) Theſe were the deſcendents of the antient *Scythians*, who, as we have elſewhere ſeen, ſpread themſelves all over theſe northern tracts (2); and were a ſtout warlike people, and divided into a vaſt number of tribes. The *Carduchi*, who gave our *Greeks* here ſo much trouble in their retreat, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel, were, according to *Strabo* (3), better known afterwards by the name of *Parthians*; a nation which became ſuch a terror to the *Romans*.

M. *De Liſle*, in his explanation of his map of *Xenophon*'s retreat, gives ſeveral proofs, that they were the ſame with the preſent *Curdes*, their country the ſame which the *Romans* called *Corduena*, and the moderns now *Curdiſtan* (4); tho' it is probable, that the preſent tract, that goes by that name, is of much greater extent than that which the *Carduchi* then poſſeſſed, who only occupied the mountainous parts of it (5).

However that be, *Plutarch* informs us (6), that this very *Artaxerxes*, againſt whom this expedition was undertaken, had invaded their country at the head of three hundred thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe; and that his army would, in all probability, have periſhed with famine, had not *Teribazus* found means to raiſe ſuch mutual jealouſies between the two *Carduchian* kings, as induced them to clap up a peace with the *Perſians*.

(T) The *Carduchi* as much excelled the *Greeks* in the uſe and ſtrength of their bows, as thoſe did the *Perſians*. We are told, they were of ſuch prodigious length, that they bent them with their feet;

(2) *See vol.* ii. *p.* 241, *& ſeq.* (3) *Geogr. lib.* xvi. (4) *Memoirs of the roy. academ. ann.* 1721. *p.* 87. (5) *See the map at the head of this account.* (6) *In vit. Artax.*

they were ſo few, and attacked them ſo late; for had they been more in number, and fallen upon them ſooner in the day, they might have made terrible havock among them: but as it happened, they had only time to attack the extremity of the rear, and killed and wounded but a ſmall number of them: however, they got ſafe to the villages, and the *Carduchi* made fires all round them upon the mountains, and both ſides ſpent the night in watching of each other [f].

THE *Greeks*, beginning already to find what a dangerous taſk it would be to open to themſelves a way through a country ſo craggy and mountainous, and a people ſo ſtout and fierce, came to a reſolution, by the very next morning, to leave behind all their ſuperfluous baggage, horſes, ſlaves, and priſoners, which only ſerved to clog and retard their march, and to keep many hands employed in the care of them, that might be of more ſervice elſewhere, beſides cauſing a greater ſcarcity of proviſions. As ſoon therefore as they had dined, the generals placed themſelves in a narrow defile, where the army was to paſs before them, and took from each ſoldier every thing that was ſuperfluous or cumberſome, tho' they would not ſo far exaſperate them, as to deprive them of any handſome captive, for whom they ſhewed a more than common fondneſs; and in this manner they continued their march, ſometimes fighting, and ſometimes reſting. The next day proving rainy and ſtormy, made it ſtill more difficult. However, they were obliged to move on, becauſe their proviſions began to fail; and, as the paſſes, through which their route lay, were very narrow, they ſuffered ſtill more from the *Carduchi*, who lay ſcattered on each ſide, and terribly haraſſed them; and, if the *Greeks* offered to halt, or purſue them, they could preſently retire, and ſhelter themſelves behind the rocks, or among the defiles. *Cheiriſophus*, who ſtill led the van, which conſiſted of the light-armed, was frequently, on that account, obliged to halt, and ſtay for *Xenophon*, whoſe rear, as we have ſaid, was made up of the heavy-armed. One day, however, inſtead of waiting for him, he marched on with uncommon ſpeed, and encouraged his men to follow him; by which the latter ſuppoſed, there had ſomething extraordinary happened; and the rear, being thus left behind, was terribly handled on either ſide, and loſt, among many others, two of its braveſt officers, to wit, *Cleonymus* a *Lacedæmonian*, and *Baſias* an *Arcadian*, the latter of whom had his head pierced quite through with an arrow.

Abandons his ſuperfluous baggage.

Still haraſſed by the Carduchi.

Xenophon's rear ſuffer by them.

As ſoon as *Xenophon*, who made a running fight of it, had overtaken the van, which he did in the next plain, where they encamped, he went directly to *Cheiriſophus*, and bitterly complained of it, telling him what two brave commanders he had loſt, without being able to bring them off, or bury them. To this the *Lacedæmonian* anſwered, That his deſign was to gain the ſummit of an hill, before the Barbarians poſſeſſed themſelves of it; ſince his guides aſſured him there was no other way but that, for him to take. Here *Xenophon*, who had, in the late encounter, taken two priſoners, propoſed to have them examined apart about it; which was immediately done: and one of them, in ſpite of all their threats of torturing him to death, ſtood ſtrictly to it, that there was no other way, at leaſt, that he knew of none: whereupon the other being called, and the firſt killed before him, acquainted them, that the reaſon of his obſtinacy was, that he had a daughter married to a man, who lived on the road which he concealed from them, and, at the ſame time, engaged to conduct them through it himſelf; and aſſured them, that it was paſſable even for ſumpter-horſes: but added, that it was commanded by an eminence, which, if not ſecured, would render the paſs impracticable.

THE main of the army was made acquainted with it, and a commiſſion, to get poſſeſſion of this paſs, was tendered to thoſe who would voluntarily undertake it: upon which two brave *Arcadians*, named *Agaſias* and *Ariſtonymus*, offering themſelves, were appointed to conduct the enterprize: preſently after which, two other chiefs, of equal merit, conteſted that poſt of honour with them, to wit, *Callimachus* the *Parrhaſian*, and *Ariſteas* of *Chios*; and were joined in the ſame commiſſion. They had two thou-

A paſs taken by volunteers.

[f] XENOPHON, ubi ſupra, lib. iv. c. 1, & ſeq.

the arrows were ſo in proportion, and ſo well tempered and keen, and darted with ſuch violence, that no ſhield was proof againſt them (7); ſo that, by being able to throw them at ſuch a vaſt diſtance, they kept themſelves out of the reach of thoſe of the enemy.

(7) *Vide Diod. Sic. lib.* xiv. *& Xenoph. ubi ſupra, lib.* iv.

ſand men under their command: *Xenophon*'s guide was likewiſe delivered up bound to them; and it was agreed, that they ſhould endeavour to gain the ſummit that night, and, the next morning, by break of day, if they ſucceeded, give notice of it to the reſt by ſound of trumpet. Things being thus ordered, they began their march under the conduct of their guide; and though it rained very hard that night, *Xenophon* marched, at the head of his rear, towards the paſſage before them, in order to draw the enemy that way, and conceal the motions of their detachment. But, as he was leading his men through a valley, in order to gain an aſcent, the Barbarians rolled down ſtones of a monſtrous weight and ſize, which, breaking in pieces in their fall, made it impoſſible for them to go farther; and this was continued all that night.

Xenophon harraſſed with huge ſtones.

In the mean time, the volunteers, having taken a long compaſs, fell upon the enemy's guard as they were ſitting round a fire, and, having killed ſome of them, and forced the reſt down the precipice, imagined they had got poſſeſſion of the ſummit; but, to their ſurprize, they found an eminence ſtill above it, near which lay a narrow way, where the guard ſat; but that was poſſeſſed by the enemy, and, night coming on, they were obliged to ſtay where they were. A thick, heavy fog, which happened the next morning, ſo effectually covered their march, that they ſurpriſed the enemy; who, however, proved too nimble for them, and plied their heels ſo well, that they could not kill one of them. But they took care to ſound the trumpet, to give notice to the reſt of their own army; at which ſignal the whole body of light-armed men began to move towards them, and to gain the ſummit by different ways, ſome of which were ſo craggy and ſteep, that thoſe who were above, were forced to draw the reſt up with their pikes; and, after much ſtruggle and toil, joined the detachment of *Agaſias*.

The paſs gained by the van.

The misfortune was, that *Xenophon*, and his heavy-armed rear and ſumpter-horſes, could not follow them up the ſteep aſcent; but were forced to fetch the ſame compaſs that *Agaſias* had done: ſo that the enemy, who were poſted on an eminence above the road, kept continually annoying them with huge ſtones; which obliged his men to march ſcattered here-and-there, to avoid them; and the pieces which broke from the great ſtones in the fall, flew with as much force, as if ſent out of an engine. However, tho' night prevented their going farther, they received no other damage than from the noiſe they made, and the fright it kept them in till the next morning: when they continued their march at break of day. They had not gone far, before they perceived the *Carduchi* on another eminence, which they were likewiſe obliged to paſs over; at the ſight of whom the ſoldiers mutually encouraged each other to advance, and attack them; which the Barbarians obſerving, betook themſelves to flight, without ſhooting an arrow, or throwing a ſtone at them. They had no ſooner gained this hill, but they ſaw another before them, guarded likewiſe by the enemy; and which they alſo reſolved to attack. However, for fear any of them ſhould come back to this they were on, and from thence annoy the ſumpter-horſes as they paſſed, *Xenophon* thought fit to leave it guarded by a good detachment, which he committed to the care of *Cephiſodorus* an *Athenian*, and *Archagoras* a baniſhed *Argive*, two truſty captains; whilſt he, with the reſt of his rear, marched towards the other hill; which he gained in the ſame manner. There ſtill remained a third, and much ſteeper; to wit, that on which *Agaſias*, and his detachment had ſurpriſed the enemy's guard; but this was likewiſe abandoned by the Barbarians, to the great amazement of the *Greeks*: but their deſign was, as they had obſerved from thence all that had paſſed before, to fall upon the rear as faſt as they could.

Xenophon greatly annoyed.

Repulſes the Barbarians over three hills.

They did ſo accordingly; and the brave *Cephiſodorus*, with ſome other officers of equal valour, loſt their lives in defence of their poſt; whilſt his collegue *Archagoras*, conſidering the danger of ſuch a fruitleſs oppoſition, leaped down the precipice, followed by the reſt of his men, who, in ſpite of all the oppoſition of the Barbarians, found means to join *Xenophon*'s rear-guard, and acquainted him with what had paſſed on the tops of the hill. Here that general, ſeeing the enemy on the oppoſite eminence, took that opportunity to treat with them by an interpreter, and to demand his dead from them; to which they conſented, on condition that he would not burn their villages. Whilſt they were upon this treaty, the other part of the army approached; and all moving towards the ſame place, the enemy made a ſtand; and, as ſoon as *Xenophon* was come down the hill, to join the reſt, which ſtood ranged below in battalia, they began their old work of rolling ſtones upon them, by which one *Greek* had his

A truce with them.

his legs broke; and *Xenophon*, whoſe armour-bearer had gone off with his ſhield, was in no ſmall danger, till an *Arcadian*, named *Eurylochus*, came, and covered him and himſelf with his own. At length, after a fatiguing and dangerous march of ſeven days, through the moſt dreadful rocks, hills, and dales, and haraſſed all that time by the Barbarians, they arrived at a moſt delightful plain, where they found many fine houſes to quarter in, and ſuch a great plenty of proviſions, eſpecially of wine, that the inhabitants had filled their ciſterns with it. Here alſo they prevailed upon the *Carduchi*, out of whoſe territories they now were, to deliver up their dead, in exchange of their priſoners; and thoſe they buried with all the funeral honours that their preſent ſituation would permit.

Xenophon *in great danger.*

Get into a rich plain.

THE *Armenian* plains, they had now, with ſo much difficulty, got in ſight of, would ſoon have revived their hopes of ſeeing once more their beloved country, had not the entrance into them been obſtructed by the river *Centrites*, which is two hundred feet wide, and falls into a lake of a vaſt extent. However, they ſtaid there to refreſh themſelves, and enjoy that plenty and variety, which the country yielded to them, and began to look upon their former hardſhips as happily at an end; but, the next morning, their hopes were daſhed again at the ſight of an army of horſe and foot drawn up on the other ſide of the river, on an eminence about three or four hundred feet from it, and in battle-array, in order to oppoſe their croſſing it. Theſe were *Armenians*, *Mygdonians*, *Chaldæans*, and other auxiliaries, hired by *Orontas* governor of that province. The only road the *Greeks* could diſcover led upwards, and ſeemed to have been made by art; and, the breadth of the river inducing them to believe it fordable, they tried to paſs it there; but they had not gone far, before they found the water come up to their breaſts, whilſt the ſlippery ſtones at the bottom made them often loſe their footing, and their ſhields and arms cauſed them to be borne away by the ſtream; and, if they tried to carry them on their heads, their bodies lay expoſed to the enemy's darts: ſo that they ſaw themſelves obliged to go back, and encamp on the banks of the river.

New difficulties.

The impaſſable Centrites.

IN this diſmal plight, the worſt, perhaps, they had yet felt (being hemmed in by an impaſſable river, and numerous army, on one ſide, on the other by inacceſſible mountains, and behind by a fierce and dreadful enemy) they ſpent a melancholy night, and a day, being neither able to move forward nor backward, without imminent danger. At length *Xenophon*, who had learned from his maſter *Socrates*, to ſtrike out hopes from ſuperſtition, as well as philoſophy, was, in ſome meaſure, relieved by a dream, in which he fanſied himſelf in chains, and awoke with the pleaſure of ſeeing them break off of their own accord. He aroſe immediately, and went to communicate it to *Cheiriſophus*, and the reſt of the *Greek* chiefs; who were no leſs pleaſed with it, and, in thankfulneſs, offered ſome ſacrifices to the gods, wherein the victims ſeemed to confirm the favourableneſs of the dream. The army was ſoon after ordered to go to breakfaſt; and, whilſt *Xenophon* was taking his own, two young ſoldiers were brought to him; for, whether eating or ſleeping, acceſs was never denied to any that came to communicate any matter of concern to him. Theſe told him, that, whilſt they were gone a little way to gather ſome firing, they perceived two or three perſons on the other ſide of the river, who were hiding ſome things like bags of cloaths in the cavity of a rock; from which they concluded, they might ſafely ford over there, eſpecially as the banks on the other ſide were inacceſſible to the enemy's horſe; and that they had accordingly paſſed it, the water not riſing above their middle. *Xenophon*, highly pleaſed with the news, immediately ordered a libation to be offered to the gods, who had diſcovered this paſſage to him, in confirmation of his dream; and then conducted the two youths to *Cheiriſophus*, where it was unanimouſly reſolved, that they ſhould forthwith follow the route which the gods had pointed out to them. This ford was about four ſtades from the camp, whither the two youths conducted the army, *Cheiriſophus*, with the light-armed troops, leading the van, *Xenophon*, with his heavy-armed, bringing up the rear, and the ſumpter-horſes marching in the middle; and in this order they were to croſs the river at the ford. Here they ſaw the enemy's cavalry on the oppoſite ſhore, watching their motions, without being able to annoy them. *Cheiriſophus*, who was crowned with a garland of flowers, firſt pulled off his cloaths, and, taking up his arms, commanded his van to do the ſame, and to march through the river in columns, ſome on his right, and others on his left. All this while, the prieſts were pouring the blood of the victims into the waves, and proclaimed, that they

Xenophon *revives their hopes.*

A new ford diſcovered.

The van paſſes the river.

they ſaw nothing but good omens; and the ſoldiers, and their women, were ſinging the pæan in a kind of chorus, whilſt they were entering into the river.

Xenophon's ſtratagem.

In the mean time, *Xenophon* and his rear, inſtead of following them in the ſame tract, made a feint, as if he deſigned to croſs it at the place below, where they had lately attempted it; which had the deſired effect on the enemy's cavalry on the other ſide, who, fearing to be thereby ſurrounded by the *Greeks*, abandoned their poſts, and fled towards the road that led from the river into the country. Whereupon *Cheiriſophus*, who with his van had gained the ſhore, ſent *Lycius* and *Æſchines*, with the horſe and targeteers under their command, in purſuit of them, who cried, as they went up the hill, *We will not be left behind, but will march up with you in a body.* At the ſame time *Cheiriſophus*, inſtead of going after them, marched, with the reſt of his men, along the river-ſide, to the other body of the enemy, who, ſeeing themſelves abandoned by their cavalry, ſoon quitted the eminence that commanded the river, and fled. *Xenophon*, perceiving, from the other ſide, how well his ſtratagem had ſucceeded, returned in all haſte to the army that was paſſing over; but, by this time, they beheld ſome *Carduchian* troops deſcending into the plain, as if deſigning to fall upon the rear: upon which he ordered his men to face about, and divided them into ſeveral ſmall bodies of twenty-five men each, in order to march againſt them, while the hindmoſt men of every file poſted themſelves along the banks of the river.

THE *Carduchi*, ſeeing the rear ſo thinned, by the departure of thoſe who eſcorted the baggage, came down the faſter upon them, ſinging as they marched; which being perceived by *Cheiriſophus*, who knew that all was ſecure on his ſide, he ſent ſome of his targeteers and ſlingers back to his aſſiſtance. *Xenophon* no ſooner obſerved their coming down towards him, than he ſent them orders not to enter into the river, but to range themſelves in two files, at a ſmall diſtance from it; and that, when they ſaw him begin to paſs with his men, they ſhould come forward, in the water, on each ſide, oppoſite to him, with their bows bent, and their ſlings pointed againſt the enemy, as if they deſigned to croſs over to them, but not to advance far into the water. He next charged his own men not to quit their ranks, in croſſing of the river, and not to fall upon the *Carduchi* till the trumpet gave the ſignal; after which he ordered the ſumpter-horſes, the women, and other retinue, to paſs over. By this time the *Carduchi*, being come near enough, began to diſcharge their bows and ſlings at the reſt;

Put the enemy to flight.

but, as they had only been uſed to fight the enemy in the mountains, where they could retreat as faſt as they pleaſed, they found themſelves now ſo much at a loſs how to engage them on the plain, that they were put to the rout almoſt upon the firſt blowing of the trumpet: ſo that, after they were all got ſafe acroſs the river, they could ſtill ſee them flying, with the ſame ſwiftneſs. The *Greek* army now united again about

Get into a fertile plain.

noon, and in an inhabited plain marched five paraſangs more, in order to reach a town, where was a ſtately palace belonging to the ſatrap, and where moſt of the houſes were adorned with turrets. Here they found a plentiful ſupply of all things; and in two days more, or ten paraſangs, they were got above the head of the *Tigris*; and in three more, or fifteen paraſangs, came to the river *Teleboas* (U), which, though not large, had many handſome villages along its banks, which furniſhed them with plenty of proviſions.

THIS country was called the *Weſtern Armenia*, and was governed by *Teribazus*, a ſatrap, in ſuch favour with the king, that, when preſent, he was the only perſon allowed to lift him upon his horſe. He had formed a treacherous deſign to intrap and deſtroy them; the better to conceal which, he met them, at the head of a troop of horſe, and deſired a conference with their chiefs: which being agreed to, he told them, that he was willing to grant them a free paſſage, and neceſſary proviſions, in caſe they engaged to abſtain from all hoſtilities: upon which a league was immediately concluded, and ſworn to, between them.

Treat with the treacherous Teribazus.

FROM thence they marched about fifteen paraſangs more in three days, *Teribazus* marching at about the diſtance of ten ſtades from them; and came, at length, to a royal palace, ſurrounded with many villages, abounding with proviſions, and where a

(U) We know but little of this river, its courſe, or any thing elſe, except that it is placed by our author, and the *Byzantine* geographer, near the ſpring-head of the *Tigris*, and runs through a fertile and delightful plain (8). The reader may ſee, by the map, that it croſſes all the country of *Armenia*, and falls, at length, into the *Euphrates*, a little above the city of *Zeugma*.

(8) *Idem ibid. Steph. de urb. in voc.*

deep

deep ſnow that fell in the night (W) obliged them to take their quarters in the adjacent villages, which ſupplied them with all things in great plenty, and even with victims, and wine of an exquiſite flavour and taſte. Here they received intelligence from ſome of their ſtraggling men, that there was an army encamped at ſome diſtance from them, which they had diſcovered by the light of the fires that were kindled about it: upon which the chiefs immediately convened; and, judging it unſafe for their troops to be at ſuch diſtance from each other, reſolved to have them joined, and encamped abroad; but a freſh quantity of ſnow had fallen ſo deep that night, that on the morrow *Xenophon*, who was commonly one of the earlieſt abroad, could not perceive where the ſoldiers lay; and both they, and the ſumpter-horſes, were ſo benumbed with cold, that they could hardly be got upon their feet. *Xenophon*, though half-naked, immediately took an hatchet in his hand, and, with it cutting boughs from the trees, ſome of the reſt followed his example; upon which they all got up, and, making large fires, anointed themſelves with ſuch oils and drugs as they had, or could get, till they were quite recovered from their numbneſs; and, it being now found too dangerous to ſuffer them to lie longer in the open air, they were again ſent to their former quarters in the villages. The chiefs diſpatched a detachment, under the conduct of *Democrates* of *Temenus*, a faithful and fit perſon for ſuch an expedition, to the mountains, whence their ſtragglers had ſeen the fires, and who, at his return, aſſured them, that he had not perceived any; but told them, that he had brought a priſoner with him, who ſaid he belonged to *Teribazus*'s army, and acquainted them, that the ſatraps were preparing to attack them at a defile in the mountains; and, being aſked what forces they had, anſwered, that, beſides their own army, they had ſome mercenary troops of *Chalybians* and *Toachians*.

A new alarm, and deep ſnow.

Men and beaſts benumbed.

Upon this report, the *Greek* chiefs reſolved to ſecure that paſs as ſoon as they could; and, leaving the camp under the care of *Sophænetus*, took their priſoner for their guide, and moved forward towards the place. As ſoon as they got over the mountains, and perceived *Teribazus*'s camp, the targeteers, who were then foremoſt, gave a great ſhout, and ran towards it, without ſtaying for the heavy-armed; which ſo alarmed the Barbarians, that they immediately left it, and betook themſelves to ſuch a precipitate flight, that but few of them were killed, and only about twenty horſes taken. They found in *Teribazus*'s tent beds with ſilver feet, and drinking cups, together with ſome priſoners, who called themſelves his bakers and cup-bearers; all which they ſeized, and carried off. Immediately after which, they ſounded a retreat, and marched directly to their former camp, to prevent the Barbarians attacking it, and arrived at it the ſame day. The next morning, they marched, with all the haſte they could, to gain the paſs before-mentioned, ere the enemy could have time to rally, and ſet forward, with ſeveral guides, through very deep ſnows, which did not a little obſtruct their march; and, having, the ſame day, paſſed the defile where *Teribazus* deſigned to have attacked them, they encamped. From thence they made three days marches through a deſert, and came near the head of the *Euphrates*, which they forded with eaſe, the water not riſing above their middle: after which they went fifteen paraſangs, through deep ſnows, in three days, the laſt of which proved the moſt grievous, the north wind blowing full in their faces; but, upon their offering up ſome victims to *Boreas*, the vehemence of it viſibly abated. However, the ſnow was a fathom deep, and the cold ſo intenſe, that many of their ſlaves and horſes died, beſides thirty of their men. This was, at firſt, looked upon as ſome kind of ſickneſs that raged among them; but they ſoon found out, that there wanted nothing but good warm nouriſhment to recover them (X). Whilſt *Xenophon* was taking that care upon himſelf, *Cheiriſophus* arrived at a village about the cloſe of the day, where he found ſome women

Secure an important paſs, and put the Perſians *to flight.*

March thro' a deſert, and croſs the Euphrates.

(W) Altho' it may appear matter of wonder, that this country, which lies between the thirty-ſeventh and fortieth degrees of latitude, ſhould be liable to ſuch exceſſive froſts and ſnows, yet it is no more than what all authors, both antient and modern, affirm, particularly M. *Tournefort*, who hath been an eye-witneſs of it; and hath endeavoured to account for the ſnow lying on thoſe high hills near ten months in the year. The reader may ſee it in that author's eighteenth letter, or in *Spelman*'s note on *Xenophon*, on this place, where a further light is given to that fact, from other writers.

(X) *Xenophon*, who obſerved great numbers of his men lying on the ground, aſked what they ailed; and was anſwered by ſome who were better acquainted with the nature of their diſtemper, that it was called the *buliny*; a diſeaſe which, *Galen* tells us, cauſes a violent craving for victuals, makes men loſe the uſe of their limbs, turn pale, and fall down; while the extremities are numbed, the ſto-

The van encamps in a village;

men drawing water at a well without the walls. Theſe aſked him, what troops thoſe were, and whither they were going. To whom he anſwered, by his *Perſian* interpreter, that they were ſent by the king to the ſatrap: upon which they replied, that the ſatrap's palace was about a paraſang farther. But, night coming on, he followed them into the village, with all that could come up, and encamped there that night.

and Xenophon *in the open air; and in great diſtreſs.*

XENOPHON, and his rear, who could not keep up with them, fared much worſe, being forced to encamp in the open air, without fire or victuals; inſomuch that ſeveral of them died with hunger and cold, and the reſt were quite exhauſted and ſpiritleſs. Some of them had loſt their ſight by the glaring of the ſnow, and others their hands and feet by the coldneſs of it. The firſt were, indeed, relieved by wearing ſomething black over their eyes, and the others by keeping their limbs in a conſtant motion, and by putting off their ſhoes at night (Y). But the greateſt of all evils was their being quite ſpiritleſs, and out of heart; inſomuch that ſeveral of them laid themſelves down by the ſide of a fountain, where the ſnow was melted round, and proteſted, that they would ſtir no farther, but die there. *Xenophon*, being informed of this, went forthwith to perſuade them to follow the army; and, among other things, told them, that the enemy was juſt at hand, a detachment of whom had actually ſurpriſed ſome of their horſes and baggage; but neither his perſuaſions nor threats could get any thing from them, except that their lives were at his diſpoſal, and that he might kill them, if he pleaſed; for they were not able to go on. His concern, however, leſt they ſhould be ſurpriſed, and cut in pieces, by the *Perſians*, who were advancing in great numbers, made him try to ſtrike a terror into the Barbarians; and, taking ſuch of his men as had ſtill courage and reſolution enough left to follow him, he marched, and attacked them, as they were quarreling about ſome booty they had taken; cauſing the invalids all the while to ſtrike their pikes againſt their ſhields, and to ſhout with all their might; which ſo alarmed the enemy, that they threw themſelves into the valley through the ſnow, and were heard of no more.

The Greeks *utterly deſpirited.*

Barbarians put to flight.

XENOPHON, with the reſt of his little victorious body, returned to his invalids, and promiſed that they ſhould receive ſome relief by the next morning; but, before he had moved four ſtades forward, he found new ones in the ſame diſmal plight, lying on the ſnow, ſtarved with cold and hunger, and without any guard. Theſe he likewiſe aſſiſted the beſt he could; and, as ſoon as they were able to riſe, they acquainted him, that the van-guard did not move forward; and, being informed of their reaſon for halting, he moved towards them, and, the next day, according to his promiſe, ſent ſome of the van-guard to fetch the ſick and invalids, who were very numerous: and, by this means, the whole army was reunited, to their no ſmall joy. It being the opinion of their chiefs, that they might be quartered in the villages, *Cheiriſophus* ſtaid with his van in that they were in, and the reſt were diſtributed in thoſe in the neighbourhood, where, to their no ſmall comfort, they found plenty of all proviſions, and ſpent ſeven whole days in ſuch feaſting and jollity, as, they thought, made them ample amends for all the fatigues and hardſhips they had undergone (Z).

Encamp in the villages.

mach oppreſſed, and the pulſe is ſcarcely felt (8); but, being told, that, if any refreſhment was preſently given to them, they would riſe again, he inſtantly went to the baggage, and got what proviſions he could, and divided among thoſe who laboured under the diſtemper; upon which they ſoon found themſelves able to get up, and continue their march.

(Y) This, it ſeems, they were forced to do, becauſe thoſe that ſlept with them on, found the latchets pierce their fleſh, and their ſhoes ſtick cloſe to their feet; for, their old ones being worn out, they were forced to make uſe of what they called carbatines, or ſandals, or rather perhaps ſhoes made of raw hides (9): and theſe were what ſo damaged their feet, that they were neither able to ſtand or go.

(Z) The houſes here were, it ſeems, built after a different form than they had hitherto ſeen, and were all under-ground. The entrance into them was like the mouth of a ſpacious well, at which they went down by a ladder into the apartments below, which they found very large, and filled with goats, ſheep, cows, fowls, with their young, *&c.* but thoſe had a particular entrance dug for them, and had all of them their proper food and fodder ſtored in with them. Here they likewiſe found plenty of wheat, barley, pulſe, beer in jars, in which the malt was ſtill floating upon the brim, with reeds of different ſizes, and without joints: theſe laſt any that were dry put to their mouths, and ſucked the liquor with them, which was very ſtrong, if not diluted with water, and exceeding pleaſant to thoſe that were uſed to it. Our author calls it οἶνος κριθινος, literally, barley-wine; ſuch, as *Herodotus* (1) tells us, the *Egyptians* uſed inſtead of wine; and the invention of which is attributed to *Oſiris*, or the *Egyptian Bacchus* (2).

(8) *Vide Hutchinſ. & Spelm. not. in Xenoph.* (9) *Idem ibid.* (1) *Euterpe.* (2) *Bibl. lib.* i.

XENOPHON having, by his ſingular moderation and generoſity, gained the affection of the bailiff of the village, that officer not only diſcovered to them a large reſerve of wine hid under-ground, which proved very acceptable to the ſoldiers, but preſented ſome very fine horſes (A) to the ſubaltern officers; and engaged likewiſe to be their guide, till they arrived at another nation; which he accordingly did during the three firſt days journey, and would probably have gone farther, had he not taken ſome diſguſt at *Cheiriſophus*, who ſtruck him for not leading them to ſome villages, rather than through an uninhabited plain; whereupon he diſappeared that very night. However, one main ſervice he did them from their firſt marching, by teaching them to tie bags to their horſes feet, to prevent their ſinking into the ſnow, which, before that, they did up to their bellies. This ill treatment of the bailiff cauſed a great difference between *Cheiriſophus* and *Xenophon*, though probably the only one they had during their whole march. They had taken a ſon of the bailiff's as a pledge for his fidelity, who being now left behind, in charge of *Epiſthenes*, that commander took ſuch a liking to the youth, that he obliged him to go with him into *Greece*.

A freſh ſupply.

A difference between Cheiriſophus *and* Xenophon.

AFTER a route of ſeven days, in which they marched five paraſangs a day, they croſſed the river *Phaſis* (B), which is about an hundred feet broad; and from thence, after ten paraſangs more, they perceived an high mountain before them, the paſſage over which was guarded by troops, whom they found afterwards to be *Chalybians*, *Taochians*, and *Phaſians*. *Cheiriſophus*, who ſtill led the van, ſeeing them thus advantageouſly poſted, made an halt, till the companies were advanced to the front, and drawn up in a line; and, as ſoon as the rear was come up, he aſſembled the captains, and ſpoke to them to this effect: "You ſee, that the Barbarians are poſſeſſed of the "paſs over the mountain; and we muſt now conſider, whilſt the ſoldiers are taking ſome "refreſhment, whether we had beſt attempt the paſſage to-day, or put it off till to-"morrow." "My advice (ſays *Cleanor*) is to attack the enemy as ſoon as we have "dined, leſt our delay ſhould increaſe their confidence, and give them time to get "freſh aſſiſtance." *Xenophon* was of his opinion, that, if they muſt needs fight the enemy, they ought to loſe no time: "But (added he) might we not go over the moun-"tain without ſtriking a ſtroke? It appears to be above ſixty ſtades in length, and the "enemy only guards one part of it: might we not therefore find out ſome other aſcent, "which, though more difficult, may yet be leſs dangerous? The ſureſt way for an "army, ſeems to me to be that where it hath no foe to encounter; and that may be "done by ſtealing a march in the night, and taking a good compaſs about." Then, addreſſing himſelf to *Cheiriſophus*, with a ſmile, "The *Lacedæmonians* (ſaid he) are "naturally made for ſuch enterprizes, and the beſt among you inured, from their child-"hood, to ſuch furtive exploits: ſo that, inſtead of a diſhonour, you reckon it a duty, "to ſteal thoſe things which the law hath not debarred you from. And, in order to "teach you to ſteal with greater dexterity and ſecrecy, your laws have provided, that "thoſe who are caught in the fact ſhall be whipped. This is therefore the time for "you to ſhew how far your education hath improved you; and to take care, that our "ſtealing this march be not diſcovered, and we made to ſmart for it." To this *Cheiriſophus* replied, in the ſame gay humour, "That the theft now in queſtion being "of a public, and not of a private nature, the *Athenians*, eſpecially thoſe that enjoy "the greateſt dignities, are much more expert at it, who can rob the public treaſury,

Croſs the Phaſis.

Xenophon's *pleaſant advice.*

Cheiriſophus's *ſmart anſwer.*

(A) Theſe horſes were of ſo excellent a breed, that the whole country, which they were told was called *Armenia*, paid their tribute to the king in them. They were leſs, indeed, than thoſe of *Perſia*, but had more mettle, were finer-ſhaped, and more fleet of foot. *Xenophon*, taking the bailiff with him to the village of the vanquiſhed, viſited every quarter, where his own men were in the height of feaſting and mirth; the tables were covered with lamb, kid, pork, veal, fowl, and plenty of bread, ſome of wheat, and others of barley. When they came to that of *Cheiriſophus*, they found them in the ſame attended by *Armenian* boys, in *Perſian* dreſſes: ſo that there was nothing to be ſeen through the whole *Greek* army but feaſting and jollity, during their ſtay there.

(B) So our author calls it, φάσιν ποταμόν· but it cannot be ſuppoſed to be that which falls into the *Euxine* ſea, and famed for its breed of pheaſants; but rather, as moſt moderns think, the *Araxes*, which croſſes *Armenia* from weſt to eaſt, and falls into the *Caſpian* ſea (1), whoſe impetuous courſe is ſo boldly deſcribed by *Virgil*, *Pontem indignatus Araxes* (2).

(1) *See de Liſle's map, at the beginning of this relation*; *Retraite des* 10,000. *Spelman*, &c. (2) *Æneid. l.* viii.

"not-

" notwithſtanding the danger they run. So that this will be a fit opportunity for you " to diſplay the effects of *your* education." They both, upon the whole, agreed to *Xenophon*'s propoſal, who rightly concluded, from ſome large cattle which the guides had diſcovered on the top, that the mountain was far from inacceſſible: whereupon it was reſolved, that a detachment ſhould be diſpatched that very night, to climb up to, and take poſſeſſion of it: which was accordingly done; and *Xenophon* offered to be one of them; but, *Cheiriſophus* being unwilling that he ſhould leave the care of his rear, other chiefs were nominated to that enterprize, to wit, *Ariſtonymus*, *Ariſtæus*, and *Nicomachus*, at the head of the light-armed, who were ordered, as ſoon as they had gained the top, to give notice of it, by lighting of fires. After this they adjourned to their dinner; which done, *Cheiriſophus* led the whole army within ten ſtades of the enemy, as if he deſigned to march that way.

Climb up the hill.

THE enemy no ſooner perceived the detachment poſſeſſed of that poſt, than they began to light ſeveral fires, and continued under arms all that night; and, as ſoon as it began to be day-light, *Cheiriſophus*, at the head of his van, marched directly to that paſs which was guarded by them, whilſt thoſe who had gained the top came down to aſſiſt him in the attack. The Barbarians, finding themſelves charged on both ſides, faced them, and made a ſtouter defence than uſual; neither did they give ground till they loſt a good number of their men; ſo that the ground was covered with their broad ſhields, which the *Greeks* not thinking worth taking up, cut into ſmall pieces. As ſoon as theſe had gained the aſcent, and offered the uſual ſacrifices, they reared a trophy on the place, and marched down into the plain, where they found villages well ſtored with all ſorts of proviſions. From thence they marched into the country of the *Taochians*, making thirty paraſangs in five days; but began at length to find, that their proviſions were like to fail; for the *Taochians*, who inhabited in rocks and caves, had conveyed their cattle and other victuals thither: ſo that there was no coming at any freſh ones, without attacking them in thoſe high and almoſt inacceſſible places. *Cheiriſophus*, ſoon after perceiving ſeveral of thoſe Barbarians, men and women, on an eminence, ſent a detachment through a defile which he ſuppoſed led thither, but which, being ſurrounded with precipices, could not be attacked on all ſides at once. The companies climbed up one after another; but were terribly annoyed with the large ſtones that were rolled down the hill, and broke the ribs, arms, and legs, of the ſoldiers.

Gain the aſcent.

Come into the country of the Taochians.

Annoyed by them.

XENOPHON coming up with his rear in the lucky minute, *Cheiriſophus* ſhewed him the danger and difficulty of gaining that height, without which they muſt not expect to find any freſh ſupply of proviſions: upon which *Xenophon* aſked him, what thoſe Barbarians would do after they had flung down all the ſtones they had. " Till then " (ſaid he) one part of the aſcent, which ſeems about one hundred feet in length, hath " groups of pine-trees on both ſides, behind which our men may ſhelter themſelves " from their ſtones; and, when theſe ceaſe, the reſt, which is not above fifty feet, muſt " be climbed with double expedition." As he ſpoke to men reſolved to gain the mountain, or die, there was no ſmall emulation between the commanding officers, who ſhould get firſt up to the top; and, after much ſtruggle between them, *Eurylochus* paſſed by the reſt, and had the glory of the action; for, as ſoon as he had reached the place, they left off throwing ſtones from above; and, inſtead of that, men, women, and children, flung themſelves down headlong with ſuch fury, that *Æneas*, a *Stymphalian*, ſhocked at the dreadful ſpectacle, having unhappily endeavoured to ſtop one of theſe furious creatures from following the reſt, was dragged himſelf down the precipice, and both of them were daſhed in pieces. The *Greeks* made few priſoners, but carried off a great number of ſheep, oxen, and aſſes; and then continued their route into the country of the *Chalybians* (C), and made fifty paraſangs in ſeven days march;

Their furious deſpair.

(C) Theſe which *Diodorus Siculus* calls *Chalcideans* (3), were the moſt valiant people the *Greeks* till then had met with. They were fierce and warlike, and equally able to engage them on the plains as on the mountains, followed them all the way thro' their country, and terribly annoyed them in their march, and often came to cloſe engagement with them.

We are much in the dark about them; and can only obſerve here, that they were of a different nation from thoſe which *Xenophon* mentions in the ſequel (4).

They wore linen corſlets, that reached below their navel, and, inſtead of taſſels, thick twiſted cords: they wore alſo greaves and helmets; and, at their girdle, hung a ſhort falchion, not unlike thoſe of

(3) *Bibl. l.* xiv. (4) *Lib.* v.

march; for, being ſo terribly haraſſed by them, and having no other proviſions than what they took from the *Taochians*, they were glad to make all poſſible haſte out of their country. At the end of the ſeven days, they came to the river *Harpagus*, which they found to be four hundred feet wide, falling into the *Araxes* lately mentioned. After they had paſſed it, they marched through ſome parts of the country of the *Scythians*; and, in four days march, or twenty paraſangs, arrived at ſome villages, where they halted three days, to get a freſh ſupply of proviſions.

AFTER this ſeaſonable refreſhment, they came, in four days march, or twenty paraſangs, to a large and well inhabited city, called *Gymnias*. Here they were met by a meſſenger from the governor of the country, who offered to conduct them through the country of his enemies; and promiſed, in five days, to bring them to a place from whence they ſhould ſee the ſea; and, in caſe he did not, conſented to be put to death. He conducted them accordingly; and all the way they went, deſired them to lay all waſte with fire and ſword; by which they found, that he came rather with that view, than out of friendſhip to them. They arrived, on the fifth day, at the holy mountain called *Teches*, where, as ſoon as the van-guard had gained the top, and were got in full view of the ſea, they ſet up ſuch ſhouts, as made *Xenophon* and his rear-guard conclude, that they had been attacked by ſome freſh enemy. He was then engaged with ſome Barbarians, who had fallen on his rear, to revenge the havock they had made thro' their country: theſe *Xenophon* ſoon put to flight; but, finding the ſhouts of the van-guard to grow ſtill louder, he made what haſte he could to *Cheiriſophus*'s aſſiſtance; and, upon his coming nearer, heard them diſtinctly cry out, *Thalatta! thalatta!* that is, *The ſea! the ſea!* This not only diſpelled their fears, but made them move forward with uncommon eagerneſs, till the whole army being joined on the top of the mountains, the chiefs and ſoldiers fell embracing and congratulating each other with tears of joy. Here they began to rear an high monument of ſtones, by whoſe order is not known, upon which they placed a great number of ſhields, made of raw ox-hides, and taken from the enemy, in memory of this day, the happieſt they had met with in all their long march. Their next care was to ſhew their gratitude to their guide, whom they diſmiſſed with thanks, and a conſiderable preſent (D), after he had ſhewed them the village where they were to quarter next, and the road that led into the country of the *Macronians*, through which they afterwards paſſed, making ten paraſangs in three days.

Came in view of the ſea.

Erect a trophy on the mount.

BUT from the firſt day's march they ſaw themſelves ſtrangely hemmed in between a ridge of high mountains on one ſide, and a river on the other; on the oppoſite banks of which they beheld the *Macronians*, well armed, and ranged in battle-array, ready to obſtruct their paſſage, and throwing large ſtones at them, which, though they could not reach them, yet ſhewed the uncommon eagerneſs they were in to attack and deſtroy them. The river, which was the boundary between the two nations, had its banks lined with trees, not large indeed, but growing almoſt cloſe to each other; and theſe they immediately cut down, that they might the ſooner get from that place. There happened to be a targeteer in *Xenophon*'s rear, who came up to him, and acquainted him, that, having been ſold to the *Athenians* from his youth, and ignorant of his native country, he had ſome notion, that he was of *Macronian* extract; and therefore begged, that he might be allowed to confer with them: which being granted, he aſked them, why they drew themſelves up in an hoſtile manner. To which they replied, Becauſe you come to invade our country. Upon this the general ordered him to tell them, that they had no ſuch deſign; but that, having made war againſt the *Perſian* king, they only deſired a friendly paſſage through their territories, in their return home. Being aſked, whether the *Greeks* would give them ſufficient ſecurity for that, they anſwered, They were ready both to give and take it. Upon which a treaty was immediately concluded and ratified between them (E); and the *Macronians* came, in a friendly manner, to

Off with the Macronians.

Make a treaty with them.

the *Lacedæmonians*, with which having cut the throats of thoſe they conquered, they afterwards cut off their heads, and carried them in triumph. They commonly began to ſing and dance as ſoon as they were perceived by the enemy. Their pikes were fifteen cubits long, and with only one point.

(D) Which conſiſted of an horſe, a ſilver cup, a *Perſian* garment, and ten *darics*; all which were taken out of the public ſtock: beſides which, he deſired the ſoldiers to give him ſome of their rings; which many of them did: and their guide ſet out for his own home that very evening.

(E) The ceremony of this ratification, our author tells us, was performed by an exchange of ſpears, the *Macronians* ſending one of theirs to them, and receiving one of the *Greeks* in its ſtead; which was their method of pledging their faith (5).

(5) *Ibid. l.* iv. *ad fin.*

them; helped them to cut down the trees, to facilitate their paſſage over; and, having ſupplied them with plenty of proviſions, conducted them, in three days march, to the *Colchian* mountains (F).

Comes to Colchis.

ONE of them, that lay before their way, though large, yet appearing to them far from being inacceſſible, they immediately reſolved to attempt it by their phalanxes, becauſe they ſaw it defended by the *Colchians*: but the difficulty which *Xenophon* foreſaw would attend it in ſome of thoſe aſcents, where the line muſt be broken, which might diſhearten their men, made him propoſe a new diſpoſition; which was to make the heavy-armed march in ſeperate columns of one hundred men each; by which means they might gain the top by different roads, without incommoding one another, or expoſing themſelves too far, and thence pour down their forces upon the Barbarians, and ſurround them on all ſides; and if any of the columns ſhould be annoyed by the enemy, the other might come to its aſſiſtance; and the ſummit being once gained by any of them, they ſhould not fail to put them to flight, as they had hitherto done.

Forms a new diſpoſition.

HIS propoſal was readily agreed to by all the chiefs, and put in execution; and eighty companies of heavy-armed, of one hundred men each, were immediately formed, whilſt the light-armed were diſpoſed of on the wings and centre: after which *Xenophon*, marching through their ranks, from the right to the left, encouraged them with theſe words: "The enemy you ſee before you, gentlemen, are the only obſtacle we have now left "to encounter, in our return to the place whither we have been ſo long haſtening; "and them, if we can, we ought even to eat alive." Upon which the ſoldiers betook themſelves to their uſual vows, and to the ſinging of the *pæan*; and began their march. *Cheiriſophus* and *Xenophon* advanced, at the head of the targeteers, who extended beyond the enemy's line; and theſe, ſeeing them coming up, marched forward to receive them, ſome filing in haſte to the right, and ſome to the left, leaving a void ſpace in the centre. This being obſerved by the *Arcadians*, commanded by *Æſchines*, they no longer doubted but they fled from them; and, haſtening their march with all ſpeed, were the firſt who gained the ſummit. They were ſoon followed by the targeteers, commanded by *Cleanor*; upon which the enemy began to give ground, and betook themſelves to flight, ſome by one way and ſome by another; which gave the *Greeks* an opportunity of encamping themſelves in ſeveral villages full of all ſorts of proviſions.

Xenophon's ſpeech.

Put the Colchians to flight.

AND here it was, that the ſoldiers, finding great plenty of honey, of exquiſite taſte and flavour, but exceeding heady, eat it in ſuch quantities, that they were all ſeized with a ſtrange giddineſs, ſome wallowing upon the ground like men dead-drunk, others being ſeized with a kind of phrenſy, according as they had eaten more or leſs of it (G), inſomuch that the ground ſeemed then like a field of battle covered with dying men, every ſymptom appearing mortal to thoſe who beheld them. Theſe ſymptoms, however, went off in about twenty-four hours, generally venting themſelves in a violent vomiting and purging; which weakened them ſo much, that for ſeveral days they could ſcarce ſtand upon their feet, tho' they had all recovered their ſenſes by the next day: at length they recovered their ſtrength likewiſe; and, having made ſeven paraſangs in two days march, they arrived on the third at *Trebizond*, a city ſituate on the ſouth coaſt of the *Euxine* ſea (H); and found themſelves, at length, in a place of ſafety,

A ſtrange effect of honey.

Arrive at Trebizond.

(F) We have hitherto followed our author thro' vaſt countries, the greateſt part of whoſe inhabitants are ſcarcely known to us but by his hiſtory, and begin now to tread upon claſſic ground, as a late author rightly terms it (6), where almoſt every river, mountain, and city, hath been ſignalized by the actions of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and more particularly in their writings. This *Colchian* region, among ſome others, we have given an account of in a former volume, as it had been rendered famous, from early ages, for the *Argonautic* expedition (7). The reſt will come in courſe.

(G) This diſorderly effect is, in ſome meaſure, accounted for by *Pliny* (8), and farther explained by *Tournefort*, who was upon the ſpot (9); the former of whom ſays, that this honey is called *mænomenon*, from its cauſing a kind of madneſs; and adds, that it is gathered by the bees from the flower of a plant called *rhododendros*. The latter deſcribes two flowers he hath ſeen there, which he ſuppoſes to be of the ſame nature, if not the very ſame, becauſe the people of the country look upon the honey gathered from them to produce the effects mentioned by *Xenophon*.

(H) This famed city, antiently called *Trapeſus*, and ſince *Trebizond* (once the metropolis of a

(6) *Spelman in xund. ibid.* (7) *Vide ſupra, vol.* ii. *p.* 383, *& ſeq.* (8) *Plin. nat. hiſt. l.* xxi. c. 13. (9) *Letter* xix.

ſmall

ſafety, after their long and glorious march. The *Trebizontines* furniſhed them, all the time of their ſtay, which was about a month, with all ſorts of proviſions; and preſented them with oxen, and other victims, and with plenty of meal and wine.

HERE the *Greek* chiefs made it one of their firſt cares to pay their thanks and vows to the gods, to whom they aſcribed all their ſurpriſing ſucceſs, and who had inſpired them with that courage, which had enabled them to overcome ſuch ſeries of obſtacles and misfortunes. The gymnic games, which ſucceeded their ſacrifices, augmented the joy as well as magnificence of the ſolemnity; and theſe were celebrated on the mountain on which they were encamped, which had a delivity towards the ſea-ſide, and the barrier was placed near the altar where they had ſacrificed (I). The whole was conducted with no leſs emulation and dexterity in the actors, than ſatisfaction to the ſpectators [g]. *Gymnic games celebrated*

THESE diverſions and feaſtings being over, the chiefs called a general aſſembly, in order to deliberate which way they ſhould ſteer next; when an old ſoldier ſtood up, and ſpoke to the following effect: "For my part, I am already ſo tired with getting ready "my arms and baggage, with marching, fighting, and watching, that I heartily "deſire, ſince we are come to the ſea, to take the advantage of it, and ſail homeward, as "*Ulyſſes* did, and get to my country ſleeping, and at my eaſe." His plain and blunt ſpeech was applauded with an univerſal ſhout; and all of them there preſent expreſſed the ſame deſire. Upon which *Cheiriſophus* told them, that, his friend *Anaxibius* being admiral of the *Spartan* fleet, he would readily go, if they deſired it, and engage him to ſend him back with a ſufficient number of veſſels to tranſport them to their ſeveral homes; ſo that they had nothing to do but to wait his return, which he promiſed ſhould be very ſpeedy. His propoſal was unanimouſly agreed to; and he was accordingly deputed, and ſet ſail immediately. As ſoon as he was gone, *Xenophon* ſpoke to them about providing for their ſafety, and a ſupply of neceſſaries for the army; which laſt he told them the city of *Trebizond* was neither able to furniſh, nor they in a condition to purchaſe, their caſh being now almoſt exhauſted. He therefore adviſed them to make ſome inroads into the country during their ſtay, but by no means to venture out without guides, and a good eſcort, and not to ſuffer themſelves to ſtraggle from each other, in purſuit of plunder, leſt they ſhould fall a prey to the enemy. He farther propoſed, that none ſhould be allowed to go upon theſe expeditions, without expreſs commiſſion from their chiefs; and that thoſe that went ſhould ſignify the places where they intended to make their inroads, that they might, in caſe of need, be ſuccoured and aſſiſted by thoſe that ſtaid behind. Theſe, and ſome other wiſe regulations, he offered to the general aſſembly for their approbation, which were unanimouſly agreed to by all the ſoldiers (K); after which they nominated ſuch as ſhould ſet forward into the enemy's country, whilſt the reſt were ordered to keep ſtrong guards about the camp, to prevent any repriſals from them [h]. *An old ſoldier's bold ſpeech.* *Cheiriſophus' advice.* *Xenophon's advice.*

[g] XENOPHON, ubi ſupra, in fin. l. iv. [h] Idem ibid. l. v.

ſmall and ſhort-lived, though famed, empire, of which we have had occaſion to ſpeak in ſome of the foregoing volumes), is ſuppoſed to have been a colony of the *Sinopians*, though in the country of the *Colchians*; but was only a ſtation for ſhips to ride at anchor in, till the emperor *Adrian* built a port on the eaſt ſide of it (1). It is now called, by the *Turks*, *Platanæ*, and hath been much neglected ever ſince it came into their hands (2).

(I) Theſe games, which were committed to the conduct of *Dracontius*, a *Spartan* exile, conſiſted of ſeveral races, one of them run by boys, moſt of them their priſoners; the next by ſixty *Cretans*, mounted on their cars, and running in front; others were of ſingle horſes, which ran to the ſea ſide, and, turning there, came up again to the altar: many of them rolled down the ſteep deſcent, but, upon their return, could hardly keep up a foot pace. To theſe they added wreſtling, boxing, and other martial as well as athletic exerciſes; all which afforded no ſmall delight to their generous hoſts the *Trebizontines* (3).

(K) As we have, by this time, brought the *Greek* army out of all their difficulties and dangers, we ſhall, in the ſequel, content ourſelves with giving our readers a ſhort account of the moſt material tranſactions which happened to them till their retreat was completed, without entering into that minute detail which our author hath, and which we think not ſo neceſſary as it was whilſt they traveled through the countries of powerful and inveterate enemies, thro' deſerts, and over almoſt inacceſſible mountains; and were forced to fight their way, under all imaginable diſadvantages; and where it was neceſſary to give a full view of the wiſdom, conduct, and bravery, by which they extricated themſelves out of them.

(1) *Vide Arrian. peripl. pont. Euxin.* (2) *Tourneſort, letter* xvi. & *al.* (3) *Xenoph. ubi ſupra, in fin. l.* iv. *De his lud. vide etiam Potteri archæol. Græc.* l. ii. c. 21 *Burnetti diſſert.* & *al.*

THE next thing he offered to their conſideration was, that, in caſe *Cheiriſophus* ſhould not be able to bring a ſufficient number of veſſels, it was highly requiſite they ſhould ſecure ſome more from thence: "For (ſays he) if we are already ſupplied with "them when he arrives, we ſhall have the greater number to tranſport us; and, if he "comes without any, we ſhall make uſe of thoſe we have ſecured." He therefore adviſed to make ſure of all the veſſels that arrived at *Trebizond*, to ſet a guard on them, and maintain the mariners at the public charge. This being alſo agreed to, the laſt thing he propoſed, in order to provide againſt all events, was, to oblige the inhabitants of the maritim towns, that lay in their route, to repair the roads, that, in caſe they ſhould not have a ſufficient number of ſhips, the reſt of the army might march with more eaſe, the roads being at that time ſo bad, as to be, in many places, hardly paſſable. "And this (ſaid he) they will be ready enough to do, either out of fear, or de-"ſire to be rid of us." But this laſt propoſal was rejected by the whole ſoldiery, who had no mind to go by land: nevertheleſs *Xenophon*, without putting it to the vote, ſent immediate word to thoſe cities, that the *Greek* army would ſhortly march through their territories; and that, if the roads proved good, they would the ſooner leave their country.

He ſecures ſome ſhips.

Xenophon orders the roads to be repaired.

WHILST they were getting ſome ſhips from the *Trebizontines*, againſt whom it would have been the higheſt ingratitude to commit hoſtilities, *Xenophon* led out one half of the army againſt the *Drilians*, leaving the reſt to guard the camp, becauſe the *Colchians* were encamped in great numbers on an oppoſite eminence. The guides did not conduct them to ſuch places where proviſions were eaſy to be got, as being in friendſhip with them, but to ſome other of thoſe territories, by whoſe inhabitants they had been ill treated, who were ſome of the fierceſt and moſt warlike, and where they could get nothing but by dint of fighting, and climbing up almoſt inacceſſible hills. Beſides, the *Drilians* had ſet fire to all the places that were eaſy of acceſs; ſo that they found only ſome oxen, hogs, and ſmall cattle, that had eſcaped the fire. They attempted likewiſe a place, which was ſtiled their metropolis; but which proved ſo ſtrong and well defended, that they met with a ſevere repulſe, and were dreadfully galled by the enemy in their retreat. *Xenophon*, however, being aſſured, that the place was well ſtored with proviſions and plunder, reſolved upon taking it; and with great labour, difficulty, and the bravery of his men, gained it; but was ſurpriſed to find in it an impregnable citadel; from which the gariſon ſallied out, and wounded a great number of his *Greeks*. They haraſſed them ſtill more in their retreat through the ſtreets of the place: ſo that he found no better expedient to ſecure it, than by ſetting the houſes, ramparts, tower, and fort, on fire, to keep the enemy employed. They were in no leſs danger the next day, when they took the road down the ſteep hills with the plunder they had taken; and *Xenophon* was again forced to uſe all the policy he was maſter of, to avoid the ambuſhes and purſuit of the enemy: ſo that it was with the greateſt difficulty and danger, as well as ſome loſs, that they got ſafe to their camp with the few proviſions they had.

Plunder the Drilians;

Meet with a ſtout repulſe;

Harraſſed in their retreat.

ALL this while, neither *Cheiriſophus* returned, nor were the ſhips they had ſecured ſufficient to tranſport them. Not being, therefore, able to ſubſiſt longer there, they reſolved to divide the army, and to put on board the veſſels all the ſick, wounded, women, and ſoldiers, whilſt the remainder took their march along the ſea-coaſt; and, after three days, the roads having been mended, arrived at *Ceraſus*, a colony of the *Sinopians* in *Colchis*, where they diſpoſed of their ſlaves, and made a diſtribution of the money to the men, the generals reſerving only the tenth part for an offering to the *Delphic Apollo*, and the *Epheſian Diana*. Here alſo their little fleet being arrived, they reſolved to review the remainder of their army; and found, that, of between ten or eleven thouſand men, of which it conſiſted when they accompanied *Cyrus* to *Babylon*, they had ſtill eight thouſand left, after all the many combats, ſhows, ſickneſſes, and other diſaſters, they had undergone during ſo long and dangerous a march.

Divids their army.

HERE having ſtaid ten days to refreſh themſelves, one part purſued their courſe by ſea, and the other by land; and theſe laſt arrived at the confines of the *Moſynæcians* (L), where *Xenophon*, taking advantage of a war which they were then waging with their

(L) Signifying the ſame as *Turricolæ*, which name the *Greeks* gave them, on account of their living in towers (1), which *Pomponius Mela* tells us were made of wood (2). They inhabited along

(1) *Vide Dion. perieget. v.* 776. *Euſtat. Diod. Sic. libl. lib.* xiv. (2) *De ſit. orb. lib.* i. *c.* 19.

the

their neighbours, about a ſtrong city, which they called their metropolis (the citadel of which, that ſide which had the poſſeſſion of, was always looked upon to have the command over all the reſt, but which, he was told, their enemies had unjuſtly ſeized upon), choſe to enter into a friendly alliance with them, rather than to engage the whole nation, and aſſiſted them in taking that place, and in defeating thoſe who oppoſed them. In this encounter, the enemy's king, who commanded in one of the wooden towers ſituate on an eminence, choſe to be burnt, with all that were in it, rather than yield. The *Greeks* found great plenty of proviſions in the city (M); and, having well refreſhed themſelves, they went forward, after having reſigned the place to thoſe *Moſynæcians*, who had aſſiſted them in taking it; and, as they advanced, found moſt of the other towns abandoned, or ready to ſurrender. Theſe ſtood at about eight ſtades, more or leſs, aſunder; and yet ſo hollow and mountainous was the country, that they could call to each other, and be heard. The nations thus ſubdued were remarkably ſavage and brutal (N). The *Greeks* were eight days in marching through their country, and that of the *Moſynæcians*, whom they had aſſiſted, and came at laſt into the country of the *Chalybians* (O); which being very barren, they haſtened to get through it, and croſſed that of the *Tibarenians*, which is more fertile and champaign, and whoſe inhabitants met them with preſents, in token of hoſpitality; and arrived at the city of *Cotyora* (P), where they ſtaid no leſs than forty days. They had now traveled, in their retreat from the field of battle near *Babylon*, to this city, in one hundred and twenty-two marches, ſix hundred and twenty paraſangs, or eighteen hundred ſtades, in about eight months (Q).

Ally with ſome of the Moſynœcians.

Arrive at Cotyora.

THE

the coaſts of the *Euxine* ſea, and were more ſtout and barbarous than any of the nations they had gone through. They had ſhields made of white ox-hides, with the hair on, and ſhaped like an ivy-leaf; they held a ſpear ſix cubits long, in their right-hand, with a point on the upper-part, and a round ball at the bottom, all of the ſame wood. They wore thin veſts, which did not reach quite to their knees; their helmets were made of leather, from the middle of which aroſe a tuft of hair, braided to a point, like a tiara; and their battle-axes were made of iron. So proud and fierce they were, that, when one of the *Greek* chiefs was ſent to inquire of them, whether they would let them paſs through their country as friends or enemies, they anſwered, they were ready for either. However, as they were then at war with their neighbours, *Xenophon*, by his addreſs, and promiſe to aſſiſt them in it, eaſily brought them to a friendly treaty, in which they alſo promiſed to aſſiſt and conduct them.

(M) Among them the bread, our author was told, was baked the year before, the new corn being laid up in ſtraw; they likewiſe found dolphins cut in pieces, and pickled in jars, and others filled with the fat of it, which they uſed inſtead of oil. Their garrets were filled with cheſtnuts, which they boiled, and eat, inſtead of bread; and in their cellars was a ſort of wine, which, when unmixed, was ſo rough, that it taſted ſour; but, being daſhed with water, became very palatable (3).

(N) They were, according to our author, but one remove from brutes; lazy and libidinous to the higheſt degree. There they ſaw the children of the wealthier ſort, white and fair, and ſo fatted with boiled cheſtnuts, that they were near as thick as long; their backs were painted with divers colours, and their fore-parts embоſſed with various flowers. The men expreſſed a great deſire to make public uſe of the women which the *Greeks* had with them; for it was, it ſeems, their cuſtom to do that only in public which others do in private, and in private to behave as if they were in public; which is no more than what *Strabo* ſays (4) of the *Iriſh*, and *Julius Cæſar* of the antient *Britons* (5). They talked, laughed, and danced, by themſelves. as if they were in company, and were diverting others inſtead of themſelves.

(O) Theſe were ſubject to the *Moſynæcians*, and lived moſtly by their iron manufacture; from whence they have the name of *Chalybians*. *Strabo* was of opinion, that they were the ſame with the *Alyzonians*, mentioned by *Homer* (6); and that the poet either writ *Chalybes*, or that the inhabitants were originally called *Alybians*. If ſo, by what *Homer* writes of them, they ſeem to have been as famed for their ſilver, as they were at that time for their iron mines.

As for the *Tibarenians*, *Xenophon* tells us, the *Greeks*, having a deſign to plunder their country, ſuſpended the accepting of their preſents till the gods were conſulted, who declared againſt their intended hoſtilities; upon which they marched, in a friendly manner, to *Cotyora*.

(P) This was a *Greek* city, and a colony of the *Sinopians*, tho', in *Arrian*'s time, it was dwindled into a ſmall village (7).

(Q) This is *Xenophon*'s own account of it; but which is looked upon as imperfect in both reſpects; as the reader may ſee by what we have ſaid in our firſt note to this relation, and by the authors there quoted, to whom we ſhall refer our readers. Interpreters have likewiſe varied about the true amount of the paraſangs and ſtades, reckoned at the end of his laſt book, particularly Mr. *Hutchinſon*, who computes it to be three thouſand three hundred and thirty-one *Engliſh* miles, reckoning eight ſtades to a mile. He might, indeed, have ſaid *Greek* miles, and then his account would have been right; but it is plain, from Dr. *Arbuthnot*, that that comes vaſtly ſhort of the *Engliſh* mile. Mr. *Spelman* hath rectified that account, in his laſt note on *Xenophon*; and makes the whole to amount only to three thouſand

(3) *Xenoph. ubi ſupra, lib.* v. (4) *Geogr. lib.* iv. (5) *Bell. Gall. lib.* v. (6) *Geogr. lib.* xii. (7) *Periplus ponti Euxini.*

Refuſed entrance.

THE *Cotyorans*, who had heard of all the exploits performed by the *Greeks* in this glorious retreat, and could not but look upon them with a jealous eye, refuſed to admit their ſick within their walls, or even to ſupply them with proviſions; ſo that they were obliged to get admittance for the former by force, and, for the other, to make excurſions into ſome of their territories, and thoſe of the *Paphlagonians*. But, whilſt they were buſied in ſacrificing to the gods, and celebrating their uſual games, they received an embaſſy from *Sinope*, the then moſt powerful city in northern *Aſia*, complaining of the injury done to their colony of *Cotyora*, and particularly of their forcing the inhabitants to receive their ſick. *Hecatonymus*, who was the chief ſpeaker, and wanted neither addreſs nor eloquence, intermixed his harangue with ſoothing and threatening expreſſions; and as he, on the one hand, congratulated their ſucceſs and valour, ſo, on the other, he plainly told them, that, unleſs they forbore all further hoſtilities, the *Sinopians* would be obliged to return them, and call in *Corylas*, the *Paphlagonians*, and other allied nations, to their aſſiſtance againſt them. To this *Xenophon* anſwered, with his uſual openneſs, to this effect: "We are come hither, well ſatisfied with having "preſerved our perſons, and our arms, after ſo long and dangerous a march, ſeeing "we could not fight our way through, and bring our booty with us. We have offered no violence to any but Barbarians, and have always forborn it where-ever we "have met with any *Greek* colonies. The guides, which the *Trebizuntines* have furniſhed us with, can witneſs how ſtrictly we have obſerved the laws of hoſpitality towards that city; and we have done the ſame even with thoſe Barbarians who have "granted us a free paſſage, as long as any proviſions could be bought with money; "and, if we have behaved in a different manner towards the *Cotyorans*, you ought to "lay the blame of it to that inhumanity they ſhewed, in ſhutting up their gates againſt "us, and refuſing to ſupply us with proviſions, which, they told us, they did in obedience to the *Sinopian* governor's orders. All the hoſtility we have committed "againſt them, hath been only the forcing our ſick and wounded into their city, and "ſetting a guard upon that gate, to ſecure their return to our army. The reſt of us "you ſee encamped in the open air, and equally ready to return a kindneſs, or reſent "an injury. And, as for your threats, we, who have encountered ſo many fierce "and warlike nations in our retreat, cannot be at a loſs how to defend ourſelves againſt "*Corylas* and his *Paphlagonians*; and, as we are informed, that he wants to make himſelf maſter of your city, and the maritim towns, it will be eaſy for us to make him "our friend, by aſſiſting him in his deſigns, if you give us cauſe ſo to do."

Sinopians *complain againſt them.*

Xenophon's *anſwer to them.*

The Sinopians *ſeek his friendſhip.*

THIS ſpeech ſo alarmed the reſt of the embaſſadors, who plainly perceived by it how impoſſible it would be either to overawe or overcome the *Greek* chiefs, that they unanimouſly diſclaimed that of their orator, as far at leaſt as related to the threatenings which *Xenophon* was ſo juſtly offended at; and proteſted, that they were ſent not to declare war, but to offer their friendſhip, and, with it, all the ſervices in their power, to them; that, if the *Greeks* deſigned to come to *Sinope*, they ſhould meet with a kind reception there; and that, till then, they ſhould be ſupplied with every thing by the *Cotyorans*. Upon this, there was nothing to be ſeen but tokens of hoſpitality and friendſhip on both ſides, and ſuch a mutual confidence, as quite removed all further jealouſies; and the reſt of the day was ſpent in feaſting and mirth.

three hundred five and an half *Engliſh* miles. The reader may ſee his calculation in the place above-quoted, as well as that of the paraſangs, in his twenty-firſt note to the firſt book.

The time likewiſe of the expedition, to wit, in the third year of the ninety-fourth *Olympiad*, and the length of it, to wit, twenty-five months, may be ſeen fairly ſtated, if not fully proved, as we think, in the geographical diſſertation formerly mentioned. The latter of them ſtands thus:

	Months.
From *Epheſus* to the battle	7
From the battle to their arrival at *Cotyora*	8
To their joining *Seuthes* (in a moderate computation)	6
Served under *Seuthes*	2
From leaving him to join *Thymbrio*, muſt be near	2
	25

The reader may ſee his reaſons for both (which we are obliged to omit, in a work like this) in the curious piece above-mentioned, *p.* 67, *&ſeqq.*

By

By that time they had ſtaid forty days before *Cotyora*, *Xenophon* became impatient to wait any longer for *Cheiriſophus*, of whom they had not heard any thing ſince his departure. He therefore reſolved to make uſe of the good underſtanding between him and the *Sinopians* to engage them to furniſh him with tranſport-ſhips; and, having called an aſſembly, in which thoſe embaſſadors were admitted, he addreſſed himſelf to them, and deſired them, as they were *Greeks*, to give them the beſt advice they could about their return into *Greece*. He was immediately anſwered by *Hecatonymus*, That they were ready to give them the beſt and moſt friendly advice, without any regard to their own private intereſt: that tho' he clearly foreſaw to what inconvenience it would put the *Sinopian* ſtate to furniſh them with a ſufficient number of ſhips to tranſport ſuch a conſiderable body of men; yet, foraſmuch as their route by land was ſo hazardous and difficult, both on account of the vaſt ridges of mountains they muſt go over, and the great number of warlike forces they muſt encounter with, by whoſe help *Corylas* had been enabled to ſhake off the *Perſian* yoke; to ſay nothing of the great rivers, where their paſſage might be eaſily obſtructed, particularly the *Iris*, *Halys*, *Thermodon*, and *Parthenius*, he was fully of opinion, that their going by ſea was by far the ſafer and quicker way, ſince the *Sinopian* veſſels would be able to land them, in a few days, at the port of *Heraclea*; where you will have it in your option, ſaid he, to continue your route either by ſea or land; and, if you chooſe the firſt, there you will find a ſufficient number of veſſels for that purpoſe. The *Greek* chiefs could hardly forbear thinking his advice more partial in favour of *Corylas* than he pretended. However, upon mature conſideration, they agreed to it, upon this condition, that the *Sinopians* ſhould provide them a ſufficient number of veſſels for the whole army; for that they were fully determined to force their paſſage through any road, rather than ſuffer their army to be divided.

His addreſs to them.

The Greeks reſolve to go home by ſea.

This reſolution was immediately diſpatched to *Sinope* by proper deputies of their own; and, whilſt they were waiting for their return, *Xenophon*, who, like a true patriot and philoſopher, was ſtill meditating ſomething for the good or honour of his country, had laid the project of eſtabliſhing a *Greek* colony, on the *Euxine* coaſt, of his targeteers, archers, and ſlingers, who, by long experience, were become ſuch excellent warriors, that they would eaſily maintain themſelves againſt any oppoſition, inlarge their territories, and ſettle themſelves into a kind of republic, of which his maſter *Socrates* ſhould be the lawgiver. Before he communicated his deſign to any of the chiefs, he deſired the augur *Silanus* to conſult the gods about it; but he, who made a ſordid trade of his office, and was in haſte to carry his wealth into *Greece* (R), as the only place where he could enjoy it in ſafety, inſtead of conſulting the gods, betrayed the whole ſecret to the *Greek* army; upon which both chiefs and ſoldiers, at leaſt the far greater part of them, not only declared againſt it, but accuſed *Xenophon* of having ſome ſiniſter deſign of ſacrificing them to his ambition. They carried their reſentment ſo far, as to alarm the *Sinopian* and *Heraclean* merchants with it, particularly *Timaſion* the *Dardanian*, and *Thorax* the *Bœotian*, who had already prevailed upon thoſe two cities to ſend them veſſels for their departure; and a good number of the *Greeks* had engaged to follow them: ſo that the army was upon the point of being divided, had not *Xenophon*, by his reaſoning and eloquence, diſſipated their fears, and reſtored a mutual harmony among them. "That I often ſacrificed to the gods (ſaid he to them "in a general aſſembly), is no ſecret to you; and they are my witneſſes, that I only do "it to obtain their direction, and your ſafety, that I may happily ſee you all at the "end of your labours. But, ſince you will not think yourſelves ſo till you arrive in "your native country, I am willing to deſiſt from my deſign, which I only formed "from a concern that your preſent wants gave me, and that ſuch as were willing might "poſſeſs themſelves of ſome place of reſt, while the others were at liberty to purſue their "march homewards: and ſince I find, that the *Heracleans* and *Sinopians* are ſending

Xenophon's *project of ſettling a colony, betrayed and rejected.*

His defence to the army;

(R) This diviner, among other advantages he had reaped by his art, had received a reward of three thouſand *darics*, or ten talents, from *Cyrus*, for having foretold to him, that the king would not fight him within ten days; which happened accordingly. We have already given an account of that *Perſian* coin (8). Thoſe readers who want a fuller, may conſult Mr. *Spelman* (9) upon it.

This was the motive that induced that juggler to wiſh himſelf in *Greece* in ſuch haſte, where only he thought he could be in ſafe poſſeſſion of his large booty.

(8) *Univerſ. hiſt. vol.* ii. *p.* 62.

(9) *Expedit. lib* i. *p.* 8. *not.* 11.

" us

and advice about the march.

" us a ſupply of ſhips, and that *Timaſion* and *Thorax* have promiſed you your pay " from the beginning of the next month (S), I ſhall look upon it as an advantage to " be thus ſafely conducted to the place of our deſire, and paid for being preſerved in " our way thither. Only remember, that our ſucceſs and ſafety will chiefly depend " upon our ſtrict union; whereas your ſuffering yourſelves to be divided will only " expoſe you to continual dangers and want. My opinion therefore is, that we not " only haſten to *Greece*, but that, if any one of us be found to ſtay behind, or endea- " vouring to deſert his companions, before we are arrived at a place of ſafety, he be " puniſhed as an offender." He concluded with putting the motion to the vote; upon which it was agreed to by every one, except *Silanus*; who oppoſed it, under pretence that every one ought to be at liberty to retire whitherſoever he pleaſed; but he was like to have paid dear for his indiſcretion, and was threatened to be puniſhed as a deſerter, if ever he attempted to make his eſcape.

Corylas's *meſſage.*

THEIR long ſtay at *Cotyora*, during which the men could no longer ſubſiſt but by the plunder they got from the *Paphlagonians*, cauſed at length ſo much ill blood, and ſo many repriſals, that *Corylas* was forced to ſend ſome embaſſadors to acquaint their chiefs, that, as he did not deſign any injury to their army, ſo neither would he ſuffer any from them. *Xenophon*, who was then very much taken up with the embarkation, cauſed them to be received with all the marks of friendſhip and civility; and, after a magnificent entertainment, and ſome ſhews and exerciſes, which, however, gave them more pain than pleaſure (T), they went away very well ſatisfied with their reception, with the anſwer they received, and with their peaceable and honourable diſmiſſion: after which, the *Greeks*, having received the promiſed veſſels from *Heraclea* and *Sinope*, embarked, and ſet ſail, with a favourable wind; and the next day anchored at *Harmene*, a port not far from *Sinope*, where they received from the inhabitants a preſent of three thouſand meaſures of flour, and a proportionable quantity of wine. Hither alſo arrived *Cheiriſophus*, who, after ſo long a ſtay, had been able to obtain of the *Lacedæmonian* admiral only a few gallies, ſome fruitleſs praiſes, and the promiſe of *Lacedæmonian* pay to as many as would come and ſerve under him.

The Greeks *embark for* Harmene.

Reſolve upon a lucrative expedition.

BY this time the ſoldiers, who found themſelves on the eve of entering their beloved country, began to regret, that they had no more booty to carry home with them, and to form a deſign to ſupply that defect, by the ſpoils of ſome opulent town; and, in order to do it with greater ſafety and ſucceſs, reſolved to confer the ſupreme authority on one of their chiefs, which would render their deliberations more ſecret, and the execution of them more eaſy and effectual. *Xenophon*, on account of his ſingular virtues and ſagacity, was unanimouſly nominated to it; but he, being afraid leſt any thing ſhould happen that might ſully all his former glory, modeſtly refuſed it; and, among other reaſons he gave for it, one was, that, as *Cheiriſophus* had hitherto been chief of theſe expeditions, it would be unjuſt to chooſe an officer of another nation over his head, and would, in all likelihood, expoſe the *Athenians* to the reſentment of the

Xenophon *declines to embark in it.*

(S) As we are forced to paſs by many minute particulars, to avoid running into too great a length, we ſhall only obſerve from *Xenophon*, that thoſe two diſcontented chiefs, in order to draw the ſoldiery into their deſign, had engaged to pay them a *cyzicene per* month, on condition, that they agreed to ſail away by the beginning of the next month; which many of them had agreed to. The reader may ſee a fuller account of their cabals in our author; as likewiſe an account of that *Athenian* coin, in his learned tranſlator (1). All we ſhall ſay of it is, that, according to *Demoſthenes*, it was worth twenty-eight *Attic* drachmas, or eighteen ſhillings and one peny ſterling; and that it had a woman's head on one ſide, probably that of *Cybele*, and on the other that of a lion, both handſomely ſtruck. As for this method of paying the ſoldiers monthly, we find it from ſeveral paſſages of *Xenophon*, and other authors, to have been practiſed among the *Greeks*, and other nations.

(T) There was, in particular, a martial dance exhibited before them, in which two *Thracians* appeared leaping and jumping, at an extraordinary height, with their arms, at the ſound of the flutes: and in the height of their agility, one of them ſtruck the other with his ſword, in ſuch manner, that the ſpectators thought him dead; and, having ſtripped him of his armour, marched off in triumph: preſently after which, the ſuppoſed ſlain was carried off, unhurt. There were ſeveral other dances ſhewn, of the ſame nature, which the reader may ſee deſcribed in our author (2), which greatly amazed the *Paphlagonians*; but that which gave them the greateſt delight, was that of a courteſan belonging to an *Arcadian*, who appeared in an elegant martial dreſs, and danced the *pyrrhic*, with her ſhield in one hand, and ſpear in the other, with ſuch agility, comelineſs, and regularity, that the embaſſadors could not forbear aſking, whether theſe *Greek* women had borne a ſhare in charging the enemy's troops? To which they were anſwered, That they drove the *Perſian* king out of their camp.

(1) *Expedit. lib.* [illegible] *vol.* ii. *p.* 51. *not.* 34.

(2) *Xenoph. ubi ſupra, lib.* vi. *ſub init.*

Lacedæ-

Lacedæmonians. His refuſal was ſo far from being reliſhed by them, that they plainly told him, it was high time to ſet aſide all ſuch regard for thoſe new upſtarts, who now domineered over all *Greece:* and a merry *Arcadian* chief added, in a pleaſant tone: "At this rate the *Lacedæmonians* will be the only men fit for the place of honour: ſo "that we ſhall not dare to make a feaſt without ſending for a ſympoſiarch to *Sparta* "(U)." His raillery was much applauded by the army, and *Xenophon* ſtill more preſſed to accept of the offer: upon which he was forced to tell them, that he had, according to his conſtant cuſtom, conſulted the gods by ſacrifices; and that they had abſolutely forbid him to do it. So that they were, with ſome difficulty, prevailed upon to chooſe *Cheiriſophus* for it; who not only gladly accepted it, but promiſed to make no farther uſe of his authority, than what would contribute to the ſucceſs of their enterprize.

Cheiriſophus choſen in his ſtead.

THE wind proving favourable, their little fleet ſet ſail along the coaſt once famed for the *Argonautic* expedition, and ſtill retaining the name of *Jaſon*; along which they obſerved the mouths of the *Thermodon*, *Halys*, *Parthenius*, &c. and landed in the peninſula called *Acheruſia*, near the city of *Heraclea*. Here they encamped on the banks of the *Lycus*, and received conſiderable tokens of hoſpitality from that city, conſiſting of three thouſand buſhels of wheat, two thouſand barrels of wine, one hundred ſheep, and twenty oxen: and as they deliberated, whether they ſhould continue their navigation, or proceed by land, being by this time grown more greedy after plunder, as well as more heady and ungovernable, they reſolved to ſend to extort of the *Heracleans* the ſum of ten thouſand cyzicens; and, in ſpight of all that *Cheiriſophus* could ſay to the contrary, ſent four ſubalterns to demand it, with a commanding air. The magiſtrates were not a little ſurpriſed at it; but, according to their uſual ſubtilty, having promiſed them to go and conſult about it, ordered, with the utmoſt expedition and ſecrecy, every thing that was valuable in the country to be brought into the city; which was no ſooner done than they ordered the gates of it to be ſhut: preſently after, the walls appeared covered with armed men, ready for defence; and the *Greek* deputies were diſmiſſed, without any other anſwer. Upon their return the *Greek* army fell into the utmoſt confuſion and uproar, and treated all their chiefs with the bittereſt invectives, and even *Xenophon*, by name, as the main obſtructors of their wealth and glory: and the *Achæans* and *Arcadians*, having proteſted that they would not return into *Greece* with empty hands, abandoned *Cheiriſophus*, and choſe ten chiefs of their own nation.

Encamp on the Lycus.

An uproar in the army.

PRESENTLY after the army was divided into three bodies, the *Arcadians* and *Achæans* embarked, to the number of about four thouſand five hundred, on the tranſports which the *Heracleans* had furniſhed them with; and *Cheiriſophus* and *Xenophon* led the other two bodies, which conſiſted of two thouſand men each. The *Arcadians* ſailed to *Calpe*, a ſea-port, ſituate between *Heraclea* and *Byzantium*, lodged for that night in the neighbouring villages, about fifty ſtades diſtance from the ſea, and by the next morning went about their plunder, and brought home a good number of cattle, and ſome priſoners. The *Thracians*, who inhabited this part of *Bithynia*, and who were neither uſed to, nor provided againſt ſuch inroads, had abandoned the country at their firſt arrival; but, being themſelves accuſtomed to live upon plunder, ſoon rallied their forces, and fell furiouſly upon the *Arcadians*, who, for want of light-armed infantry, continued their march in a kind of cloſe phalanx, without opening or breaking their ranks, till they came croſs a valley, where the *Thracians* ſo haraſſed them on both ſides, that they were intirely defeated, and a great number of them ſlain, particularly one of their leaders, called *Sinicres*, with all his men. Fluſhed with this ſucceſs, the *Thracians* fell on another body of them, of which eight only eſcaped; but this did not hinder the reſt from rallying, tho' ſome with more difficulty than others. All this while the *Thracians* made ſuch loud ſhoutings at their ſucceſs, that their number hourly increaſed; and next morning, by break of day, went and attacked the *Greeks*,

Divided into three bodies.

The Arcadians defeated, and terribly haraſſed.

(U) The *Greeks* called the perſon that was choſen to be preſident of a feaſt, *ſympoſiarch*; and the keenneſs of this ſarcaſm conſiſts in the unfitneſs of a *Lacedæmonian* for ſuch an office, conſidering the *Spartan* plainneſs of living, and their averſion to luxury; of which we have given an account in the place cited below (3).

(3) *See vol.* ii. *p.* 562.

and ſurrounded the eminence on which they had lodged themſelves. Their archers and cavalry made ſeveral heavy diſcharges on them, without receiving one ſhot from them; for, as ſoon as the *Greeks* moved one way to repulſe them, they immediately faced about, and gave way, whilſt the others, on the other ſide, attacked them behind. At length, the *Greeks* no longer able to bear ſuch violent and frequent onſets, began to treat of a peace; but, when they came to inſiſt upon having hoſtages, the *Thracians* refuſed to give any; which put a ſtop to the treaty.

In this diſmal condition we muſt leave the *Arcadians*, to take a view of the other two bodies; that is, thoſe of *Cheiriſophus* and *Xenophon*. The former, being in a bad ſtate of health, had kept his march along the ſea-coaſt, and, at length, ſafely arrived at the port of *Calpe*; and *Xenophon*, having provided himſelf with ſhips, landed on the confines of *Thrace*, upon the territory of *Heraclea*. His cavalry, which was upon the ſcout, having intercepted ſome paſſengers, brought them to him; and theſe informed him of the diſmal condition the *Arcadians* were in. He immediately reſolved to go to their aſſiſtance; and, in order to diſpoſe his ſoldiers to ſecond him in his generous deſign, addreſſed them to this effect: "You hear that part of the *Arcadians* are ſlain, "and the reſt cloſely beſieged upon an hill; and, if theſe be deſtroyed, our hopes of "ſeeing our country are at an end, ſince the *Thracians* are ſo numerous and ſucceſsful againſt us. Let us therefore immediately march to their relief. Can we do a "more glorious thing than to ſave our countrymen, and ſecure our own ſafety? Perhaps the gods have ſuffered thoſe raſh and perfidious men to fall into theſe diſaſters, "for having preſumed to depend upon their own prudence againſt their warnings; "and reſerved to us, who intirely depend on their guidance and protection, the honour "of ſaving them. Follow therefore your leaders, and take care to obey the orders "you receive from them." This ſaid, he marched at their head, through the enemy's country, ordering his men to ſet all on fire where-ever they paſſed; and encamped that night within forty ſtades of the *Thracian* camp. The next morning *Timaſion*, and his cavalry, were ordered to march towards them along with the guides; but, when they came to the field of battle, they found neither the *Arcadians* nor the enemy, but only ſome of the plunder, as ſheep and oxen, with ſome old men and women, who told them, that the *Thracians* had abandoned the place the night before, and the *Arcadians* had retreated that morning by break of day; but, which way they were gone, they knew not. *Xenophon* was immediately informed of this, and marched directly for the port of *Calpe*, where he found the *Arcadians* juſt arrived; and ſoon after them came in alſo *Cheiriſophus*, with his two thouſand men. The army being thus happily reunited, nothing was ſeen for a while, but the moſt hearty congratulations on all hands: after which they ſet about burying their dead; and, as for thoſe that could not be found, they erected a large cenotaph to their memory, and crowned it with garlands, after the *Grecian* manner. The next day they held a general aſſembly, at which it was unanimouſly agreed, that whoever, for the future, propoſed to divide the army, ſhould be put to death: and, *Cheiriſophus* having loſt his life by a medicine which he took in a fever, the aſſembly choſe *Neon* the *Aſinæan* to ſucceed him.

Cheiriſophus lands at Calpe, *and* Xenophon *on the* Thracian *confines.*

Xenophon's ſpeech.

Marches to aſſiſt the Arcadians.

The army join at Calpe.

Cheiriſophus's death.

By this time the army being without ſhips, and on the point of wanting proviſions, *Xenophon* propoſed their marching by land; but, upon conſulting their victims, they met with nothing but ſiniſter omens, one at the heels of another, till, at length, the ſoldiers began to ſuſpect ſome foul play; and that *Xenophon* was at the bottom of it, and was ſtill bent on his old project of ſettling a colony there: ſo that, to clear himſelf, he was forced to publiſh through the army, that all perſons might be admitted to view the victims, and to invite all the ſkilful prieſts to come and aſſiſt at them. On the next day there was an extraordinary concourſe of both, and a great number of victims was offered, with more than ordinary ſolemnity. This was repeated three times, and not one promiſing omen to be found, but every thing ſeeming to threaten ſome direful diſaſter. Upon this *Xenophon* addreſſed himſelf to the army, and propoſed, that, ſince the gods had declared againſt their departure, they ſhould now conſult them about a ſupply of proviſions, ſince their own were almoſt ſpent; and was immediately anſwered by a ſoldier, that he was informed, by a ſhip come the day before from *Byzantium*, that *Cleander*, governor of that city, was coming with tranſports and gallies: ſo that the gods, without doubt, directed them to ſtay for him. All

The army in great ſtreights, and Xenophon *ſuſpected.*

His advice.

the

the reſt declaring themſelves to be of the ſame mind, they now only conſulted the gods about a freſh ſupply of proviſions; but here likewiſe the victims proved ominous. The next day, having no oxen left for ſacrifice, they were obliged to buy ſome from a cart; but theſe proved no more favourable than the former. Upon which *Xenophon* concluded, that they foreboded ſome danger in the attempt of going in queſt of new plunder; whilſt *Neon* was of opinion, that, in their preſent ſituation, they ought to liſten to nothing but to the irreſiſtible voice of neceſſity. The whole army hereupon were divided, ſome making a mere jeſt not only of the ceremony of inſpecting the victims, but of divination in general; while the prieſts and poets, and moſt of the philoſophers, argued very ſtrenuouſly for both. *The chiefs divided.*

At length *Neon*, being informed by an *Heraclean*, that there were ſome villages near them, where they might get ſome freſh ſupplies, ordered a proclamation to be made, that thoſe who had a mind might go in queſt of proviſions, there being a guide ready to conduct them: upon which two thouſand went out of the camp, armed and equipped for that expedition; but their ill ſucceſs was a freſh proof againſt the incredulous, which *Xenophon* did not paſs by without due animadverſion; for *Pharnabazus*, who was governor of *Phrygia*, ſent a ſtrong detachment of horſe againſt them, who killed about five hundred *Greeks*, and put the reſt to flight; and theſe, having rallied, retired to a neighbouring hill. *Xenophon* no ſooner heard of this defeat, than he put himſelf at the head of the choice of his army (X), and marched to their reſcue; and had the good ſucceſs to bring them back ſafe to the camp, about ſun-ſet. They had ſcarcely eat their ſupper before the *Bithynians*, coming up through the neighbouring thickets, ſurpriſed the advanced guard, killed ſome, and purſued the reſt to the camp. The alarmed *Greeks* immediately ran to their arms; but, not thinking it ſafe to leave their camp in the night, for fear of ambuſhes, contented themſelves with continuing upon the watch, and reinforcing the out-guards, till the next morning. Neon's *raſh expedition.* *Alarmed by the* Bithynians.

They decamped by break of day, and marched to a place of greater ſtrength, where they fortified themſelves with paliſadoes, and a trench, which reached quite through the neck of land that led to the promontory; and this they had done by noon. At the ſame time arrived a veſſel from *Heraclea*, with freſh ſupplies of meal, barley, cattle, and wine. By the next morning *Xenophon*, having offered the uſual ſacrifices, found the victims more favourable; about which time the prieſt, having likewiſe obſerved an eagle on the lucky ſide, called out to him, to lead on. They paſſed the trench with great eagerneſs, to retrieve their laſt defeat; and only *Neon*, and thoſe who were above forty-five years of age, remained to guard the camp. After marching fifteen ſtadia, they came to the bodies of their ſlain, which they buried as they went on; and about mid-day they began to perceive the enemy's army, which conſiſted of ſeveral bodies of horſe and foot, and formed but one intire phalanx. At ſight of them the *Greeks* were inſpired with freſh courage; and the victims proving ſtill favourable, *Xenophon*, among other proper diſpoſitions of his army, detached three companies of two hundred men each, to ſupport the main body, that, as ſoon as they had broken the phalanx, the enemy might intangle themſelves between thoſe three bodies; after which he propoſed marching immediately againſt them. *Intrench themſelves.* *A freſh ſupply.* *March againſt the enemy.*

The *Greek* chiefs led on the van; but, before they could come at the valley where the *Perſians* were poſted, they were to croſs a pretty thick and difficult copſe, or valley (Y): upon which they made an halt, to conſult whether it was proper to march through it. *Xenophon*, who led the rear, wondering at their halting, went inſtantly forward; and, having heard their reaſon for it, ſpoke to them, to this effect: "You "know, that I never willingly ſought dangers for you, but rather conſulted your ſafety "even more than your glory; but, in this preſent ſituation, we cannot go back with- "out danger of being purſued, and having our rear cut off. Is it not, therefore, more Xenophon's *ſpeech to the army.*

(X) That is, according to *Xenophon*, with only ſuch as were not above fifty years of age (4).

(Y) The *Greek* word, ὕλη, uſed by our author, commonly ſignifies a wood, or thicket; and is accordingly rendered by *Leunclavius* and *Hutchinſon*, by *ſaltus*, and by *D'Ablancourt* and *Pagi*, *un bocage épais*, a thick copſe, or thicket: but Mr. *Spelman* thinks it ought rather to be rendered a valley, becauſe *Xenophon* ſpeaks afterwards of a bridge over it, which can, in no ſenſe, be applied to a wood; nor, we may add, to a valley, unleſs it be over ſome river running through it. We leave it to the reader to chooſe which ſenſe he thinks beſt.

(4) *See before, note* (S)

"life

" ſafe to attack them, with our arms to cover us, than to ſee them purſue us when we
" are defenceleſs, and when our flight will inſpirit the moſt cowardly among them? As
" for me, I had rather fall on with half the number of forces, than give way with
" twice as many: and I believe, you think with me, that if we attack them, they
" will not have courage to ſtand, though, if we retire, they will not refuſe to purſue
" us. I cannot but look upon the thicket we are to croſs as an advantage worth con-
" tending for, becauſe it will make us engage with greater bravery, when we ſee no
" hope of ſafety but in victory. As for the enemy, I am glad they have an open
" country, and will not be at a loſs for variety of ways to fly from us; for I ſcarcely
" believe they will ſtand our firſt onſet: neither is this thicket more difficult or dread-
" ful than many we have paſſed; and, if it were, will it not be more ſo, if we do not
" overcome their horſe? And will not the mountains we have traverſed be ſtill more
" difficult to repaſs, with ſuch a number of targeteers at our heels? But ſhould we,
" by flight, be able to gain the *Euxine* ſea, what will it avail us, ſeeing we have nei-
" ther proviſions nor veſſels to waft us off? Had we not, therefore, better attack
" them now we have taken ſome refreſhment, than to be attacked by them to-
" morrow morning when we are faſting? The ſacrifices are favourable, the omens
" happy. Let us not, therefore, give the enemy time to ſup and encamp where
" they pleaſe."

THIS ſpeech ſo animated the chiefs, that, with one conſent, they deſired him to put himſelf at their head; which he preſently did; and, having inſpirited his vanguard with reminding them of the many battles they had gained, and what thoſe ought to expect who turned their backs, now they were happily got to the gates of *Greece*, the words given were, *Jupiter the Preſerver*, and *Hercules the Conductor*; and, after they had croſſed the wood, or valley, he diſpoſed them in form of a phalanx, and placed the targeteers upon their wings, ordering the pikemen to carry their pikes on their right ſhoulders till the trumpet ſounded, and then to preſent them, and move gently on. The onſet was reſolute on both ſides; and the targeteers were ſo eager for it, that, inſtead of waiting for the ſignal, they ruſhed at once upon the *Perſian* cavalry and *Bithynian* infantry; and, meeting with a ſtout repulſe, gave way: but, as ſoon as the ſignal was given, and the *Greek* phalanx began to advance towards them at the ſound of their martial inſtruments, and to preſent their pikes, they immediately broke their ranks, and were put to flight. *Timaſion*, at the head of ſome *Greek* cavalry, purſued them, and ſlew a good number of runaways of their left wing: upon which their right quickly rallied, and poſted themſelves on an eminence; but, ſeeing the *Greeks* come full ſpeed to diſlodge them, they abandoned it, and fled. As ſoon as the *Greeks* had got poſſeſſion of the poſt, they could perceive the Barbarian infantry rallying themſelves, and going to join the *Perſian* cavalry: upon which it was immediately reſolved to fall upon them; which was done with ſuch ſpeed and bravery, that the enemy were ſeized with a panic; and the cavalry ran into a neighbouring foreſt for ſhelter.

Defeat the Perſians.

NIGHT drawing on, the *Greeks* did not think fit to purſue them thither; but took the advantage of the remainder of light they had to erect a trophy: after which they returned to their camp, which was about ſixty ſtades diſtance. After this ſignal defeat, the *Bithynians* abandoned the whole country to the *Greeks*, who found an immenſe booty in it, notwithſtanding the care the inhabitants had taken to remove their beſt effects; all which they conveyed to the camp, and divided among them, together with a large ſupply of all ſorts of proviſions. They now abounded with every thing, and waited for nothing but the return of *Cleander*, with the expected tranſports. They were not a little ſurpriſed to ſee him come with only two gallies, which were ſent rather to diſcover the intentions of the chiefs, than to do them any real ſervice. However, he was received with all the deference that was then paid to the *Lacedæmonians*, who, ſince the taking of the city of *Athens*, had aſſumed a ſovereignty over all the other *Grecian* ſtates. He had in his company the infamous *Dexippus*, who had lately carried off a fifty-oar galley from *Trebizond*; and as he always ſought after ſpoil more than glory, he deſired the plunder might be committed to his charge: to which *Cleander* readily agreed.

Erect a trophy.

Cleander *brings two gallies.*

THIS occaſioned new diſturbances in the army; for *Dexippus*, having refuſed ſome ſoldiers their ſhare of the ſheep, under pretence that they belonged to the public, was carrying one of them before *Cleander*, in order to have him puniſhed, accuſing him of threaten-

Raiſes an uproar in the army.

threatening to carry off the ſheep by force. *Agaſias*, who was *Xenophon*'s intimate friend, met them; and, as the priſoner ſerved in his company, he ordered him to be ſet at liberty. Upon which, ſeveral other ſoldiers, being exaſperated againſt *Dexippus*, began to vent their rage by throwing ſtones at him, and calling him many opprobrious names; inſomuch that not only *Dexippus*, and his attendants, but even *Cleander*, were obliged to retire. *Xenophon* did all he could to diſſipate their fears, and appeaſe the tumult; but *Cleander*, as governor of *Byzantium*, took upon him the ſole cognizance and deciſion of the affair, and threatened to ſend orders to the *Bithynian* towns to treat them as enemies, if they did not ſubmit to his ſentence.

THE army did not ſeem indeed much intimidated by his threats; but *Xenophon*, who foreſaw the ill conſequence of exaſperating him, ſummoned the army together, and, in a ſpeech, ſet before them the danger of letting him depart in anger, ſeeing the *Lacedæmonians*, who were now maſters of all *Greece*, had it in their power to ſhut up all the *Grecian* cities againſtthem: "For (ſaid he) he may ſhut up that of *Byzantium* againſt us, and cauſe all the reſt to follow his example, and, at the ſame time, ſend ſuch a character of us to *Anaxibius* their admiral, that it will be difficult for us either to ſail hence, or remain here. I therefore am of opinion, that not only *Agaſias*, and the ſoldier he releaſed, but even myſelf, by whoſe orders, *Cleander* ſays, *Agaſias* acted, or any other he ſhall complain againſt, be forthwith ſent to him, to be tried." Hereupon *Agaſias* roſe up, and, having cleared *Xenophon* from the imputation, and himſelf of having acted any thing unbecoming his character againſt the traitor *Dexippus*, offered himſelf to go and be tried by *Cleander*; and only begged of them, that they would order a number of their generals to accompany him, that, if he omitted any thing, they might ſpeak in his behalf. This being granted, they, together with the ſoldier, went to *Cleander*, before whom the whole affair was fairly ſtated. Both *Agaſias* and the ſoldier eaſily exculpated themſelves, in the opinion of the generals, though *Cleander* aſſumed an air of reſentment. But, whilſt he was at dinner, *Xenophon*, who feared the worſt from him, adviſed the army to depute ſome proper perſons to intercede for them; and they appointed him, with ſome other generals, particularly *Dracontius* the *Lacedæmonian*, to plead in their behalf.

Xenophon's ſpeech to them.

Agaſias, and others, deliver up themſelves to Cleander.

XENOPHON accordingly addreſſed him to this effect: "The men you demanded, O *Cleander*, are now before you; and the army not only makes you maſter of their fate, but of its own. However, we preſume to conjure you to ſpare them, on account of their ſignal ſervices; in return of which favour, we promiſe, that, if you think fit to be our general, we will convince you how obedient we ſhall be to your commands; in which caſe, we deſire you will bring to tryal *Dexippus*, and ſuch as have incurred your diſpleaſure, and reward every one according to his merit." His ſpeech had the deſired effect; and *Cleander*, ſwearing by *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, not only engaged to releaſe the two men, but to come over himſelf to them, and, if the gods favoured them, to bring them into *Greece*. "Your diſcourſe (added he) is very different from the report I have heard of ſome of you, that you were endeavouring to render the army diſaffected to the *Lacedæmonians*." His anſwer was highly applauded by the *Greek* generals, who returned with the two men. As for *Cleander*, he contracted an intimate friendſhip with *Xenophon*, offered ſacrifices for their happy return into *Greece*, and, after having remarked the good order and diſcipline obſerved by the army, became more deſirous than ever of commanding them. He accordingly offered up victims for three days ſucceſſively; but, finding them contrary to his wiſhes, he called the generals together, and ſaid, "The victims will not permit me to conduct the army; but let not that diſcourage you; for it looks as if that honour was reſerved for you. Go on therefore, and depend upon meeting with the beſt reception at *Byzantium* I am able to give you." The ſoldiers having preſented him with the ſheep that belonged to the public, he only accepted of them to return them again, and ſet ſail preſently after; and the army, having ſold the corn they had with them, marched through *Bithynia*. But, as they could meet with nothing on the road to carry into the territories of their friends, they reſolved to march back one day and a night, which furniſhed them with a good number of ſlaves and cattle; and, after ſix days march, arrived at *Chryſopolis* (Z), where they ſtaid ſeven days to ſell their booty [a].

Xenophon pleads for them.

Cleander reconciled.

The army go after plunder.

Arrive at Chryſopolis,

THEY

[a] XENOPH. ubi ſupra, ad fin. lib. vi.

(Z) A ſmall city in *Chalcedonia*, ſituate on the *Thracian Boſporus*, and once famed for being the place where the *Athenians*, when in poſſeſſion of it, cauſed the veſſels that ſailed through the *Boſporus*

and at Byzantium.

THEY were now preparing to croſs the *Boſporus*, in order to enter *Byzantium*; but *Pharnabazus*, who was then in that city, and was ſcarcely recovered from the panic which they had thrown him into, had taken care to inſpire the *Lacedæmonians*, as well as their admiral, with ſuch jealouſies about them, that they were, with great difficulty, admitted into the city; and had likewiſe engaged them to diſpatch the whole *Greek* army as faſt as poſſible into *Greece*, not thinking himſelf ſafe ſo long as they continued in the neighbourhood of *Aſia*. The admiral accordingly ſent for their generals to *Byzantium*, and there promiſed, that, if the *Greeks* came over, they ſhould have pay; and *Cleander*, when they were arrived, cauſed it to be proclaimed, that he would review them, and order proviſions to be found them for their march; but, inſtead of paying them, *Anaxibius* ordered them to march out of the town with their arms and baggage, as if he deſigned to muſter and diſmiſs them; at which the ſoldiers expreſſed no ſmall diſcontent and reluctance, becauſe they had no money to buy proviſions on their route. However, they obeyed, and were no ſooner got out of the city, with *Xenophon* and the other generals at their head, than the gates were immediately ſhut. Here the generals were told by *Anaxibius*, that they might now proceed on their march, and ſupply themſelves with proviſions from the *Thracian* villages, where they would find plenty, and then continue their route into the *Cherſoneſus*, where *Gniſcus* was ordered to pay them.

Over-reached by the Lacedæmonian *admiral.*

Re-enter the city by force.

THE ſoldiers, being acquainted with this piece of *Lacedæmonian* treachery, failed not to reſent it as it deſerved, and ran forthwith to their arms. Immediately the city-gates were aſſaulted with hatchets, and other inſtruments, by ſome; others haſtened to the ſea, and got over the mole into the town; whilſt a third party, who had tarried behind when the army marched out, broke the bars, and ſet the gates open; upon which thoſe without ruſhed in, and ran through the ſtreets, as if they had taken the place by aſſault. The inhabitants, ſeeing this, fled, ſome to their houſes, others to the ſhips, expecting every minute to be plundered and undone. *Eteonicus*, who had the care of the gates, fled likewiſe to the citadel, and the admiral to his fleet in a fiſhing-boat; and, not thinking the citadel's gariſon to be ſtrong enough to oppoſe them, ſent likewiſe for that of *Chalcedon* to their aſſiſtance. *Xenophon*, who ſaw the tumult, and dreaded the conſequence of their plundering that metropolis, made all poſſible haſte to gather together the ſoldiers; who did not then ſtay till he ſpoke, but told him, That he had now a fair opportunity of completing his and their fortunes, by making himſelf maſter of the city, gallies, money, and people. To this he only anſwered, for the preſent, That he would follow their advice: But, added he, if this is your deſire, place yourſelves in your ranks immediately, and handle your arms. He cauſed the other chiefs to give the like orders to the reſt; who readily obeyed: and, being ranged in proper order, and ſilence commanded, he ſpoke to this effect to them:

Xenophon *ſtops their fury.*

His ſpeech to them.

"I AM not at all ſurpriſed at your reſentment for being ſo baſely impoſed upon; "but, if we wreak our revenge, not only on the *Lacedæmonians*, who have done "it, but on the city, which is altogether innocent, conſider what muſt be the conſe- "quence of it: the former will declare us the enemies of *Sparta*, and its allies; and "what hath lately happened in *Greece* will eaſily tell us what we are to expect. When "*Athens* declared againſt that republic, we had then four hundred gallies, either in "our ſea-ports or arſenals; we had vaſt ſums in our treaſury, beſides a yearly income "of no leſs than one thouſand talents, payable by our citizens and foreigners; our do- "minions extended a great way, particularly over the iſlands of the *Ægæan* ſea, as "alſo over ſeveral rich cities on the coaſts of *Greece* and *Aſia*: notwithſtanding all "which advantages, we were, as you all know, ſubdued by the *Lacedæmonians*: and "what have we not to fear from their power, now they are united with the *Achæans*, "and have raiſed it on the ruins of *Athens*, and its allies? Shall we now bring all the "*Greeks* upon us, who are not yet out of the reach of the Barbarians, and eſpecially "of the *Perſians*, our moſt inveterate foes? Should all theſe join forces againſt us, "are we in a condition to withſtand them? For heaven's ſake, let us not go mad, "and periſh with diſhonour, by being declared enemies to our parents, friends, and "relations; for theſe all live in the cities that will wage war againſt us; and not with-

into the *Euxine* ſea, to pay toll (5). It was dwindled into a village, in *Strabo*'s time; and is now, by the *Turks*, called *Scutari*; and tho' divided from *Conſtantinople* by the *Boſporus*, is yet looked upon as a ſuburb of that metropolis. We ſhall have further occaſion to ſpeak of it in the *Turkiſh* hiſtory.

(5) *Xenoph. ubi ſupra, lib.* vi.

"out

" out reaſon, if, after we have declined ſeizing on any of the towns of the Barbarians " we have vanquiſhed, we ſhould now plunder the very firſt city of *Greece* we are " arrived at. As for myſelf, may I be buried ten thouſand fathom deep, before I ſee " you guilty of ſuch a deed! If you are *Greeks*, I adviſe you to try, by your obedience " to the maſters of *Greece*, to obtain juſtice. Should they even refuſe it, we ought " not, wronged as we are, to deprive ourſelves of the poſſibility of returning home: " rather let us depute ſome proper perſons to aſſure *Anaxibius*, that we did not enter " the town with any hoſtile views, but to obtain what hath been promiſed to us: and, " if we fail in this, let him ſee, that we are ready to leave it again, not becauſe we " have been over-reached, but becauſe we are willing to obey."

HIS advice was immediately followed; and proper officers deputed to the admiral, who promiſed, that they ſhould have no cauſe to repent of their ſubmiſſion; and that he would ſend forthwith an account of it to *Sparta*, to the end that orders might be given from thence, that they might be ſupplied with every thing on their march, and meet with the kinder reception in their country. Upon this the army readily marched out of *Byzantium*; after which, *Anaxibius* cauſed it to be proclaimed through the city, that, if any ſoldier was found tarrying in it, he ſhould be ſold for a ſlave. *The* Greeks *march out of the city.*

WHAT farther relates to the remainder of the *Greek* army, the differences among their generals, and the various ways which each took, according to his different views and intereſt, being foreign to our preſent deſign, we ſhall omit here, for fear of running to too great a length, though *Xenophon* hath left us a diffuſe account of it in the laſt book of his *Retreat*. We have hitherto followed them through their greateſt difficulties and dangers, and through all the countries of their enemies, into the territories of their friends; whence, ſome embarking on merchant-veſſels, arrived ſafe at their reſpective homes, whilſt others entered themſelves into foreign ſervice. Of theſe laſt was *Xenophon*, who, being earneſtly invited by *Seuthes* king of *Thrace*, then at war with his rebellious ſubjects, choſe to enter into his ſervice, with as many of his men as were willing to follow him. The ill returns he and they met with from that ungrateful prince, notwithſtanding all his vaſt promiſes to them, will be ſeen in its proper place. All that we ſhall ſay of it here, by way of concluſion to this relation, and to *Xenophon*'s glorious life and actions, is, that *Seuthes* not only broke his word with him, but became his enemy, and would even have ſtripped him, and his troops, of all the ſpoils they had brought from *Perſia*. Xenophon *goes to ſerve under* Seuthes.

A MAN of *Xenophon*'s character could not, without juſt indignation, behold ſuch perfidy and injuſtice; ſo that, being quite ſick of the *Thracian* court and ſervice, he left his ſoldiers to the care and command of *Thimbro* the *Lacedæmonian* general, who was ſent againſt *Tiſſaphernes* and *Pharnabazus*, to deliver the *Aſiatic* cities from the *Perſian* yoke. He next croſſed over to *Lampſacus* (A), where the *Phliaſian* prieſt *Euclides*, who came to congratulate him on his ſafe return, took the liberty to aſk him, how much gold he had brought with him. *Xenophon* readily anſwered, with an oath, that he had not enough left to carry him home (for the *Athenians* had not yet baniſhed him), unleſs he ſold his horſe and equipage. The *Lampſacians*, however, ſent him the uſual preſents, in token of hoſpitality; and, upon his offering ſacrifices, the prieſt was convinced of his poverty; and he was actually forced to ſell his horſe for fifty *darics*. *His poverty.*

FROM *Lampſacus* they went to *Ophrynion*, and thence on the next day to *Troas*; and, paſſing over mount *Ida*, came to *Antandrus*; and thence coaſting along the *Lydian* ſea, came to the plains of *Thebes*. They paſſed next through *Adramyttium* and *Certonicum*, to the plains of *Caïcus*; and thence reached to *Pergamus*, a city in *Myſia*. Here *Xenophon* was informed, that *Aſſidates*, a rich *Perſian* ſatrap, lay encamped in the plain, and might be eaſily ſurpriſed, with all his wealth. He marched that very night, with ſome of his faithful friends, and about ſix hundred men, and attacked him about midnight; but the *Perſian* having been reinforced from ſeveral parts, they were repulſed for this time: they made, however, a ſafe retreat; and, the next day, began a more ſucceſsful attempt againſt him, in ſome villages, near the walls of *Parthenium*, where he took him, with his wife, children, horſes, and all his riches, and then returned to *Pergamus*. By this time, *Xenophon* had no reaſon to complain any *Takes a* Perſian *ſatrap, and his wealth.*

(A) This, and the other cities mentioned after it, having been deſcribed in their proper places, we refer our readers to them, as well as to the map at the head of this relation, for their ſituation.

more of his poverty, the *Lacedæmonian* and other generals, as well as the ſoldiers, having unanimouſly agreed to ſelect for him not only horſes, but yokes of oxen, and other things: ſo that he had it now in his power, as he words it [b], to oblige a friend.

THIMBRO, being by this time arrived, took upon him the command of the army, and joined that of *Xenophon* to the reſt of the *Greek* forces, and purſued his war againſt the two *Perſian* ſatraps; and *Xenophon* retired, with a deſign to ſpend the remainder of his days in ſolitude and privacy; wherein he took care to preſerve that glory which he had acquired at the head of the army. The city of *Athens* having condemned him to baniſhment for having ſerved under *Cyrus*, he had, for ſome time, followed the famed *Ageſilaus* king of *Sparta*, and was treated by him with all the marks of eſteem and friendſhip; but, after having ſerved ſome campaigns under him, he retired to the city of *Sciluns*, where he wrote his hiſtory, and philoſophical works; and continued a zealous votary to the gods, who had brought him ſafe through ſo many perils.

Retires to a private life.

ONE part of the ſpoils he had gained he beſtowed in building a noble temple to *Diana*, after the model of that of *Epheſus*. The ſtatue of that goddeſs was of ebony, and exactly like the golden one at *Epheſus*, and was to be ſeen in *Pauſanias*'s time. The temple was built in the midſt of a foreſt, watered by the river *Hellene*; and at the entrance of it were inſcribed theſe words, *Territory conſecrated to* Diana. He likewiſe ordered annual ſacrifices to her; and, on the day appointed for that feſtival, the tenths of the product of that territory were offered to the goddeſs; and the reſt was performed with the greateſt ceremony, a vaſt concourſe of people attending; the edifice being on the high road between *Sparta* and *Olympia*, and about twenty ſtades from the temple of *Jupiter Olympius*. So that this grand feaſt, which was alſo preceded with a general hunting of the *Sciluntines*, and other neighbouring towns, and with other marks of joy, ſeems deſigned by its founder as a perpetual monument of this glorious retreat. His ſons uſually aſſiſted at the hunting; and it was on their account, that he wrote his two treatiſes of hunting and horſemanſhip; in which he endeavours to inculcate the beauty and virtue of making our delights ſubſervient to religion, of which all his writings ſhew his heart to have been full.

THUS ended this noble expedition, which our author concludes in the following words: "The whole of the way, both of the expedition and retreat, conſiſted of two "hundred and fifteen days march, of eleven hundred and fifty-five paraſangs, and of "thirty-four thouſand ſix hundred and fifty ſtades; and the time employed in both, of "a year and three months [c]."

[b] Lib. vi, ad fin. [c] Ibid. in fin.

The

The Hiſtory of the TURKS, TARTARS, *and* MOGULS.

SECT. I.

* *The Antiquity, Power, Government, Laws, Religion, Cuſtoms, Language, Learning, and Diſpoſition, of the antient* Turks, Tartars, *and* Moguls.

* See *Vol.* XX. *at the beginning.*

THE *Tartars* were at firſt called *Tatars*, a name they deduced from their great anceſtor *Tatar Khan*, of whom we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to ſpeak. The *Moguls* received their denomination from *Mogul*, *Mogol*, or, according to ſome, *Mung'l*, brother to *Tatar Khan*. Theſe princes founded two puiſſant empires in the Eaſt, which afterwards uniting, became a terror to all their neighbours. It has been obſerved, that the *Tartars* ſettled both in *Europe* and *Aſia*, ſtill retain, as they have always done, among the neighbouring nations, their original appellation of *Tartars* [a].

The Tartars *deduce the name of* Tartars *from* Tatar Khan.

As the progenitors of the preſent *Tartars* and *Moguls* agreed in moſt points with the antient *Scythians*, if they were not in all reſpects the ſame people with them, we ſhall not here enter very minutely upon the geography of their country. Nor ſhall we be prolix upon their government, laws, religion, cuſtoms, arts, and learning; theſe all having been largely diſcuſſed and expatiated upon in our hiſtory of the antient *Scythians*. However, ſome things that had eſcaped us there, will naturally occur in this place; and we ſhall, beſides, have an opportunity of obliging our readers with the hiſtorical account the *Tartars* give of themſelves, from the remoteſt ages to the time of their great conqueror *Jenghiz Khan*. This, we doubt not, will be acceptable to the curious; ſince every nation muſt, in many reſpects, be the beſt qualified to write their own hiſtory. For, however ſuperior to them in genius, learning, and politeneſs, ſome foreigners may be; yet it is natural to ſuppoſe, that none can be ſo thoroughly verſed in traditions relating to the firſt plantation of any country, ſeveral of which are undoubtedly founded on truth, or be ſo well acquainted with the antient ſtate of it, as the natives themſelves. Beſides, the *Greek* and *Roman* writers had very inadequate ideas of the nation we are here conſidering. As for the *Perſian* and *Arab* hiſtorians, they have committed ſeveral groſs miſtakes in relation to the *Tartarian* affairs. Nor can ſome of theſe be corrected by any writer, however learned, judicious, and impartial, he may be, but a *Mogul* or *Tartar* hiſtorian [b].

THAT the *Moguls* and *Tartars* were the deſcendents of *Japhet*, the eldeſt ſon of *Noah*, is almoſt univerſally agreed. The moſt learned and judicious writers of all nations,

The Moguls *and* Tartars

[a] ABU'L GHAZI BAHADUR KHAN's genealogic. hiſt. of the *Tatars*, par. i. c. 3. & par. ii. c. 1. MIRKHOND, D'HERBEL. biblioth. orient. p. 597. 875. See alſo the tranſlator's preface, prefixed to ABU'L GHAZI BAHADUR KHAN's genealogic. hiſt. of the *Tatars*, p. 25. [b] The tranſlator's pref. prefixed to ABU'L GHAZI BAHADUR KHAN's genealogic. hiſt. of the *Tat.* p. 5.

descended from Japhet.

tions, who have had a taſte for *Oriental* literature, have aſſented to this (A) notion; and the *Tartars* themſelves are fully perſuaded of the truth of it. The progeny of *Magog*, *Meſhech*, and *Tubal*, planted both the *Scythias*, and conſequently the country of the antient *Moguls* and *Tartars*, as has been already obſerved. Some traces of *Magog* appear in the word *Mogli*, the old name of the *Muſcovites* and *Tartars*, which ſeems only a corruption or abbreviation of *Magogli*, the ſons of *Magog*. The poſterity of *Meſhech* and *Tubal* we find denominated *Moſchi* and *Tibareni* (B) by *Herodotus*, who joins them together in the ſame manner that *Moſes* and *Ezekiel* do *Meſhech* and *Tubal*. The ſtrict union and perfect harmony that reigned between them moſt evidently appears from the former author, when he informs us, that they were armed in the ſame manner, and commanded by the ſame general *Ariomardus*. As the *Turks* and *Tartars* were originally the ſame people, whatever is advanced concerning the firſt progenitors, and early antiquities, of the one, muſt be allowed to be, with the utmoſt propriety, applicable to thoſe of the other [c].

We may form ſome notion of the power of this nation from the military atchievements of the antient *Scythians*, as well as from the vaſt tract they inhabited. With regard to the latter, if the antients are to be depended upon, it was moſt extenſive and (C) prodigious. But its limits we have already defined in a former part of this work, and ſhall conſider them more minutely hereafter; ſo that there is no reaſon for us to be very particular on this head here. In general, however, it may be obſerved, that the people in view are ſuppoſed to have ſpread themſelves at leaſt over the two *Scythias*, the *European* and *Aſiatic Sarmatia*, which ſome affirm to have appertained to the former countries, and *Iberia*. This very conſiderable part of the globe ſeems to have comprehended moſt of the *Ruſſian* empire, *Great* and *Little Tartary*, *Georgia*, the *Poliſh* and *Muſcovian Ukraine*, *Lithuania*, *Poland*, many provinces of *Hungary* and *Tranſilvania*, *Walachia*, *Moldavia*, *Bulgaria*, beſides ſome part at leaſt of *Finland*, *Lapland*, and *Sweden*. The three laſt countries were very thinly, if at all, peopled, before the extinction of the *Roman* republic [d].

But,

[c] Mohammed Ebn Emir Khoandschah in raoudhat alſafa, vol. v. Khondemir in khilaſſat alakhbar. D'Herbel. bibl. orient. p. 897, & alibi. Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan, ubi ſupra, par. i. c. 2. Univer. hiſt. vol. ii. p. 266, 267. Herodot. lib. vii. c. 78. Boch. Phal. lib. iii. c. 12. Gen. c. x. ver. 2. Ezek. c. xxxviii. v. 2, & alib. [d] Univ. hiſt. ubi ſupra, & alib. The. Sig. Bayer, de origin. Scythar. in comment. acad. imperial. Petropolitan. tom. i. Petropoli, 1728. Ephor. apud Coſm. Indicopleuſt. in topogr. Chriſtian. Bayer, ubi ſup. tom. v. p. 347, 348. Petropoli, 1738.

(A) M. *Bayer* conjectures the earlieſt anceſtors of the *Scythians* to have moved firſt out of *Armenia*, into ſome tract to the ſouth of that country; from whence, according to him, they gradually advanced, firſt in an eaſtern, and afterwards a northern direction, to the eaſtern bank of the *Volga*. But, admitting this to be true, which yet we cannot eaſily do, and that the *Scythians* were originally a colony of *Armenians*, yet ſtill we muſt allow them to have been the deſcendents of *Japhet*. For this appears from *Herodotus* in conjunction with Scripture, and likewiſe from what we have already obſerved in the hiſtory of the *Armenians* (1).

(B) That the country of the *Tibareni* was called *Tibar* or *Tubar*, may be inferred from *Diodorus Siculus*, *Euſebius*, and *Strabo*. Now the *Greek Tibar*, or *Tubar*, anſwered to the *Hebrew Tubal*, as may be proved from the *Septuagint* verſion of the Old Teſtament compared with the original *Hebrew*. This clearly appears from Φιγὼλ for *Phicol*, Σαρεὰδ for *Sared*, Βελιὰλ for *Belial*, and other proper names that might be produced. Some imagine, that the *Muſcovites* were the deſcendents of the *Moſchi*, and that theſe laſt had for their great progenitor *Meſhech* the brother of *Tubal*, which to us appears not improbable. Others believe, that ſome traces of *Tubal* are ſtill preſerved in the river *Tobol*, and the city *Tobolſki*; which ſeems not remote from truth. It is true, M. *Bayer* does not come into either of theſe opinions. But then neither is the etymon, or reaſon, of the name *Muſcow*, he, from *Brenner*, tranſcribes, ſatisfactory; to wit, *Muſcow* from *Moſkoi*, a monaſtery in the neighbourhood of the city, ſo called from its being the *ſeat or habitation of men*. As this therefore, at firſt ſight, appears forced, improbable, and unnatural, every thing M. *Bayer* builds upon it muſt be allowed very tottering and precarious, if it does not neceſſarily fall to the ground. But, indeed, this whole piece of M. *Bayer*, which he has intituled *Origines Ruſſicæ*, is imperfect and incomplete, as will be eaſily diſcovered by every ſagacious reader, who peruſes it with proper attention. Nor ought we to be ſurpriſed at this, when we conſider, that the editor of it has advertiſed the learned world, that it was one of thoſe diſſertations left unfiniſhed by the author. In our opinion, he ought to have reviſed and re-examined his whole plan, as doubtleſs he would have done, had he lived, and made ſome alterations in it. This we hope clearly to evince, when we come to treat of the origin of the *Ruſſians*, in a future part of the *Univerſal Hiſtory* (2).

(C) The preſent of five arrows, ſent by *Indathyrſus* to *Darius* the *Perſian* monarch, plainly alludes to

(1) *Th. Sig. Bayer, de orig. Scythar. in comment. acad. ſcientiar. imperial. Petropolit. tom.* i. *p.* 390. *Petropol.* 1728. *Herodot. lib.* vii. *c.* 72. *Jer. c.* l. *ver.* 27. *Univerſ. hiſt. vol.* iii. *p.* 696. (2) *Diod. Sic. lib* iv. *p* 413. *Strab lib.* ii. *Sam. Bochart. in Phal. lib.* iii. *c.* 12. *Th. Sig. Bayer. orig. Ruſſic. in comment. acad. ſcientiar imperial. Petropolit. tom.* viii *ad ann.* 1736. *p.* 388—437. *Petropoli*, 1741.

BUT, though ſeveral of the antients ſeem to have applied the name of *Scythia* to all thoſe immenſe regions extending from the *Hyperborean* ocean, the ſources of the *Iſter*, the *Viſtula*, the *Baltic*, *Euxine*, and *Caſpian* ſeas, to the fartheſt extremity of the Eaſt known in their days, yet the proper or original *Scythia* was probably confined within much narrower bounds. For, when *Darius Hyſtaſpis* undertook an expedition againſt the *Scythians*, about 514 years before the birth of Chriſt, their antient dominions ſcarce exceeded the tract limited on the eaſt by the *Tanais*, and on the weſt by the *Boryſthenes*; though ſome of their colonies had paſſed the latter river, and advanced almoſt to the ſource of the *Tyras*. This may very juſtly be inferred from *Herodotus*, as has been obſerved by M. *Bayer*. Nay, that the *Scythian* territories were bounded even on the weſt by the *Volga*, called the *Araxes* by *Onomacritus*, *Ariſtotle*, and other *Greek* writers, in the reign of *Phraortes* king of *Media*, has been rendered extremely probable by that ingenious author. Before that time, the *Cimmerians* were undoubtedly ſeparated from the *Scythians* by the *Araxes*, the *Rha*, or, according to the modern appellation, the *Volga*. For, that theſe names denoted the ſame river, after what has been advanced by M. *Bayer*, will admit of no diſpute. But then the *Scythians*, under the conduct of their king *Madyes*, ſeized upon the country before occupied by the *Cimmerians*, and purſued that nation into the *Upper Aſia*, as from *Herodotus* will more fully appear [e].

HOWEVER, though M. *Bayer* ſeems to have thoroughly ſettled the point before us, yet, in one particular relating to the *Scythian* or *Tartarian* hiſtory, he can ſcarce be deemed conſiſtent with himſelf. He ſtrongly intimates, or rather directly aſſerts, that the *Lithuanians*, *Pruſſians*, *Courlanders*, *Livonians*, *Eſthonians*, *Finlanders*, *Laplanders*, and ſome few of their neighbours only, are the deſcendents of the antient *Scythians*: whereas, from the whole tenor of his hiſtorical obſervations, every unprejudiced reader will conclude, that the proper original *Scythians* never reached the territories belonging to any of thoſe nations. He alſo denies the *Turks* or *Tartars* to bear any relation to the antient *Scythians*, and yet affirms the *Scythians* to come originally from a country not far from *Turkeſtan*, where his favourite *Tartar* hiſtorian has fixed the progenitors of the *Turkiſh* or *Tartar* nation, from the remoteſt antiquity. In fine, though he has ſettled the geography of *Scythia*; as it appears to have ſtood in the days of *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, with uncommon learning, ſagacity, and preciſion; yet we cannot infer from thence, that the region going under that denomination amongſt the *Greeks* and *Romans*, was always of ſo narrow an extent as the *Scythia* deſcribed by *Herodotus*. On the contrary, that the *Scythia* of the *Greek* and *Roman* authors ſometimes, at leaſt, included the vaſt tracts above-mentioned, he himſelf expreſly allows. Nor is this conceſſion unſupported by *Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan*, and M. *Philip John Von Strahlenberg*, who have obliged the republic of letters with the beſt account of the antient *Tartars* that has hitherto made its appearance in the world [f].

IT may, therefore, be looked upon as highly probable, that both the preſent *Turks* and *Tartars* are deſcended from the *Scythians* of *Ariſteas Proconneſius*, and the *Scythian Nomades* of *Herodotus*. Now, upon this ſuppoſition, the antient *Turks* or *Tartars* can neither be conſidered as one of the earlieſt nations of antiquity, nor as occupying a tract for many ages of very conſiderable extent. For they ſcarce made any figure at all before the reign of *Cyaxares* king of the *Medes*, or the time of *Ogus Khan*, about

[e] EPHOR. apud Coſm. Indicopleuſt. ubi ſupra. THEOPHIL. SIGEFRID. BAYER, de orig. & priſc. ſed. Scythar. in comment. acad. ſcientiar. imperial. Petropolitan. tom. i. p. 385—400. HERODOT. ONOMACRIT. ARISTOT. PTOLEM. MEL. AGATHEMER. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. apud BAYER. ubi ſupra, p. 394, 395, 396. HERODOT. lib. iv. BAYER de Scyth. ſit. ſub ætat. Herodot. ubi ſupra, p. 400—425. Petropoli, 1728. [f] THEOPH. SIG. BAYER, ubi ſupra. ABU'L GHAZI BAHADUR KHAN's genealogical hiſtory of the *Tat.* par. i. c. 2. M. PHILIP JOHN VON STRAHLENBERG's introduct. p. 51.

the number of tribes or cantons united in defence of their country, againſt the efforts of that prince. Theſe were the *Gelonians*, *Budians*, *Sarmatians*, and the royal tribes conducted by their king. Hence we learn, that the tribes under regal government amounted to two; which is likewiſe countenanced by *Herodotus*, when he tells us, in his deſcription of *Scythia*, that beyond the *Gherrus* were ſituated τὰ

καλλίμορα βασιλήια, thoſe called the royal tribes. For this ſeems to imply, that two cantons of *Scythians* at leaſt muſt have been governed by kings, or, in the *Tartarian* language, khans, in the reign of *Darius Hyſtaſpis*. But the further diſcuſſion of this point we muſt beg leave to defer, till we come to the modern hiſtory of the *Tartars* (3).

(3) *Herodot. lib.* iv. *c.* 20. *Univerſ. hiſt. vol.* ii. *p.* 283.

637 years before the birth of Chriſt, when they drove the *Cimmerians* from their territories bordering upon the *Palus Mæotis* into the *Upper Aſia*. Nor could their primitive ſeat, upon the eaſtern bank of the *Volga* or *Araxes*, at that time have been very ſpacious or extenſive; ſince it is well known, that they were then a people of little note, and in the vicinity of ſome nations who were puſhing for unlimited empire. Nay, *Scythia* lay only between the 45th and 57th degrees of longitude, and the 47th and 55th degrees of north latitude, in the time of *Herodotus*. So that the *Scythians* can by no means be conſidered as a very formidable power, even when *Herodotus* firſt obliged the world with his invaluable hiſtory [g].

We are told by that venerable hiſtorian, that the firſt *Scythian* kings did not live, at fartheſt, above a thouſand years before *Darius Hyſtaſpis* invaded *Scythia*, in the year before Chriſt 514. Now, conſidering that not only the *Greeks*, but all other antient nations, placed events of remote antiquity too high, as has been demonſtrated by the incomparable Sir *Iſaac Newton*, we may fairly ſuppoſe the firſt *Scythian* prince not to have preceded *Darius Hyſtaſpis* above 800 years. And, as no conſiderable number of men could poſſibly have ſubſiſted long together, without being formed into a regular ſociety, and appointing ſome perſon or perſons to preſide over them, we may from hence preſume, that the countries bordering upon the *Palus Mæotis*, as well as the *Euxine* and *Caſpian* ſeas, were very thinly peopled 1300 years before the commencement of the Chriſtian æra. This will naturally ſuggeſt to us, that the countries directly to the eaſt of the *Volga*, and eſpecially thoſe at a very remote diſtance from that river, in ſuch a direction, muſt have been then almoſt deſtitute of inhabitants; and conſequently that the *Aſſyrian* hiſtory of *Cteſias* is almoſt totally void of truth. From hence it is alſo manifeſt, that the high antiquity of the *Chineſe* empire muſt be deemed little better than a fiction, notwithſtanding what has been ſo confidently advanced in favour of ſuch antiquity by ſome late celebrated writers [h].

As the proper *Scythians*, according to *Herodotus*, were no very formidable power, when they made an irruption into the *Cimmerian* territories, the *Cimmerians* themſelves ſeem not to have been a people of any great figure at the time of that event. This amounts to a ſtrong preſumption, that the tract about mount *Caucaſus*, the *Palus Mæotis*, *Euxine* and *Caſpian* ſeas, was then far from being repleniſhed with inhabitants. Which if we admit, it will follow, that the poſterity of *Gomer* could not even then probably have peopled the largeſt part of *Europe*. So that *Italy*, one of the laſt *European* regions to which the deſcendents of that planter advanced, did not receive any number of *Gomerians*, as may be fairly preſumed, till about 600 years before the birth of Chriſt. From whence we may conclude, that no *Celtic* or *Gallic* colonies ſettled either in *Umbria* or *Etruria*, before the *Gauls* paſſed the *Alps* in the reign of *Tarquinius Priſcus*; and conſequently, that neither the *Umbrians* nor the *Etruſcans* deduced their origin from the *Celtes* [i].

The *Tartars* in general at this day live much in the ſame manner as their progenitors the antient *Scythians* and *Sarmatians*. They rove about in hordes from one fruitful ſpot to another, not unlike the *Scenite Arabs*, without villages, towns, or any fixed habitations. This muſt be underſtood of the bulk of them; for ſome cantons, or tribes, of the *Tartars*, are not deſtitute of towns, nor even conſiderable cities. *Caffa*, *Perecop*, *Oczakow*, *Otrar* or *Farab*, *Taraz*, and *Samarkand*, to omit many others that might be mentioned, put this beyond diſpute. Nor was ſuch a roving diſpoſition at firſt confined to the *Tartars* or *Scythians*. The deſcendents of *Gomer*, for many ages, paſſed their days, as we have great reaſon to believe, in the ſame manner. It is probable, that, before the reign of *Miſphragmuthoſis*, who reigned in the *Upper Egypt* from *Syene* to *Heliopolis*, ſeveral parts of *Europe* were peopled by wandering *Cimmerians*, or *Gomerians*, from the back-ſide of the *Euxine* ſea, who lived a rambling wild ſort of life, like the preſent *Tartars*. Few, if any, of the cities or towns to be met with in *Tartary*, are remarkable for their antiquity, and therefore deſerve little attention here [k].

[g] Aristeas Proconnesius apud Herodot. lib. iv. ut & ipſe Herodot. ibid. [h] Th. Sig. Bayer, ubi ſupra, & in chronolog. Scythic. p. 302. Petropoli, 1732. [h] Herodot. ubi ſupra. Newton's chronol. Ctes. apud Diod. Sic. lib. ii. Coupl. Martin. Du Halde, &c. [i] Herodot. ubi ſupra. [k] Heylin's coſmograph. p. 763. Lond. 1703. Newton's chronol. p. 10. Lond. 1728.

Not-

Turk *the great anceſtor of the* Turks, Tartars, &c.

NOTWITHSTANDING the *Tartars* derive the name they generally go by, among the *Europeans* at leaſt, from *Tatar Khan*, yet they will not allow this to have been their primitive name. They pretend to be deſcended from *Turk*, the eldeſt ſon of *Japhet*, whom they call *Japhis*. *Turk*, according to them, was appointed by *Japhis* to be the ſovereign head of his family, to which indeed he had a claim by the right of primogeniture. The *Tartars*, therefore, look upon themſelves to be of a more noble extraction than the neighbouring people, whom they conſider as deſcended from the other ſons of *Japhis*. In conſequence of this notion, they affirm themſelves firſt to have gone under the appellation (D) of *Turks*, which they derived from their great anceſtor juſt mentioned. This name they ſeem to have retained till the time of *Jenghiz Khan*. But that prince having reduced all the tribes bearing the name of *Turks* under his obedience, they, with regard to their neighbours, gradually loſt it, and were by them afterwards called *Tartars*. We ſay with regard to their neighbours, ſince the largeſt part of them have always denominated themſelves *Turks*, nor do they allow, that any nation but themſelves have the leaſt title to that denomination [1].

THE name of *Tatars* was at firſt probably applied to one particular tribe or horde of the *Turkiſh* nation, whoſe members ſeem to have been more conſiderable, warlike, and better known to the *Aſiatics*, on account of their military exploits, than the reſt, till the time of *Jenghiz Khan*. This was ſucceeded by that of *Moguls*, which prevailed but ſo long as the dominion of the people ſo called laſted over the ſouthern provinces of *Aſia*. When that expired, the former appellation took place again. It is obſervable, that *Sharif al Edriſi*, commonly called the *Nubian* geographer, makes no mention either of *Moguls* or *Tartars*; but intimates, that all the country at preſent going under the denomination of Eaſtern and Weſtern *Tartary*, was peopled by different cantons of *Turks*. This is the more remarkable, as that author wrote but a little before the reign of *Jenghiz Khan*, about the year of Chriſt 1170. However, we hear

[1] MOHAMMED EBN EMIR KHOANDSCHAH & KHONDEMIR, ubi ſupra. D'HERBEL. biblioth. orient. ubi ſupra. ABU'L GHAZI BAHADHUR KHAN's genealogical hiſt. of the *Tat.* vol. i. par. i. c. 2. See alſo vol. ii. ſect. 2.

(D) The nation we are now conſidering were called *Scythians* only by the *Greeks*, if any credit may be given to *Herodotus*. The *Greeks* in the *Pontic* colonies, hearing their *Scythian* neighbours frequently call archers, ſhooters, and hunters, who were very numerous among them, *Scyths*, *Schuten*, *Shuten*, or *Scythians*, applied that name to the whole nation. This word, or rather the antient primary ſignification of it, is ſtill preſerved in the *Engliſh*, *High Dutch*, *Lithuanian*, *Finniſh*, *Livonian*, *Courlandiſh*, *Lapponian*, *Pruſſian*, and *Eſthonian* tongues. The *Scythians*, according to *Herodotus*, went among themſelves under the name of *Scoloten*, *Scoloti*, or *Scolotes*; as they likewiſe ſeem to have done ſometimes among the *Athenians*, who, on certain occaſions, uſed the word *Tolotes* or *Scolotes*, as equivalent to *Scythians*. It is no wonder, therefore that the antient geographers ſhould have extended the laſt word, which was, properly ſpeaking, an appellative, to the natives of all the vaſt tract above-mentioned, as they all excelled in the art it is expreſſive of. The antient *Tartars* or *Mungals* named part of the primitive *Sarmatians*, afterwards denominated *Hunns*, *Oigur*; which denoted allies, confederates, *united as brethren*, and was ſometimes pronounced *Vigur*. They were divided into two denominations, to wit, *Uun-Oigur*, and *Dokos* or *Nokos-Oigur*, called alſo *Uth-Urguri* and *Kuth-Urguri*, *Igurari* and *Inugri*, *Onagari* and *Unigari*; from whence undoubtedly we are to derive the word *Ungari* or *Hungarians*. The *European Scythians* had the name of *Ojam*, *Ovim*, or *Ouim Nim*, given them by *Jornandes*, which anſwered to the *Scythian* or *Tartar Oyum*, or *Ovim Nim*, the names of two rivers which have their ſources in *Great Permia*. *Ouvim*, or *Oyum*, the ſame with *Fenni*, *Finni*, *Venni*, and *Windi* or *Venedi*, has alſo been interpreted *fenny*, *woody*, *mooriſh*; and was probably deduced from the nature of the country this people inhabited. It has been already obſerved, that the primitive name of the *Tartars*, according to their own hiſtorian *Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan*, was *Turks*, which they deduced from *Turk* the ſon of *Japhet*. That of *Moguls* they either derived from one of their khans called *Mogul*, or from their great anceſtor *Magog*, the latter of which appears to us the moſt probable. For *Mogli*, or *Moguli*, ſeems to be only a corruption, or abbreviation, of *Magogli*, the ſons of *Magog*. As for that of *Tartars*, or rather *Tatars*, it might at firſt have been applied to the *Tauri* or *Tari*, from whence the *Taurica Cherſoneſus* received its denomination, a particular branch of the antient *Tartars*. For, of תר *Tar* we may eaſily form תתרא *Tatara*, or תתר *Tatar*, in the ſame manner as of גלל *Galal*, or גל, גיגלא *Gigla*, of קלל *Kalal*, or קל *Kal*, קיקלא *Kikla*, &c. And this we take to be a more natural etymon than that produced by the *Tartar* hiſtorian; except it be admitted, that the true name of the prince he takes it from was *Tar*. In which caſe we may ſuppoſe both the antient *Tauri* and *Tartars* to have received their appellation from one of their early kings, or khans, of the ſame name (4).

(4) *Herodot. lib.* iv. *Th. Sig. Bayer de origin. Scythar. p.* 379, 380. *Petropoli*, 1728. *Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan's genealog. hiſt. of the Tat. vol.* ii. *ſect.* 2. *Von Strahlenberg's introduct. p.* 33---38. *Univerſ. hiſt. vol.* ii. *p.* 266. *Bochart. Chan. lib.* ii. *c.* 7.

of *Tartars* in other parts, as will be more particularly obſerved, when we come to the modern hiſtory of that nation [m].

Government. WITH regard to the government of the antient *Tartars*, we muſt ſuppoſe it to have been the ſame, or nearly ſo, with that of the *Scythians* already deſcribed. It appears from *Herodotus*, that, in his days, the two principal tribes of the *Scythians* were under monarchical government; and that they had a great influence upon, if they did not abſolutely govern, all the other tribes. This is perfectly agreeable to what we find advanced by the *Tartar* hiſtorian, who informs us, that *Alanza Khan* had two twin-ſons, the one called *Tatar*, and the other *Mogul*, between whom, when his end approached, he divided his dominions. The regal families founded by theſe two khans, according to the ſame author, ruled the antient *Turks*, *Tartars*, and *Moguls*, for ſeveral generations; and at length formed a powerful and extenſive empire. This teſtimony adds ſome weight to the authority of *Herodotus*, and is itſelf likewiſe ſupported, in the point before us, by that excellent hiſtorian [n].

As the *Tartarian* or *Scythian Nomades*, as far as can be collected from the antients, greatly reſembled the *Numidians* and *Scenite Arabs* in their form of government, their civil and political inſtitutions, we need not expatiate upon this topic here. After this obſervation, our readers will naturally ſuppoſe, that the *Tartarian* khans were originally veſted with an authority ſimilar to that of the *Numidian* phylarchs, and *Arab* emirs. This ſeems likewiſe to be confirmed by *Herodotus*, and by what we have laid down in the hiſtory of the *Scythians*. From hence it appears, that ſeven or eight *Scythian* cantons were governed by their reſpective princes, or khans, before the time of *Darius Hyſtaſpis*; and conſequently that they had either always aſſerted their independency, or ſhaken off the yoke of the royal *Scythians* before that prince's acceſſion to the *Perſian* throne. Since, therefore, *Darius Hyſtaſpis* entered upon his reign after the declenſion of the monarchy, or monarchies, erected by the twin-brothers *Tatar Khan* and *Mogul Khan*, thoſe princes undoubtedly flouriſhed a conſiderable time before the foundation of the *Perſian* empire, though the particular age in which they lived we cannot, with any tolerable degree of preciſion, pretend to aſcertain [o].

Laws. SOME of the principal cuſtoms prevailing among the *Scythians*, or antient *Tartars*, not hitherto mentioned, that had the appearance of laws (E), our readers will not be diſpleaſed to find here. 1. The *Scythian* kings were obliged to take all poſſible care of a golden plough, yoke, ax, and bowl, that fell down from heaven into *Scythia* in the reign of *Lipoxais*, *Apoxais*, and *Colaxais*, the ſons of *Targitaus* the firſt king of *Scythia*. 2. The *Scythian* princes, by virtue of their office, aſſiſted annually at the magnificent ſacrifices offered to thoſe holy inſtruments, which their ſubjects doubtleſs conſidered in the ſame light that other *Sabians* did their images, or even the celeſtial bodies themſelves. 3. The *Argippæans* were looked upon as ſacred by all the other *Scythians*; ſo that whoever fled into their territories, though on account of ſome enormous crime, was allowed to live under their protection. 4. The differences that aroſe among the other *Scythian* cantons were, for the moſt part, referred to the arbitration of this people, who were ſo mild and pacific, that they had no arms of any kind among them. 5. It was a political maxim in *Scythia* not to permit any foreigner, who retired thither, to return to his native country. 6. The *Agathyrſians*, a luxurious nation abounding with gold, had their women in common; which they imagined would promote concord, unanimity, and mutual benevolence, among them. There were probably other cuſtoms in *Scythia* that had the force of laws, which we may poſſibly take notice of, when we come to the modern hiſtory of the *Ruſſians*, *Tartars*, *Kalmucks*, and *Chineſe* [p].

[m] SHARIF AL EDRISI, ABU'L GHAZI BAHADUR KHAN, ubi ſupra, vol. ii. ſect. 2. [n] HERODOT. lib. iv. ABU'L GHAZI BAHADUR KHAN, ubi ſupra, vol. i. par. i. c. 3, &c. [o] HERODOT. ubi ſupra. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vii. p. 244, 245. & vol. ii. p. 269, 270. [p] HERODOT. ubi ſup. STRAB. paſſ.

(E) It appears from *Herodotus*, that, though ſome at leaſt of the *Scythians* were under regal government, the power of the king in *Scythia* was circumſcribed by the laws. For, that author informs us, that one of the *Scythian* princes named *Scyles* was depoſed by his ſubjects, in oppoſition to the laws, for celebrating the *Bacchanalia* after the *Greek* manner. *Targitaus*, the firſt king of the *Scythians*, ſeems to have introduced that form of government into *Scythia*, which prevailed there in the days of *Herodotus*. This is a ſufficient proof, that the *Scythians* had from the beginning ſome laws, or political inſtitutions, in being among them (5).

(5) *Herodot. lib.* iv. *c.* 62---80.

Religion.

It has been already obſerved, that the anceſtors of the *Tartars* were immerſed in idolatry, and that they worſhiped ſome of the principal *Greek* and *Roman* deities. To *Hercules* likewiſe, in common with the *Greeks*, *Romans*, *Phœnicians*, and *Egyptians*, they paid divine honours. As they were nearly related to the *Germans*, they ſeem to have carried about with them, in their covered waggons, thoſe ſmall images repreſenting certain gods held in great veneration by that people. For, that they roamed where they found the beſt paſture for their flocks, as many of the moſt antient *Germans* did, appears from ſeveral authors. The celebrated deity *Zamolxis* was probably worſhiped by the *Scythians*, or antient *Tartars*, as well as the *Thracians*, on account of the ſalutary laws he gave them. For, that he was a famous legiſlator, and lived long before *Pythagoras*, may be inferred from *Herodotus*; and that a conſiderable part of the *Scythians*, at leaſt, had a body of laws, to regulate their conduct by, is atteſted by *Ephorus*. Nor can it well be doubted, that theſe laws were framed by *Zamolxis*, when it is conſidered, that he annexed a moſt powerful ſanction to his inſtitutions; to wit, eternal felicity in a future ſtate. And that many of the *Scythians* were greatly influenced by the ſanction annexed to their laws, is exceeding probable; ſince they have been highly extolled for their temperance, juſtice, wiſdom, integrity, and moſt ſublime friendſhip, both by *Ephorus* and *Strabo*. It ſhould ſeem, therefore, that this people had not only an excellent ſyſtem of civil and religious inſtitutions, but likewiſe a moſt powerful motive to an obſervance of them. The hideous idols, that ſerve at preſent for objects of adoration to ſome of the pagan *Tartars* and *Chineſe*, ſeem to have been deduced from the monſtrous hieroglyphic figures, by which the antient *Egyptians* repreſented their falſe deities. Nor are thoſe of the *Indians*, *Japaneſe*, &c. to be derived from a different ſource. But we ſhall expatiate upon this topic more largely hereafter, and conſider more fully the traces of the old *Scythian* as well as *Egyptian* worſhip ſtill remaining among the pagan *Tartars*, *Indians*, and *Chineſe*, when we treat of the modern ſtate of thoſe nations [q].

Cuſtoms.

To the cuſtoms of the people under conſideration, touched upon in the hiſtory of the *Scythians*, it may not be amiſs to add the following. 1. When the *Scythians* took a chearful glaſs, they ſounded the ſtrings of their bows, in order to rouſe their minds, and prevent them from being diſſolved in debauchery. 2. If the perſon who guarded the holy golden inſtruments above-mentioned, which the regal *Scythians* conſidered as their *Palladium*, happened to fall aſleep upon the grand feſtival in the open air, his death was expected ſoon; and therefore he had a preſent made him of as much land as he could traverſe on horſeback in a day. 3. The *Iſſedonians*, *Arimaſpians*, and other neighbouring cantons, were perpetually committing hoſtilities in each other's dominions. 4. The *Callipedes* and *Alazons* lived upon wheat, onions, garlick, lentils, and millet, in which they differed from the neighbouring *Scythian* tribes. 5. Some cantons occupying a tract to the eaſt of the *Boryſthenes*, applied themſelves to agriculture; but behind them, in an eaſtern direction, lay others whoſe ſole employ conſiſted in taking care of their flocks. 6. The royal *Scythians*, whoſe territories were ſeparated from thoſe of the laſt-mentioned tribes by the river *Gerrhus*, looked upon all their neighbours as ſlaves, and ſeem to have exerciſed, at leaſt for ſeveral ages, a ſort of ſovereign authority over them. 7. The *Thyſſagetes* and *Tyrcians* ſpent their time in hunting, and lived intirely upon veniſon: the latter, attended by dogs and horſes trained up for that purpoſe, having diſcovered their game from a tree, let fly their arrows at them, and then purſued the chace. 8. The *Argippæans* uſed for food the fruit of a tree called *ponticon*, not unlike a bean. Out of this they ſqueezed a thick blackiſh liquor going among them under the name of *aſchy*, which they drank mixed with milk, at the ſame time making a ſort of cakes of the more ſolid part. 9. The *Argippæans* ſlept in winter under trees covered with a ſtrong white cloth, and, in ſummer, under thoſe trees without any covering at all. 10. The anceſtors of the *Tartars* had ſuch an averſion to ſwine, that they would permit none to be produced among them. 11. Though the greateſt part of the *Scythians* contemned every ſpecies of wealth, yet the *Agathyrſians* were a luxurious tribe, and had their garments richly adorned with gold. 12. The *Androphagi*

[q] Univ. hiſt. vol. ii. p. 272. Herodot. l. iv. Ephor. & Strab. apud Bochart. Phal. l. iii. c. 9. ut & ipſe Bochart. ibid. Nic. Damascen. de mor. gent. apud Stobæum, ſerm. v. Banier's mythol. and fab. of the antients, &c. vol. ii. p. 135--149.

and *Melanchlænians* were a ſort of *Scythians* that fed upon human fleſh; the former being perfect ſavages ſo late as the age of *Herodotus*, and the latter deducing their name from the black colour of the cloaths they always wore. 13. The *Budians*, a large and populous nation, according to that author, lived almoſt upon a fiſh called by the *Greeks* σίλφη, which we apprehend to be the *pediculus* of *Gaza*. 14. Some of the *Maſſagetes* cloathed themſelves with the ſkins of ſea-calves, and others with the bark of trees. 15. The *Scythians* generally caſtrated their horſes, that they might manage them with greater eaſe. For, though theſe beaſts were ſmall, yet they were exceeding headſtrong, and full of fire. 16. The antient *Tartars* frequently hunted ſtags and wild boars in the marſhy grounds; but goats and wild aſſes in the ſpacious and open plains. 17. In their wars, they, for the moſt part, preferred the uſe of mares to that of horſes; the former not being obliged to ſtand ſtill, when they urined, as we learn from *Pliny* and *Solinus*. 18. They ſometimes, in an engagement, held their bows in their right-hands, and ſometimes in their left, and could diſcharge their arrows upon the enemy, either facing them, or flying from them. 19. When they found themſelves obliged to ſuſtain hunger for ſome time, they tied broad girdles round their waiſts, believing that this rendered faſting leſs diſagreeable to them. 20. The *Scythian Nomades*, inhabiting the tract between the *Tanais* and the *Boryſthenes*, lived for the moſt part in waggons, the leſſer ſort of which had four wheels, and the larger ſix. Theſe contained within them houſes made of clay, ſome of which had one, and others three little rooms, that were occupied chiefly by women, the men riding generally on horſeback. The ſmaller waggons were drawn by four oxen, and the larger by ſix. 21. Many of the lower ſort of *Scythians* lived upon horſe-fleſh and mares-milk, as do at preſent a great part of the vulgar amongſt the *Tartars*. And that the *Moguls* uſed this ſort of diet in the time of *Ogus Khan*, we learn from the *Tartar* hiſtorian. 22. Many of the *Scythians* ſo enervated themſelves by being perpetually on horſeback, that they were incapable of propagating their ſpecies; and, when this happened, they put on the female habit. 23. Thoſe perſons who had loſt their manhood, moſt of whom were of the higher rank, were greatly reverenced by the common people, and acquired great wealth by their predictions. 24. The *Scythians* that were almoſt conſtantly on horſeback wore breeches that reached down to their ancles, as many of the *Turks* and *Tartars* do at preſent; and ſhoes made of the ſappy part, or interior bark, of trees: which ſort of ſhoes are ſtill uſed by the *Ruſſians* and *Lithuanians*. 25. Drunkenneſs was a very faſhionable vice among them, according to the *Greek* writers. Nay, the *Perſians* gave them, from that vice, the name of *Sacæ*, or *Sakai*, which in *Perſic* ſignified a glutton and a drunkard. 26. They wore exceeding long hair, which *Ariſtotle* aſcribes to the moiſture of their climate; but *Lucian* thinks, that they conſidered ſuch hair as an ornament. 27. Some of the *Scythian* hordes, or cantons, had houſes, and even towns, conſiſting intirely of wood. This cuſtom has prevailed among the *Ruſſians*, of which the city of *Moſcow* their metropolis is a flagrant inſtance, and ſeveral of the *Tartarian* nations inhabiting the northern parts of *Aſia*, even to this day [r].

Language. THE language of *Scythia*, or antient *Tartary*, taken in its moſt extenſive acceptation, muſt have been ſplit into a vaſt variety of dialects. *Herodotus* informs us, that the tract between the country of the *Argippæans* and the *Boryſthenes*, a ſmall part of *Tartary* only, was inhabited by people that ſpoke ſeven different languages; and that the *Argippæans* had another alſo peculiar to themſelves. Hence we may imagine, that there muſt have been a prodigious number of ſuch dialects ſpoken in ſo large a part of the habitable world as we are at preſent conſidering. However, as the antient *Tartars* were quite ſeparated from all other nations, and lived in a ſtate of great ſimplicity, they cannot be ſuppoſed to have had the fourth part of the words to be met with either in

[r] HERODOT. ubi ſup. & alib. STRAB. paſſ. PLIN. lib. vii. c. 2. lib. viii. c. 42, & alib. paſſ. PLUTARCH. conjugal. præcept. vol. ii. p. 133. in apophthegm. vol. ii. p. 174. & in Craſ. vol. i. p. 567. Lutetiæ Pariſiorum, 1624. SOLIN. PLAT. de legib. lib. vii. p. 571. ed. Henrici Petri, & alib. ERASISTRAT. apud Aul. Gell. noct. Attic. lib. xvi. c. 3. HIPPOCRAT. de aer. aq. & loc. comment. ANTIPHANES comicus in Miſoponer. apud Athen. deipnoſoph. p. 226. ÆLIUS DIONYSIUS apud Euſtath. lib. c. p. 916. GROTII excerpt. ex tragœdiis & comœdiis Græc. p. 624. HIPPOCRAT. de morb. lib. iv. c. 13. THEOCRIT. Id. A. 37. Nic. DAMASCEN. in excerptis Valeſii, p. 510. ABU'L GHAZI BAHADUR KHAN's genealogic. hiſt. of the *Tat.* par ii. c. 2, 3. LYSIAS in orat. pro Bacchio, Pythagor. & ALCÆUS apud Harpocration. p. 321. JUL. POLLUX, lib. vii. c. 22. ARISTOT. in problem. PLAT. in prim. de legib. p. 515. PARMENO apud Athenæum, p. 221. ARISTOT. de gen. animal. LUCIAN in Toxar.

the

the antient or modern *European* tongues. For, having been ſtrangers to many thouſand inventions, faſhions, arts, inſtruments, cuſtoms, &c. known both to the antient and modern *European* nations, they could neither have had any names for them, nor technical terms relating to them. Nor, indeed, had they appellations for ſcarce any thing, but what nature produced among them; which will likewiſe hold true of their preſent deſcendents. If this be admitted, it cannot well be denied, that the primitive *Tartarian*, *Kalmuck*, or *Mungalic* words muſt at firſt, nay, even in the time of *Ogus Khan*, have been exceeding few; which likewiſe may be ſaid of the primigenial radices of the *Chineſe*. That there was a great affinity between the antient *Turkiſh*, *Tartarian*, and *Gothic* languages, has been evinced by M. *Strahlenberg*; and that theſe all, as to their firſt and original words, agreed very well with the *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, *Arabic*, &c. tongues, or rather were deducible from them, has been rendered extremely probable by the ſame ingenious author. *Olaus Rudbeckius*, *Philippus Maſſonius*, and *Ludovicus Thomaſſinus*, have alſo ſet this point in the cleareſt light. However, M. *Theoph. Sigefr. Bayer* does not come intirely into their opinion, though he pretends not to have any thing ſolid or ſubſtantial to urge againſt it. In fine, nothing can be a clearer demonſtration of the truth of this opinion, than the ſurpriſing reſemblance many of the *Gothic* and *Tartarian* primitive roots, which were uſed before any grammars, or artificial refinements of language, appeared in the world, bear to the correſponding terms in the *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, *Syriac*, and *Arabic* tongues. But we ſhall not expatiate farther on this topic here, having already treated of the point it contains at large, in the hiſtory of the *Celtes* [s].

WHETHER or no the antient *Tartars* had any alphabetic characters in uſe among them, we ſhall not take upon us to determine, as both ſides of the queſtion have been eſpouſed by the learned. But we cannot help thinking, that thoſe are in the right, who have endeavoured to maintain the affirmative. For that ſuch characters were uſed among the *Scythians* in very early times, has not only been rendered probable by *Franciſcus Foris Otrokocſi*, but alſo by a very antient tradition ſtill prevailing among the *Hungarians*, according to *Joannes Tſetſius*. Nay, we have this very (F) *Scythian* alphabet exhibited to us by the famous *Matthias Belius*, who has taken great pains, not without ſucceſs, to demonſtrate the antiquity of it. To omit other arguments that occur, its letters were drawn from the right hand to the left, after the *Oriental* manner; which will not a little prejudice all the learned part of our readers in favour of what has been advanced by *Tſetſius* and *Otrokocſi*. Nay, ſome manuſcripts written in the old *Hunno-Scythian* character are ſaid to be ſtill preſerved by the *Szekelyi* (G), or *Letters.*

[s] HERODOT. lib. iv. M. VON STRAHLENBERGS's introduct. ſect. 4. p. 59-73. OLA. RUDBECK. ichthyolog. biblic. par. prim. de ave *ſelau*, &c. Upſalis, 1705. LUDOVIC. THOMASSIN. gloſſar. univerſ. Hebr. Pariſiis, 1697. PHILIP. MASSON. apud TH. SIG. BAYER. Muſ. Sinic. tom. i. in præfat. p. 30, 31. Petropoli, 1730. Vide etiam ipſum BAYERUM ibid.

(F) The very learned M. *Bayer*, in one part of his works, takes the *Iberican* or *Georgian* letters to have been formed from the *Greek* alphabet, and to have been uſed by the antient *Scythians*, even thoſe who were ſeated in the remoteſt eaſtern regions. But elſewhere he aſſerts, that the preſent letters of the principal eaſtern and north-eaſtern *Tartarian* nations, which are of conſiderable antiquity, were deduced from the *Eſtrangelo* character. In this point, therefore, he can ſcarce be deemed intirely conſiſtent with himſelf. For our part, we are inclined to adhere to the latter notion, as conſiderable numbers of the *Syrians*, either *Jacobites* or *Neſtorians*, ſettled in the remoter parts of *Tartary*, and probably brought this character along with them. Nor can we think, that the *Iberican* or *Georgian* letters have ſuch an air of antiquity as the old *Hunno-Scythian* alphabet publiſhed by *Belius*. It is true, the letters of that alphabet are too numerous to lay claim to the remoteſt antiquity; but as ſome of theſe are undoubtedly of a later date, ſo we believe others to be extremely antient. This, in our opinion, has been clearly evinced by *Belius*, to whom, for farther ſatisfaction on this head, we beg leave to refer our curious and inquiſitive readers (6).

(G) This has been confirmed to one of us by M. *Michael Nethlebius Szekelybidi*, one of theſe *Szekelyi*, who lived for ſome time in the family of Count *Teleki*, a nobleman of profound erudition. This gentleman was born near *Clauſenberg* in *Tranſilvania*, and admitted a member of *Wadham* College,

(6) *Th. Sig. Bayer. vet. inſcript. Pruſſic. in comment. acad. Petropolit. tom.* ii. *p.* 479, 480. *Petropoli*, 1729. *Element. literatur. Brahmanic. Tangutan. Mungalic. in comment. acad. Petropolit. tom.* iii. *p.* 417. *Petropoli*, 1732---*de literatur. Mangiuric. in comment. acad. Petropol. tom.* vi. *p.* 326--333. *Petropoli*, 1738. *Mat. Bel. de vet. lit. Hunno-Scythic. p.* 30--61. *Lipſiæ*, 1718. *Hyde hiſt. relig. vet. Perſar. p.* 522. *Oxon.* 1700.

or original *Scythians* of *Tranſilvania*. That the antient *Scythians*, or *Tartars* (H), had alſo a ſymbolic, or hieroglyphic, character, may be inferred from *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Herodotus*, as well as from what has been obſerved in a former part of this hiſtory. Nay, this may be collected from an *Hunno-Scythian* manuſcript ſtill extant at *Florence*, according to *Zamoſcius*; of which we ſhall ſpeak more largely hereafter, when we come to the modern hiſtory of the *Hungarians*. For a full and ample account of the origin, antiquity, nature, powers, and forms of all the alphabetic characters uſed at preſent by the principal *Tartarian* nations, we muſt beg leave to refer our curious readers to the learned M. *Bayer*, whoſe labours on this head can never meet with too great applauſe. It ſeems probable from *Herodotus*, that neither the *Scythians*, nor

Oxford, in the year 1743. He had frequently heard the Count talk of ſeveral manuſcripts written in the *Hunno-Scythian* character, of great antiquity, ſtill preſerved in *Tranſilvania*; nor, according to him, does any perſon of learning there make the leaſt doubt of the real exiſtence of ſuch manuſcripts.

(H) This ſeems farther to appear from the hieroglyphic characters found near the ſource of the river *Irbyth*, which have been copied by M. *Von Strahlenberg*. The *Irbyth* is a little river, near a ſmall town in *Siberia* of the ſame name, which diſcharges itſelf into the *Nytza*, as that does into the *Tura*, between the cities of *Japantzin* and *Tumen*. Such characters are alſo found in other parts of *Siberia*, and particularly near the river *Pyſchma*; but we remember not to have ſeen any of them yet explained by the learned. The point under conſideration receives likewiſe an acceſſion of ſtrength from what has been advanced by *Matthias Belius*, who obſerves that the hieroglyphic manner of writing, or rather the old rude picture-writing, ſtill prevails among the illiterate *Hungarians*. Nor is it to be doubted, but that this manner of writing was natural, in the earlieſt ages, to all nations. And therefore M. *Petit de la Croix* is not to be attended to, when he aſſerts, that the *Chineſe* peopled part of *Tartary*, and at the ſame time introduced their ſymbolic characters into that country. Beſides, a great part of *Tartary* was undoubtedly peopled before *China*, as being nearer the land of *Shinar*, where the whole race of mankind lived together at the time of the diſperſion; and the *Chineſe* have always induſtriouſly avoided an intercourſe with other nations, as will hereafter be clearly proved(7).

It has been juſt obſerved, that the antient *Hunno-Scythian* alphabet was of *Oriental* extraction; and conſequently that it was at firſt the ſame with the original or primigenial alphabetic character of the Eaſt. It has likewiſe been remarked, that the *Brahmanic*, *Mungalic*, *Tangutan*, *Mangiuric*, and in ſhort, all the preſent *Indian* and *Tartarian*, alphabets were deduced from the *Eſtrangelo* character. As, therefore, this laſt is manifeſtly of *Oriental* extraction, as well as the *Greek* alphabet, with the *Iberican* and *Armenian* letters proceeding from thence; and as the *Etruſcan*, *Latin*, *Spaniſh*, *Arabic*, &c. had one common origin; we may conclude, that all the antient alphabets, and conſequently thoſe of a later date deduced from them, had manifeſtly the ſame ſource(8).

With regard to picture-writing, hieroglyphic and ſymbolical characters, it cannot well be denied, that they muſt have been previous to letters. Reaſon itſelf moſt clearly points out this obvious truth, and reaſon is herein ſupported by the whole ſtream of antiquity. Now as all letters owe their origin to *one primigenial alphabet*, peculiar at firſt to one particular people; it muſt be allowed, that one nation only uſed letters a conſiderable time after the invention of picture-writing, of hieroglyphic and ſymbolical characters, from whom they were gradually communicated to many others. But, notwithſtanding this, ſome nations, ſituated in countries extremely remote from the region where letters firſt appeared, never made uſe of alphabetic characters; among whom may be ranked the *Americans*, and the *Chineſe*, who were ignorant of that manner of writing when the *Europeans* firſt came among them. As, therefore, all nations ſeem to have underſtood either picture-writing, or hieroglyphic and ſymbolical characters, or both, but ſome could never attain to the knowlege of letters, it ſeems to follow, that the invention of letters was much more difficult than that of picture-writing and hieroglyphics. Farther, as all alphabets ſprung originally from one, only one people could have any juſt pretence to the diſcovery of alphabetic characters. Nor do we find, that the nations moſt remote from that people were ever capable of making ſuch a diſcovery, though acute and penetrating enough in other matters; which amounts to a ſort of preſumption, that all the other nations, who had the uſe of letters communicated to them, were of themſelves incapable of diſcovering them. So that all mankind, except one particular people, muſt have been void of a capacity adequate to ſuch an invention. But how improbable is this, eſpecially as no one nation can be pitched upon ſo tranſcendently ſuperior in genius to the reſt of mankind? It is therefore highly probable, that this was not an human invention, but proceeded originally from the ſource of all goodneſs, knowlege, and perfection; which, indeed, has been already proved by other arguments almoſt to demonſtration. Which notion if we admit, from what has been advanced, it will farther follow, that GOD HIMSELF communicated the uſe of letters to mankind, or, more properly, to his own people, after the diſperſion. For, had this been done before the time of that moſt memorable event, both the *Americans* and the *Chineſe* would probably have had an alphabet from the remoteſt antiquity; it being almoſt impoſſible for any nation, eſpecially one tolerably civilized, to have ever totally and irrecoverably loſt ſo divine and uſeful an invention (9).

(7) *M. Von Strahlenberg's hiſtori-geographic. deſcript. p.* 370--380. *Matth. Bel. de vet. lit. Hunno-Scythic. ſect.* 2. *p.* 15, 16. *M. Petit de la Croix in Genghizc. p.* 83. *Vid. & Strahlenb. ubi ſup. p.* 386. (8) *Matth. Bel. ubi ſup. ſect.* ii. *p.* 30--61. *Th. Sig. Bayer. ubi ſup. See alſo not.* (F). (9) *Warburton's divine legat. of Moſ. b.* iv. *ſect.* 4. *p.* 80, 81, *&c. See alſo the pref. to Johnſon's diſcourſes, p.* 4--53. *Lond.* 1728.

the *Thracians*, were unacquainted with the *Aſſyrian* letters; as alſo that the old *Perſic* language was nearly allied to, if it was not intirely the ſame with, the *Aſſyrian*[t].

Few of the *Tartars* or *Moguls* cultivated any branch of literature before the reign of *Jenghiz Khan*; but, after that period, ſeveral of them made no inconſiderable figure in the learned world. This will be ſhewn hereafter, when we conſider the preſent ſtate of *Khowarazm* and *Great Bukharia*, which are now in the poſſeſſion of the *Uzbecks*. However, we ought not to ſuppoſe, that all the antient *Scythians* were totally void of even the leaſt ſmattering in any of the liberal arts and ſciences. Hiſtory will by no means countenance ſuch a ſuppoſition. For, that they had ſome knowlege of the medicinal virtues of plants, appears from *Pliny*. *Anacharſis*, *Abaris*, and other native *Scythians*, were famous, even among the *Greeks* themſelves, for their temperance, juſtice, wiſdom, and profound erudition. Nor were they wholly unacquainted with the nature of poiſons, as may be inferred both from *Ariſtotle* and *Pliny*. The former, as well as the latter, of thoſe authors informs us, that they dipped their arrows in a poiſon prepared for that purpoſe, before they came to a general action with the enemy, which gave wounds, that infallibly proved mortal. This poiſon was a compoſition prepared in the following manner. The *Scythians* took female vipers, when bringing forth their young, killed them, and let their bodies corrupt for ſeveral days. Then they put a certain quantity of human blood into a pot, and buried it in a dunghill for ſome time. Afterwards, when this was reduced to a proper ſtate of corruption, they took off the watery or ſerous part, and mixed it with the liquor drawn from the putrefied carcaſes of the vipers. Whence the knowlege of this virulent poiſon came to them, we are not informed; but they probably received it from the *Indian Brahmans*. The *Scythians*, according to *Pliny*, were likewiſe ſupplied with an antidote againſt the venom or poiſon of ſerpents by thoſe animals themſelves. For he tells us, that they took ſtones out of the heads of ſome of them, which proved a ſovereign remedy for any diſorders proceeding from thence. This we take to be the preſent *Pedra de Cobra* of the *Portugueſe*, and *La Pietra di Cobra* of the *Italians*, ſent by ſome of the miſſionaries into *Europe*. That this wonderful ſtone has the virtues aſcribed to it, we think, cannot well be denied; ſince ſome of them one of us himſelf has been an eye-witneſs of, as well as *Kircher*. The natural ſtone muſt be undoubtedly the moſt efficacious remedy. But a factitious one reſembling it, compoſed only by the *Brahmans*, is likewiſe very famous. From this incident it ſeems to appear, that the *Brahmans*, and conſequently the *Egyptian* theology propagated by them all over the Eaſt, had conſiderable influence in *Scythia*. For a farther account of the *Pedra de Cobra*, our curious readers may have recourſe to the Fathers *Athanaſius Kircher*, *Michael Boim*, and *Giuſeppe Petrucci*; as well as to a minute and particular account of its wonderful virtues printed at *Bologna*, in 1732[u].

Learning.

With regard to the genius and diſpoſition of the antient *Tartars*, after what has been obſerved of the *Scythians*, we have not much to ſay. Some of them have been repreſented as moſt ſublimely virtuous, whilſt others have been handed down to us in a quite different light, by the *Greek* hiſtorians. Their juſtice, temperance, contempt of riches, prudence, and frugality, have been celebrated by *Æſchylus*, *Chœrilus*, *Ephorus*, and *Strabo*; but they have been as much decried for their inhuman cruelty and ferocity by *Apollonius*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Ovid*, *Mela*, *Pliny*, and *Lucian*. They have alſo been accuſed of the greateſt inſolence, and a variety of the blackeſt crimes, by

Diſpoſition.

[t] Francisc. Foris Otrokocsi origin. Hungar. p. 1. c. 7. et alib. Jo. Tsetsius de rect. Hungaricè ſcribendi & loquendi rat. p. i. f. 2. Mat. Belius de vet. lit. Hunno-Scythic. ſect. 2. p. 24, 30. Lipſiæ, 1718. Nicolaus Olahus in Attil. c. 18. M. Joh. Thurocztus in chron. Hungaric. lib. i. c. ult. p. m. 28. Zamoscius apud Matthiam Belium ubi ſup. p. 59, 60, 61. ut & ipſe Matthias Belius ibid. Pherecyd. Syr. apud Clem. Alexandr. ut & ipſe Clem. Alexandr. in ſtrom. lib. v. p. 567. Eustath. in Iliad. vi. v. 168. Diod. Sic. lib. ii. Herodot. lib. iv. Univ. Hist. vol. ii. p. 283, 284. Th. Sig. Bayer. element. literatur. Brahmanic. Tangutan. Mungalic. in comment. academ. ſcient. imperial. Petropolit. tom. iii. p. 389—423. Petropoli, 1732. & tom. iv. p. 289, 290, 291, &c. Petropoli, 1735. Vid. etiam Th. Sig. Bayer. literatur. Mangiuric. in comment. &c. tom. vi. p. 325—339. Petropoli, 1738. & ejuſd. element. Calmuc. in comment. &c. tom. vii. p. 345, &c. Petropoli, 1740. Herodot. lib. iv. c. 87. [u] Plin. nat. hiſt. lib. xxvi. c. 14. f. 87. edit. Hard. Pariſiis, 1723. lib. xxvii. c. 4. & lib. xxv. c. 8. Strab. lib. vii. Nic. Damascen. apud Stobæum, ſerm. v. Posidonius apud Senec. ep. xxx. p. 398. Plin. lib. vii. c. 56. & lib. xi. c. 53. Aristot. de mirab. auſcult. p. 1166. Plin. lib. xxix. c. 4. P. Michael Boim. in Flora Sinenſ. apud Athan. Kircher. in Chin. illuſtrat. p. 80, 81. ut & ipſe Athan. Kircher. ibid. P. Giusep. Petrucc. & Auct. anonym. in Deſcrizione delle virtù della Pietra di Cobra, &c. In Bologna, 1732.

Herodotus, *Clearchus*, *Lyciscus*, and others. But such contradictory relations may be accounted for, if we consider how vast a tract was comprehended under the name of *Scythia*, and what a number of nations or tribes, differing in many particulars from one another, inhabited it. Besides, they might have been of different dispositions in different periods of time; and that this was really the case, has been intimated by *Strabo*. That author insinuates, that they had antiently been famous for their justice, continence, and frugality; but had been debauched a little before his time by the *Greeks* and *Romans*. Be this as it will, the progenitors of the *Tartars* in the remoter ages were so extremely rude and barbarous, that by the term *Tartarus* the *Romans* seem to have alluded to them. The northern part of *Scythia* has been considered by *Pliny* and *Solinus* as the most forlorn, dark, and dismal part of the terraqueous globe; which amounts to an evident proof, that the antients conceived a most melancholy idea of it. The *Nubian* geographer represents the land of *Jagog* and *Magog*, as well as the sea bordering upon it, as covered with eternal darkness; which exactly corresponds with the notion that has ever been entertained of hell. Nor do the antients seem to have understood any thing else primarily by the word *Tartarus*, than the thick, dark, caliginous air about the poles, though they afterwards applied it to the country itself that was covered with so gross and noisome an atmosphere. Some authors have not scrupled to charge the *Scythians* with atheism. But no one will believe this, who maturely weighs what has been here advanced, or pays the least regard to the testimony of *Herodotus* [w].

[w] Æschylus apud Strabon. lib. vii. Choeril. in Xerx. diabas. Ephor. apud Strabon. lib. vii. ut & ipse Strab. ibid. Apollodor. apud Strabon. lib. vii. Diod. Sic. lib. iv. Ovid. trist. lib. iv. el. 4. Plin. lib. vi. Mel. lib. i. c. 19. Lucian. in Toxar. Herodot. lib. iv. Clearchus Solensis apud Athenæum, p. 524. Lyciscus Acarnan. apud Polybium, p. 789. Stephan. Byzant. Suid. Hesych. Strab. p. 341. Von Strahlenberg's introduct. p. 19. Plin. lib. iv. c. 12. Solin. c. 15. Tibul. in panegyr. ad Messal. Hom. apud Strabon. pass. Sharif al Edrisi in clim. vii. par. 1. Vid. etiam Bochart. Chan. lib. i. c. 40. & Th. Sig. Bayer. commentar. origin. Sinicar. p. 307, 309. Petropoli, 1730.

SECT. II.

The History of the Turks, Tartars, *and* Moguls, *from their Origin, to the Time of* Jenghiz Khan.

The Turks, Tartars, *and* Moguls, *of the house of* Japhet.

THAT *Japhet* was the great progenitor of the *Turks*, *Tartars*, and *Moguls*, seems to be a point almost universally agreeed upon by the learned. Those who suppose the antient *Scythians* to have been originally a colony detached from *Armenia*, must necessarily assent to that notion, as has been already observed; and yet these are the only persons who appear in the least to differ from the most generally received opinion. M. *Bayer* supposes *Gog* to have been the father of the *Scythians*, and *Magog* the progenitor of a people expelled by the *Scythians* from the country they afterwards possessed. But no regard, as we apprehend, is due to such a supposition. For, in the first place, *Gog* and *Magog* are words that seem nearly allied; and in the next, *Gog* is represented as the prince of *Meshech* and *Tubal*, brothers to *Magog*. From whence we may infer, that *Gog* was either some king or people of the descendents of *Meshech* and *Tubal*, bordering upon, or rather intermixed with, the sons of *Magog*. Father *Calmet* sets this point in a very clear light. Be that as it will, M. *Bayer* must allow, that the *Scythians*, or antient *Tartars*, are descended from *Japhet*, such a concession being the natural consequence of his (A) favourite hypothesis [a].

[a] Theoph. Sigefr. Bayer, de orig. et prisc. sed. Scythar. in comment. academ. scientiar. imperial. Petropolitan. p. 390. Petropoli, 1728. M. John Philip. von Strahlenberg's historico-geographic. descript. of the north and eastern parts of Europe and Asia, &c. Introduct. sect. 3. Lond. 1738. Ezek. c. xxviii. v. 2, 3. c. xxxix. v. 1. Prolegom. & dissertat. in omn. & sing. S. Script. libr. auctore R. P. D. Augustino Calmet, &c. Latinis lit. trad. a Joanne Dominico Mansi, &c. p. 595—600. Lucæ, 1729.

The

(A) For, supposing them to have been originally *Armenians*, yet they must still be considered as the descendents of *Japhet*; since the *Armenians* were a colony of *Phrygians*, and consequently sprung from

The Tartars *themſelves deduce their origin from* Turk *the ſon of* Japhet.

THE *Tartars* themſelves deduce their origin from *Japhet*, or, as they call him, *Japhis*. *Nui*, ſay they, ſent his eldeſt ſon *Ham* to people the *Indies*, his ſecond ſon *Sam* to inhabit the country of *Iran*, and his youngeſt ſon *Japhis* to ſettle his family in the territory of *Kuttup Shamach*. Some of the *Tartars* have conſidered *Japhis* as a prophet, but others only as a common perſon. They tell us, that, after he had quitted the mountain where the ark reſted, he took up his habitation about the rivers *Atell* and *Jaigick*, and lived about two hundred and fifty years. The ſons that ſurvived him, according to the *Tartar* tradition, were *Turk*, *Chars*, *Sacklap*, *Ruſs*, *Maninach*, *Zwin*, *Camari*, and *Tarich*. *Mirkhond* and *Khondemir*, in agreement with the ſacred hiſtorian, make *Japhet*, or, as they call him, *Jafeth Ben Nouh*, the eldeſt ſon of *Noah*. They alſo affirm, that, after the ark had reſted upon the mountain of *Giudi* in *Armenia*, his father gave him all the countries lying to the eaſt and north of that province. Many of the *Orientals* believe, that *Japhet* had the following ſons: *Gin*, *Tchin*, or *Sin*, the father of the *Chineſe*; *Seclab*, the progenitor of the *Sclavonians*; *Manſchuge*, from whom came the *Goths* or *Scythians* called *Jagiuge* and *Magiuge*; *Gomari*, the *Gomer* of *Moſes*; *Turk*, from whom deſcended the *Turks*, *Tartars*, and *Mogul's*; *Khalage*; *Khozar*; *Ruſs*, the great anceſtor of the *Ruſſians*; *Suſſan*, or *Souſſan*; *Ghaz*, or *Gaz*; and *Tarage*, the founder of the *Turcoman* nation. The *Turkiſh* writer *Saadi*, in great repute among his countrymen, likewiſe deduces the *Ottoman* or *Othman* family, and conſequently the nation to which it belongs, from the houſe of *Japhet* [b].

Turk *ſucceeds his father* Japhet.

TURK, according to the *Orientals*, received the ſurname of *Jafeth Oglan*, or *Japhis-Oglani*, i. e. the ſon of *Japhet*, from his father, who alſo appointed him to bear the chief rule in his family, after his death. As *Turk* was a man of a ſuperior genius, he invented many of the conveniences of life, made himſelf tents, and fixed his reſidence in a place known at preſent by the name of *Iſachkoll*. He governed his family and ſubjects many years, with great juſtice, prudence, and moderation. According to (B) *Mirkhond* and *Khondemir*, he at firſt ſettled upon a moſt delicious ſpot of ground, called afterwards by the *Moguls Silenkaï*, and by the *Arabs Siluk*; taught his people to erect that ſort of huts, in one of which he himſelf reſided, called by the *Perſians Khargïah*; and formed a body of ſalutary laws for the uſe of his deſcendents. Theſe laws, going under the appellation of *Jaſſa* and *Jaſſak* among the *Mogul's*, were renewed and augmented by *Jenghiz Khan*. We are informed by the *Tartars*, that *Turk* had four ſons, to wit, *Taunak*, *Zakale*, *Berſazar*, and *Amlak*; but ſome *Oriental* writers mention theſe five, *Ilmingeh*, *Toutek*, *Jenghel*, *Baſegia* or *Barſegia*, *Pir Schehar*, and *Ilak* or *Imlak*. From him the country in which he fixed himſelf was named *Turkeſtan*, and his ſubjects *Turks*. The *Tartar* hiſtorian gives us no account of his age when he died; but other Eaſtern authors ſay, that he lived two hundred and forty years, and was cotemporary with *Kejomaras* or *Cajoumaras*, the firſt king of *Perſia*, of the dynaſty of the *Piſchdadians* [c].

Taunak.

TAUNAK, who ſucceeded his father *Turk*, became a very rich and ingenious prince. Beſides many other inventions, highly advantageous to ſociety, he diſcovered the uſe of ſalt. *Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan* makes him alſo cotemporary with *Kejomaras*, and affirms him to have lived two hundred and forty years. According to the later Eaſtern writers, this prince could have had only three brothers, the whole poſterity of *Turk*

[b] ABU'L GHAZI BAHADUR Khan's genealog. hiſt. of the Tart. par. i. c. 2. Lond. 1730. MOHAMMED EBN EMIR. KHOANDSCH. ſive MIRKH. in Raoudhat alſaf. GIATHEDDIN EBN. HAMAMED. ſive KHONDEM. in Khelaſſat alakh. SAADI in the pref. to Demet. Cantemir's hiſt. of the Othm. Emp. p. 14. Vid. & D'HERBEL. biblioth. oriental. p. 470. & p. 897. [c] MOHAMMED EBN EMIR KHOANDSCH. GIATHED. EBN HAMAMED. ABU'L GHAZ. BAHAD. ubi ſup.

from *Japhet*, as we learn from *Herodotus*. To which we may add, that the *Armenians* deduce themſelves from *Japhet*, if any regard is due to *Moſes Chorenenſis*, their principal hiſtorian (1).

(B) M. *D'Herbelot* apparently contradicts himſelf in ſome articles relating to the identity of *Mirkhond* and *Khondemir*. In one (2) or two, he makes them the ſame hiſtorian; but in others (3) he expreſly declares them to be *two different* writers, which we take to be the moſt agreeable to truth. Nor ought this to be any matter of ſurprize, ſince accuracy is a fault that the *French* writers are not frequently guilty of.

(1) *Herod. lib.* viii. *c.* 73. *Moſ. Chorenenſ. hiſt. Armen. lib.* i. (2) *D'Herbel. biblioth. orient. in art. Mircond. & in art. Raoudhat alſafa.* (3) *Idem in art. Jafeth Ben Noah, & Turk.*

being divided into four large tribes, denominated the orda's of *Erlat*, *Gialaïr*, *Kaugin*, and *Berlas* or *Perlas*; of the laſt of which was the famous *Timur Beg*. This diviſion, however, remained only til the time of *Ogus Khan*, when a new one was introduced. But this laſt ſeems to have been nothing more than a ſubdiviſion of every orda or horde into four leſſer tribes. For, if this had not been the caſe, how could any Eaſtern hiſtorian, with any colour of reaſon pretend to deduce the family of *Timur Beg*, from the tribe or orda of *Berlas* [d]?

Jelza Khan. JELZA KHAN aſcended the throne after his father *Taunak*, who appointed him his ſucceſſor. He reigned many years; but we find nothing memorable related of him. The *Tartars* themſelves have no traditions that relate to any remarkable occurrences which happened in his reign [e].

Dibekui Khan. DIBEAKUI KHAN, after his father *Jelza Khan*'s deceaſe, was recognized king of the *Turks*. He had been declared preſumptive heir to the crown, before the death of *Jelza Khan*; and, after a long reign, diſpoſed of the ſucceſſion to his ſon *Kajuk Khan* [f].

Kajuk Khan. KAJUK KHAN had a long and proſperous reign. He ſeems to have gone under the name of *Gaiuk Khan* amongſt ſome of the *Oriental* hiſtorians. The ſame writers likewiſe call his father *Ilmingé Khan*, and intimate that he governed his people by the laws, or political inſtitutions, framed by *Turk*. *Kajuk Khan* arrived at an extreme old age, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Alanza Khan* [g].

Alanza Khan. SOME of the Eaſtern authors give *Alanza Khan* the name of *Alingeh Khan*, or *Ilingeh Khan*. His ſubjects, whilſt he reigned, wallowed in luxury, and a profuſion of all kinds of delights. This enervated and debauched their minds, drew them into a variety of vices, and at laſt fixed them in idolatry. *Alanza Khan*, having two twin-ſons *Tatar* and *Mogul*, or more properly *Mung'l*, divided his dominions between them, a little before his deceaſe [h].

Tatar Khan, and Mogul Khan. FROM *Tatar Khan* the *Tatars* or *Tartars* derived their name, as the *Moguls* did theirs from *Mogul* or *Mung'l Khan*. Theſe two branches of *Turks*, being thus rendered independent on one another, formed two conſiderable empires, which, according to *Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan*, flouriſhed for ſeveral generations. As our readers will expect to meet with ſomething relative to thoſe empires here, we ſhall beg leave to give conciſe and diſtinct accounts of them both, beginning with that of the *Tartars* [i].

Tatar Khan. I. TATAR KHAN, the ſon of *Alanza Khan*, arrived at old age, and governed his ſubjects many years. But all the remarkable occurrences of his reign, if any then happened, have been long ſince buried in oblivion [k].

Buka Khan. BUKA KHAN ſucceeded his father *Tatar Khan*, and had likewiſe a pretty long reign. But nothing of moment concerning him is to be met with, either in *Mirkhond*, or the *Tartar* hiſtorian [l].

Jalanza Khan. AFTER the death of *Buka Khan*, his ſon *Jalanza Khan* took into his hands the reins of government; but we find nothing memorable related of him [m].

Ettala Khan. ETTALA, or according to *Mirkhond*, *Iſſali Khan*, ſucceeded his father *Jalanza Khan*. *Mirkhond* calls this laſt prince *Bilingheh Khan*; but has tranſmitted to us nothing remarkable, either of him or his ſon [n].

Attaiſir Khan. ATTAISIR, or *Akſur*, *Khan* came after *Ettala Khan*, and was engaged in bloody wars; but what ſucceſs attended him therein, is not known [o].

Orda Khan. AFTER the death of *Attaiſir Khan*, his ſon *Orda*, or *Ordu*, *Khan* came to the *Tartar* throne: he had a long pacific reign, and died regretted by his ſubjects [p].

Baydu Khan. BAYDU KHAN entered upon the government after his father *Orda Khan*, and poſſeſſed his dominions many years in peace; but, towards the cloſe of his reign, he engaged in a war with the *Moguls* or *Mungals*. This war he did not finiſh; but left the concluſion of it to his ſon *Siuntz Khan* [q].

Siuntz Khan. SIUNTZ KHAN met with bad ſucceſs in the beginning of his reign, being frequently defeated by *Il Khan*, emperor of the *Moguls*. This induced him to enter into an alliance with the khan of the *Kergis*, a potent prince, by virtue of which he had a large

[d] ABU'L GHAZI BAHADUR KHAN, ubi ſup. MOHAM. EBN EMIR KHOANDSCH. GAIATHED. EBN HAMAMED. ubi ſup. AHMED EBN ARABSHAH in vit. Tim. Beg. [e] ABU'L GHAZI BAHADUR KHAN, & MOHAM. EBN EMIR. KHOANDSCH. ubi ſup. [f] Idem ibid. [g] Idem ibid. [h] ABU'L BAHADUR KHAN & MOHAM. EBN EMIR KHOANDSCH. ubi ſup. [i] ABU'L GHAZI BAHADUR KHAN, ubi ſup. c. 3. [k] Idem ibid. & MOHAM. EBN EMIR KHOANDSCH. ubi ſup. [l] Idem ibid. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Idem ibid. [o] Idem ibid. [p] Idem ibid. [q] ABU'L GHAZI BAHADUR KHAN, ubi ſupra, c. 3.

body

body of auxiliary troops ſent him. However, notwithſtanding this acceſſion of ſtrength, he found himſelf incapable of making head againſt *Il Khan*, who commanded a very formidable well-diſciplined army. *Siuntz Khan* therefore, by inſpiring all the neighbouring princes with a jealouſy of the overgrown power of *Il Khan*, which threatened them with ſpeedy deſtruction, prevailed upon them to unite their forces with thoſe of the *Tartars* againſt him. When they had aſſembled all their troops, they attacked *Il Khan* in his intrenchments; but were vigorouſly repulſed. They, therefore, after ſome repeated attacks, that proved ineffectual, threw away their arms, and feigned a precipitate flight. This gave them an opportunity of drawing the *Moguls* out of their intrenchments into an ambuſcade which (C) *Siuntz Khan* had before prepared for them. The conſequences of which were the total ruin of *Il Khan*'s army, and the utter ſubverſion of the empire of the *Moguls* [r].

2. MOGUL, or *Mung'l*, *Khan* was the firſt monarch of the *Moguls*, who received their denomination from him. He was a prince of a very melancholy diſpoſition, from which circumſtance he deduced his name, *Mung* in the *Tartarian* language ſignifying *melancholy*. He reigned a long time, and at his death left four ſons, *Kara Khan*, *Auwas* or *Azer Khan*, *Khauwas* or *Ghez Khan*, and *Khavar* or *Or Khan*. We are told, that in a direct line from the eldeſt of theſe ſons deſcended the famous *Jenghiz Khan* [s]. Mogul Khan.

KARA KHAN, after his father's death, by the right of primogeniture, came to the empire, and was a very powerful prince. During the ſummer, he made his abode about the mountains of *Ar-tag* and *Car-tag*, called at preſent *Uluk-tag* and *Kitzig-tag*. In the winter he held his reſidence upon the banks of the river *Sirr*, at the foot of the mountains, which are to the north of that river. The *Tartars* tell us, that in his time the true religion was baniſhed out of the world, and idolatry ſubſtituted in its place. However, his ſon *Ogus* or *Oguz Khan* worſhiped the true GOD, abandoned two wives, becauſe he could not prevail upon them to depart from idolatry, and married a third, that embraced his own religion. *Kara Khan*, being informed of this, by the advice of ſeveral *Mogul* lords, aſſembled a body of troops, in order to ſurpriſe *Ogus*, and put him to death as he was hunting, without any noiſe. But *Ogus*'s beloved wife, being appriſed of this reſolution, found an opportunity of acquainting her huſband with his father's deſign. Upon which *Ogus* drew together ſome forces, amongſt which were ſeveral of his relations, who were fallen much below the grandeur of their birth. To theſe he gave the ſurname of *Vigurs*, or auxiliaries. In the mean time, *Kara Khan*, being advanced with a powerful army, engaged his ſon *Ogus*; but was overthrown, notwithſtanding the ſuperior number of his troops. The khan had his head pierced by an arrow in the action, of which wound he ſoon after died [t]. Kara Khan.

OGUS, or *Oguz*, *Khan*, being advanced to the throne, cauſed an order to be publiſhed, that every one ſhould embrace the true religion. Thoſe, who readily obeyed this order, he heaped favours upon; but as many of the idolaters as could be met with, he put to the ſword. However, ſome of them retired into the dominions of the khan of the *Tartars*, who then reſided in the neighbourhood of *Dſurdſut*, ſituated towards the frontiers of *Khathai* or *Kitay*. The *Tartar* khan, taking theſe fugitives under his protection, was defeated in a general action by *Ogus Khan*, who took ſuch an immenſe quantity of plunder in the *Tartarian* territories, that it would not have been poſſible to have carried it off, had not one of his ſoldiers on this occaſion invented chariots. Theſe chariots or carriages the *Moguls* at that time called *Kumeck*, and the author of the invention *Kankli*; from whence the whole tribe known by the name of *Kankli*, or *Kangli*, is ſaid to be ſprung [u]. Ogus Khan.

ACCORDING to the *Tartar* hiſtorian, *Ogus Khan*, after a war, which laſted ſeventy-two years, obliged all his neighbours to ſubmit to him, and to reſume the true religion. *His dominions* [illegible] *ty. and then* [illegible]

[r] ABU'L GHAZI BAHADUR KHAN, par. ii. c. 4. [s] Idem ibid. c. 1. [t] Idem ibid. c. 1, 2.
[u] Idem ibid. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. biblioth. orient. p. 248.

(C) We are told by *Mirkhond*, that, after the death of *Sunig*, or *Sidig*, *Khan*, who muſt have anſwered either to the *Baydu* or *Siuntz Khan* of the *Tartar* hiſtorian, the civil and foreign wars, in which the *Tartars* were engaged, ſo divided them, that their great empire was intirely overturned. Notwithſtanding which, adds the ſame author, the proper *Tartars* always afterwards kept themſelves ſeparated from the other *Turkiſh* nations of the *Eaſt* (4).

(4) *Mirkhond. ubi ſupra. Vid. etiam D'H. bibl. orient.* [illegible] 875.

Then

Then he reduced the whole empire of *Kitay* or *Kathay*, the city of *Dſurdſut*, the kingdom of *Tangut*, and *Cara Kitay*. But upon the ſea-coaſts, among the mountains behind *Kathay*, he was repulſed by *Itburak* or *Itborak Khan*, and forced to poſt himſelf in an advantageous camp between two vaſt rivers, in order to ſecure himſelf againſt a ſurprize. As *Ogus Khan*, and his chief officers, were attended by their wives in this expedition, one of thoſe ladies, whoſe huſband was killed in the late action, being big with child, found herſelf obliged to retire into an old hollow tree, when her pains came upon her, and was there delivered of a ſon. The khan, being informed of this, gave the child the name of *Kipzak*, which in the antient *Turkiſh* ſignified a hollow tree. When this boy arrived at a proper age, *Ogus Khan* ſent him with a conſiderable army againſt the *Ruſſes*, *Vlaks*, *Madſahrs*, and *Baſhkirs*, who inhabited the banks of the rivers *Tin*, *Atell*, and *Jaigick*. Theſe people he ſubdued, and reigned thirty years in that country. From (D) this *Kipzak* is deſcended that tribe, which has all along gone under the denomination of *Kipzaks*, *Cabgiaks*, *Kiptchaks*, or *Kipjahs* [w].

He finiſhes reconquers his conqueſts.

SEVENTEEN years after, *Ogus Khan* attacked *Itburak* or *Itborak Khan* a ſecond time, intirely defeated him, put him to death, and then made himſelf maſter of all his dominions. He alſo ſeized upon the towns of *Sairam* and *Taſhkant*, and ſent his ſon with a large detachment to ſubdue *Turkeſtan* and *Andidſan*; which having effected, he rejoined his father, after having ſpent ſix months in the expedition. After this junction, *Ogus Khan* reduced *Samarkand* and *Great Bukharia*. Then he poſſeſſed himſelf of *Balk* or *Balkhe*, and about the middle of winter advanced to the town of *Khor*. But it being extremely cold here, and a vaſt quantity of ſnow having fallen, his troops ſuſtained infinite fatigues. However, after the reduction of *Khor*, he continued his march, giving the ſtricteſt orders, that none of his men ſhould ſtay behind upon any pretence whatſoever. But, at the approach of the ſpring, making a review of his army, he found ſeveral of his men miſſing, who yet arrived ſome days after this review. Upon their arrival, he demanded of them the reaſon why they had not kept up with the reſt of his troops. To which they anſwered, that having marched at firſt a little more leiſurely than his other men, there fell ſo much ſnow in one night, that they could not poſſibly rejoin them. To which they added, that as all their horſes and camels had burſt, they could not poſſibly till that time appear before him. Whereupon the *Khan*, in memory of this accident, gave them the ſurname of *Karlik*, that word in the old *Turkiſh* or *Tartarian* language ſignifying ſnow. And from theſe people it is, that the *Karliks* deduce their original [x].

He takes Caſhmir.

OGUS KHAN, arriving in the neighbourhood of *Caſhmir*, a famous city to the north of *Indoſtan*, found *Jagma*, the khan of that town, prepared to give him a proper reception. That prince, having received intelligence of the khan's march, had poſſeſſed the avenues of the mountains, and the banks of the rivers which are about *Caſhmir*; by which means he gave a check to the progreſs of the *Mogul* arms for a whole year. But at laſt *Ogus Khan* ſurmounted all difficulties, defeated *Jagma*'s troops, took *Caſhmir*, and put the greateſt part of the inhabitants, together with the khan himſelf, to the ſword. After which the *Mogul* monarch returned by the way of *Badagſhan* and *Samarkand* into his own dominions [y].

He undertakes an expedition againſt Iran.

SOME time after, taking a reſolution to invade *Iran*, he commanded his men to amaſs a large quantity of proviſions, and make all the proper diſpoſitions for a long march. Then ſetting forward with his numerous forces, he was joined at the town of *Talaſh* by ſome ſtragglers, who had ſtaid behind in the late *Indian* expedition. Having aſked one of theſe, how it came to paſs that they did not arrive ſooner; he anſwered, That their horſes in general, and his own in particular, had been quite ſpent. To which he added, that his wife being delivered on the road, and ſo reduced with hunger, that ſhe had no milk wherewith to nouriſh her child, he killed ſome game for her ſupport, that ſhe might be capable of giving her infant ſuck. Whereupon the khan ſur-

[w] ABU'L GHAZI BAHADUR KHAN, ibid. D'HERBEL. biblioth. orient. ibid. [x] ABU'L GHAZI BAHADUR KHAN, ubi ſupra. [y] Idem ibid.

(D) *Kipzak*, *Cabgiak*, *Kiptchak*, or *Kipjak*, and his poſterity, ſeated themſelves in a part of the vaſt plain lying to the north of the *Caſpian* ſea. Theſe *Tartars* have retained the name of their great anceſtor *Kipzak* or *Kipjak*, to this very day. Their country is at preſent called, both in *Turkiſh* and *Perſian*, *Daſht Kipzak* or *Kipjak*, the plain of *Kipzak* or *Kipjak* (5).

(5) *D'Herbelot. biblioth. orient. p.* 222.

niſhed him with a horſe and proviſions, permitted him to return home, and in memory of that event gave him the name of *Kall-atz*, *kall* in antient *Turkiſh* ſignifying to *ſit* or *ſtay behind*, and *atz* denoting *hungry*. The poſterity of *Kall-atz* (E) have ſince that time increaſed to ſuch a degree, that there are at preſent ſeveral very numerous branches of them [z].

He takes many cities of Iran, Armenia, *&c.*

Ogus Khan, entering *Iran*, found that country greatly embroiled. *Kejomaras*, the firſt king of *Iran*, being dead, and his ſucceſſor *Huſhang* then under age, the nobles of the kingdom (taking advantage of this prince's minority) waged war among themſelves. This greatly facilitated the reduction of *Khoraſſan* to *Ogus Khan*. From thence he moved towards the cities of *Irak*, *Aderbayagjan*, and *Armenia*; ſome of which he took by force, and others by capitulation. Being, in this expedition, at the city of *Sham*, he ordered one of his moſt faithful attendants to bury privately a golden bow in the eaſtern part of the neighbouring foreſt; but in ſuch a manner, that only an exceeding ſmall bit of it could be ſeen. Which being done, he commanded the ſame perſon to bury ſo likewiſe three golden arrows, on the weſt-ſide of the ſame foreſt. A year after, he ſent his three eldeſt ſons, *Kiun*, or the ſun, *Ay*, or the moon, and *Juldus*, or the ſtar, to hunt on the eaſt-ſide of the aforeſaid foreſt, with orders to bring him whatever they found therein. Then he diſpatched his three younger ſons, with orders to repair to the chace, but on the weſt-ſide only. The firſt of theſe had the appellation of *Kuck*, or the heaven; the ſecond that of *Tag*, or the mountain; and the third that of *Zenghiz*, or the ſea. The former, beſides a large quantity of game, brought with them, at their return, the golden bow they had found; and the latter the three golden arrows, likewiſe with much game. The khan, having cauſed the game to be dreſſed, and added many other diſhes to it, made a great feaſt on this occaſion; after the concluſion of which, he divided the golden bow among his three eldeſt ſons, and permitted alſo the three others to keep each of them a golden arrow. He reſided ſome years in the principal towns he had conquered; and, having left ſtrong gariſons in thoſe of them that were defenſible, he led back his army into his hereditary dominions [a].

He appoints his ſon Kiun Khan *his ſucceſſor.*

At his return, he erected a magnificent tent, adorned with golden apples, curiouſly enriched with all ſorts of precious ſtones; and invited to a grand entertainment his ſons, the nobleſſe, and all the officers of diſtinction in the empire. He ordered nine hundred horſes, and nine thouſand ſheep, to be killed on this occaſion; and provided nine leathern bottles filled with brandy, and ninety with *kumiſſe* or mares milk, for the uſe of his illuſtrious gueſts. Then, having thanked his ſons for their inviolable fidelity to him, he made them ſovereign princes, giving them ſubjects of their own. As for the lords of his court, and his principal officers, he rewarded each of them according to his reſpective merit. His three eldeſt ſons received from him the name of *Buſſuk*, that is, *broken*, in memory of the golden bow, which they had found, and parted among themſelves. And to the three youngeſt he gave the ſurname of *Utz-ock*, or *three arrows*, in remembrance of the adventure above-mentioned. Then, telling them, that, among their anceſtors, a bow was the ſymbol of dominion, and the arrows that of embaſſadors, he appointed *Kiun* his ſucceſſor, and declared the deſcendents of the *Buſſuks* only to have a right to the crown. As for the *Utz-ocks*, and their poſterity, they were to remain in a ſtate of ſubjection to their brethren for ever [b].

He leaves governors in all his conqueſts.

In fine, this great conqueror made himſelf maſter of *Kathay*, and ſubdued all the *Turkiſh* tribes or nations of the Eaſt. He alſo reduced *Perſia*, *Khoraſſan*, *Media* or *Aderbayagjan*, and *Armenia*; and planted, in the countries he poſſeſſed himſelf of, the true religion. Thoſe, who embraced it, he treated with great lenity, and even heaped many favours upon them; but the idolaters he cut off without mercy. He likewiſe left governors in all his conqueſts, commanding them to govern according to the *Oguzian* laws, which he had cauſed to be promulged for the good of all his ſubjects.

[z] Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan, ubi ſupra. See alſo the introduction of M. Von Strahlenberg, p. 65. [a] Mohammed Ebn Emir Khoandschah, ſive Mirkhond, & Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan, ubi ſupra. Vide etiam D'Herbel. biblioth. orient. p. 685. [b] Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan & Mirkhond, ubi ſupra. D'Herbel. ibid.

(E) The *Kall-atzes* ſeem to be the *Calaci* of *Tacitus*, taken notice of by *Car. Stephanus*, in his dictionary (6).

(6) *Car. Steph. dict. p.* 534.

His memory held in high veneration over a great part of the Eaſt.

THE memory of *Ogus Khan* is ſtill held in high veneration over a great part of the Eaſt. He is conſidered as the greateſt hero, except the famous *Jenghiz Khan*, that ever lived, at leaſt in the Eaſtern parts of the world, by the *Turks* and *Tartars* of all denominations. The *Ottomans*, or *Othman Turks*, ſo called in contradiſtinction to the *Turkiſh* or *Tartarian* tribes ſettled in *Great* and *Little Tartary*, from him, aſſume the name of *Oguzians*; and pretend that the *Othman* or *Ottoman* family is deſcended in a direct line from *Ogus Khan*. But we ſhall, perhaps, have an opportunity of expatiating more largely upon this point hereafter [b].

He is ſucceeded by his ſon Kiun Khan.

OGUS KHAN, having reigned, according to the *Tartar* hiſtorian, an hundred and ſixteen years, departed this life, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Kiun* or *Ghun Khan*. That prince, being adviſed thereto by one of his father's old counſellors of the tribe of the *Vigurs*, made a partition of the empire. He divided *Ogus Khan*'s immenſe dominions among the ſix brothers already mentioned, and all their ſons. As each of them, therefore, had four ſons born in lawful wedlock, and four by his concubines, *Kiun Khan*'s dominions were greatly diſmembered, and, after this event, aſſumed quite a different form. This we learn from *Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur*, the khan of *Khowarazm*; but, according to *Mohammed Ebn Emir Khoandſchah*, commonly called *Mirkhond*, the *Perſian* hiſtorian, the diviſion of the *Turkiſh* nation into tribes, which this ſeems to allude to, happened in the time of *Ogus Khan*. That prince, ſays this author, divided the *Oriental Turks*, that is to ſay, all thoſe remote *Turkiſh* or *Tartar* nations ſeated beyond the *Gihon*, or the *Oxus*, into twenty-four different tribes. As many of theſe are ſtill in being, our readers will expect an ample account of them, when we come to the modern hiſtory of the *Tartars* [c].

Ay Khan.

THE throne becoming vacant by the death of *Kiun Khan*, who reigned ſeventy years, his brother *Ay* or *Ai Khan* ſucceeded him. This prince ſeems to have had a long reign; but we find nothing remarkable related of him by any of the Eaſtern [d] hiſtorians.

Juldus Khan.

AFTER *Ay Khan* came *Juldus* or *Ilduz Khan*, who was not the brother of the former prince already mentioned, but another of the ſame houſe. *Juldus Khan* held the reins of the empire with great conduct and prudence; but did not live long after his acceſſion to the throne [e].

Mengli Khan.

MENGLI KHAN ſucceeded his father *Juldus Khan*. He ſwayed the ſceptre worthily, died in peace at a great age, and left the empire to his ſon *Tinjis* or *Tengis Khan* [f].

Tingis Khan.

NOTHING very memorable is ſaid of *Tinjis Khan*. We are only told, that, in his old age, he reſigned the crown in favour of his ſon *Il Khan*, that he might employ the remainder of his days in exerciſes of devotion. He is called by *Mirkhond Tonghur Khan* [g].

Il Khan.

IL KHAN, and *Siuntz Khan*, a deſcendent of *Tatar Khan*, were cotemporaries. Theſe two princes were continually at war together: but *Il Khan* always proved victorious; which obliged *Siuntz Khan* to procure the aſſiſtance of the khan of the *Kergis*, a potent prince, with magnificent preſents. He likewiſe found means to unite all the neighbouring princes againſt *Il Khan*, and put a period to the *Mogul* empire, as we have already related in the hiſtory of *Siuntz Khan* [h].

Kajan *and* Nagos *retire into the mountains.*

OF *Il Khan*'s family only two ſurvived the intire defeat given that prince by *Siuntz Khan*. Theſe were the youngeſt of his ſons, called *Kajan*, and his nephew *Nagos*, his brother's ſon, who were both of an age, and both married the ſame year. Theſe two princes, with their wives, had been taken priſoners by *Siuntz Khan*; but found means to make their eſcape. Being arrived in their own country, they ſeized upon all the camels, horſes, cows, and ſheep, that had not been carried off by the *Tartars*; which they eaſily did, having no one to diſpute that property with them, all the other *Moguls* having either periſhed in the battle, or been put to the ſword by *Siuntz Khan* after that unfortunate action. Then ſtripping ſome of the ſlain, lying on the field of battle, they took their cloaths, and retired into the mountains [i].

They arrive in Irgana Kon.

SEVERAL of theſe they traverſed without much difficulty, and at laſt advanced to the foot of an exceeding high mountain, which had no way over it, but a very ſmall path made by certain animals called in the *Tartar* language *archara*. This path they found

[b] ABU'L GHAZI BAHADUR KHAN, & MIRKHOND, ubi ſupra. D'HERBEL. ibid. [c] ABU'L GHAZI BAHADUR KHAN's genealogic. hiſt. of the *Tatars*, par. ii. c. 3. MOHAMMED EBN EMIR KHOANDSCHAH, ubi ſupra. [d] ABU'L GHAZI BAHADUR KHAN, ubi ſupra. [e] Idem ibid. [f] Idem ibid. [g] Idem, & MOHAM. EBN EMIR KHOANDSCH. ubi ſupra. [h] ABU'L GHAZI BAHADUR KHAN's genealogic. hiſt. of the *Tatars*, par. ii. c. 4. [i] Idem ibid. c. 5.

them-

themſelves obliged to make uſe of, though it was ſo ſtreight, that only one could paſs at a time, and he in the moſt imminent danger of breaking his neck at the leaſt falſe ſtep. Having aſcended the mountain on one ſide by this path, they deſcended it alſo on the other by the ſame; and were agreeably ſurpriſed to ſee themſelves in a moſt delightful tract, interſperſed with rivulets, and charming meadows, abounding with a vaſt variety of delicious fruits, and incloſed on all ſides by inacceſſible mountains, in ſuch a manner as to ſhelter them from all future purſuits of the *Tartars* [k].

HERE they lived ſome time, and gave this beautiful country the name of *Irgana-Kon*, in alluſion to its ſituation; *Irgana* ſignifying in the old language of the *Moguls* a valley, and *Kon* a ſteep height. In proceſs of time, theſe two families very much increaſed. *Kajan*, whoſe poſterity was the moſt numerous, called his deſcendents *Kajath*; but the people ſpringing from *Nagos* were divided into two tribes, one of which received the appellation of *Nagoſlar*, and the other that of *Durlagan*. *Kajan*, being a ſtrong and robuſt man, had received the name which he bore from his father *Il Khan*; *Kajan* ſignifying a torrent that falls with great rapidity from the top of a rock [l]. *What that name ſignifies.*

THESE two *Mogul* princes, and their deſcendents, lived in this place above four hundred years. But the latter then finding it too narrow for them, meditated a return to the fine country their anceſtors had been obliged to abandon by *Siuntz Khan*. However, for ſome time, they found this extremely difficult, the path that conducted their forefathers into *Irgana-Kon* having been long deſtroyed. At laſt they diſcovered, that one part of the high mountain above-mentioned was not very thick in a certain place, and alſo that it intirely conſiſted of iron ore. To this, having before ſet fire to a layer of wood, and another of charcoal, laid round the foot of the mountain, they applied ſeventy leathern bellows, and at laſt melted the mountain here in ſuch a manner, that an opening was left large enough for a loaded camel to paſs. And through this paſſage they all marched out with great joy [m]. *They lived here above four hundred years.*

AT that time the *Moguls* had a khan of the family of *Curlaſs*, of the poſterity of *Kajan*, whoſe name was *Bertezena*. This prince, by his embaſſadors, immediately acquainted the neighbouring tribes with the ſally the *Moguls* had made out of *Irgana-Kon*; and commanded thoſe who had formerly been dependent on the *Mogul* khans, to make their ſubmiſſion to him. As this was attended with menaces of purſuing with fire and ſword thoſe who refuſed ſuch ſubmiſſion, ſome of them, without heſitation, put themſelves under his government [n]. Bertezena *khan of the* Moguls, *when they ſallied out of* Irgana Kon.

IN the mean time the *Tartars*, being informed of what had happened, advanced with a powerful army to attack *Bertezena Khan*. But he gave them a total overthrow, put to the ſword all the *Tartars* capable of bearing arms that fell into his hands, and ſpared none but the young people, whom he divided among his *Moguls*. This happened juſt four hundred and fifty years after the exciſion of the *Moguls* by *Siuntz Khan*. This victory had ſuch an effect, that, though the *Tartars* were ſtill much more numerous than the *Moguls*, the neighbouring *aimacks* or tribes did not ſcruple to put themſelves under the protection of *Bertezena Khan* [o]. *The* Moguls *overthrow the* Tartars.

BERTEZENA KHAN, as has been already obſerved, was of the family of *Curlaſs*, one of the deſcendents of *Kajan*. As this family was very numerous, the *Moguls* agreed to chooſe khans out of it for many generations. After the death of *Bertezena Khan*, his ſon *Kaw-Idill Khan* ſucceeded him; but how long he reigned, we cannot take upon us to determine [p]. Kaw-Idill Khan.

AFTER *Kaw-Idill Khan*'s death, his ſon *Bizin-Kajan Khan* was advanced to the throne. Bizin-Kajan Khan.

THAT prince had for his ſucceſſor his ſon *Kipzi Mergan Khan* [q]. Kipzi Mergan Khan.

AFTER the death of *Kipzi Mergan Khan*, his ſon *Menkoazin-Borell Khan* obtained the government [r]. Menkoazin-Borell Khan.

THE next vacancy of the throne was filled by *Bukbendum Khan*, the ſon of *Menkoazin Borell Khan* [s]. Bukbendum Khan.

[k] ABU'L GHAZI BAHADUR KHAN, ubi ſup. M. PETIT DE LA CROIX in hiſt. de Genghizcan, p. 8. M. VON STRAHLENBERG's hiſtorico geographical deſcript. p. 417, 418. [l] Idem ibid. Vide & ANDALLAM BEID. in hiſt. Sin. p. 69, 70. & D'HERBEL. bibl. orient. p. 489. [m] Idem ibid. M. VON STRAHLENBERG's hiſtorico-geographical deſcript. p. 417, 418. [n] ABU'L GHAZI BAHADUR KHAN, ubi ſupra. [o] Idem ibid. & M. VON STRAHLENBERG's introd. p. 139, 140. [p] ABU'L GHAZI BAHADUR KHAN, ubi ſupra, c. 15. [q] Idem ibid. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Idem ibid.

SIMSALTZI

Simſauzi. SIMSAUZI KHAN came after his father *Bukbendam Khan* [t].

Kaymazu. UPON the death of *Simſauzi Khan*, his ſon *Kaymazu Khan* mounted the throne.

Temirtaſh. HE was followed by his ſon *Temirtiſh Khan* [u].

Mengli Chodſa Khan. THEN came *Mengli Chodſa Khan*, ſon to the preceding prince [w].

Juldus Khan. JULDUS, or JULDUSS, KHAN, ſucceeded his father *Mengli Chodſa Khan*. This prince had two ſons, who both died before him; but one of them left behind him a ſon called *Dejun Bajan*, and the other a daughter named (F) *Alancu*. Theſe *Juldus Khan* thought proper to marry together, and gave a magnificent feaſt on the occaſion. But he died before *Dejun Bajan* had attained the age required by the laws to qualify him to reign by himſelf, which was that of thirty years. *Dejun Bajan* did not long ſurvive his grandfather: however, he had two ſons by *Alancu*. The eldeſt of theſe, at his father's deceaſe, was ſeven years old, and called by ſome *Tartarian* writers *Belgadei*, and by others *Belgajut*. The youngeſt, who did not then exceed ſix years of age, had, according to ſome, the name of *Begdſadei*; but, as others ſay, that of *Bugnat*. *Alancu*, during the minority of her children, took care of the regency, and conſtantly refuſed to marry again. However, ſhe was afterwards compreſſed by a ſpirit or incubus, and got with child by him. The three twin-brothers, who were the effect of this ſtrange commerce, have been named by the *Tartar* hiſtorians *Bocum Catagun*, *Boſkin Zalzi*, and *Budenſir Mogak*. From the firſt the tribe of the *Cataguns* derive their origin, from the ſecond are ſprung the *Zalzuts*, and the third came to reign over the *Moguls*. However ridiculous this ſtory may appear, it has been related by all the *Oriental* hiſtorians, though they vary in the circumſtances, who treat of the original of the *Tartars*. Nor are parallel inſtances wanting in the hiſtories of other nations, it having been a common practice to deduce the founders of great empires originally from ſome deity, or being ſuperior to man. So, to omit others that occur, the *Romans*, in the *Auguſtan* age, made *Julius Cæſar* to be deſcended from *Æneas* the ſon of *Venus*, and *Romulus* ultimately from the ſame goddeſs, though immediately from *Mars*. This ſeems to have been done by different nations, either in order to ſooth the vanity of their princes, many of whom affected a divine origin, or to reflect an honour upon themſelves, or, laſtly, to diſpoſe the vulgar, by the falſe luſtre of feigned miracles, to a more implicit obedience to the arbitrary commands of the author of ſome ſurpriſing revolution. Nor could the *Romans* have boaſted more of the feats of any of their heroes, than the *Tartars* do of the atchievements of the perſon deſcended from the aforeſaid incubus, that famous and moſt puiſſant conqueror *Jenghiz Khan* [x].

Budenſir Khan. BUDENSIR (G) MOGAK KHAN had two ſons, whoſe names were *Tumu* and *Tocha*. His deſcendents, as well as thoſe of *Bocum Catagun* and *Boſkin Zalzi*, took the ſurname

[t] ABU'L GHAZI BAHADUR KHAN, ubi ſupra. [u] Idem ibid. [w] Idem ibid. [x] MOHAMMED EBN EMIR KHOANDSCHAH, & ABU'L GHAZI BAHADUR KHAN, ubi ſup. LIV. lib. i. c. 5. C. SUETON. TRANQUIL. D. Jul. Cæſ. c. 6. D'HERBEL. biblioth. orient. p. 685. M. VON STRAHLENBERG's introduct. p. 46.

(F) This princeſs is called by *Mirkhond* and *Khondemir Alankava*, or *Alancova*. They tell us, that ſhe was the daughter of *Giubine*, the ſon of *Bolduz* king of the *Moguls*, of the dynaſty of *Kiat*, the ſecond that reigned in the northern parts of *Aſia*, after the re-eſtabliſhment of that nation. She was married to her couſin german *Dujun*, by whom ſhe had two ſons, named *Belghedi* and *Bekgiedi*. After the death of *Dujun*, ſhe governed her dominions, and brought up her children, with great prudence and ſagacity. *Mirkhond* relates, that, according to a tradition prevailing all over *Tartary* or *Scythia*, ſhe was got with child by a ſpirit, in a miraculous manner; and that of the commerce betwixt them the lords of her court themſelves were eey-witneſſes. The ſame author adds, that, when the time of her delivery was come, ſhe was brought to bed of three ſons, named *Bukun Cabaki*, *Buſkin Salegi*, and *Buzangir*. From the firſt are deſcended the *Tartars*, called *Cabakin* and *Kapgiak*; from the ſecond, the *Selgiucides*; and from the third, thoſe great conquerors *Jenghiz Khan* and *Timur Beg*. *Khondemir* blaſphemouſly inſinuates, that the miraculous conception of *Alankava* was ſimilar to that of *Miriam* the mother of *Iſſa*; from whence *D'Herbelot* concludes, that the *Moguls* formerly profeſſed Chriſtianity, though they have now no footſteps of that religion remaining among them. But we rather imagine, that the whole ſtory was a fiction, invented purely for the ſake of doing honour to the family of *Jenghiz Khan*. Nor are we to be ſurpriſed at the compariſon between the point couched in it, and the conception of the Bleſſed Virgin *Mary*, made by *Khondemir*, ſince the ſame thing might have been done by any bigotted *Mohammedan* (7).

(G) *Ebn Abd-allatif* calls this prince *Buzenger*, and *D'Herbelot Buzangir*. According to theſe authors, he reigned in *Turkeſtan* about the time of *Abu Moſlem* governor of *Khoraſſan*, who flouriſhed about the year of the *Hejra* 132, or of Chriſt 749, when he

(7) *Mirkhond. & Khondem. ubi ſupra. Vide etiam D'Herbel. biblioth. orient. p. 84.*

name of *Niron*. *Tocha*, the youngeſt ſon of *Budenſir Mogak*, ſucceeded his father in the empire of the *Moguls* [y].

TOCHA KHAN being dead, his ſon *Dutumin* was acknowleged khan of the *Moguls*. He had nine ſons, eight of whom were ſlain by the *Dſalagirs*, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the life of *Jenghiz Khan* [z]. Tocha Khan.

KAYDU KHAN, the only ſurviving ſon, reigned after his father's death. *Kaydu Khan* had three ſons, from two of which the tribe of the *Bayzuts* deduced their origin. A full account of this tribe will be given hereafter [a]. Kayda Khan.

AFTER *Kaydu Khan*'s death, his eldeſt ſon *Baſſicar Khan* aſcended the throne. He was a prince of great conduct, and conquered many provinces and towns [b]. Baſſicar Khan.

TUMANA KHAN ſucceeded his father *Baſſicar Khan*. He was ſo powerful, that he reduced the whole tribe of the *Nirons* under his obedience. His ſubjects were in a very flouriſhing condition all his reign. He had nine ſons, and of their deſcendents ſome retained the name of their family, and the reſt divided themſelves into divers particular branches. There were two twin brothers among thoſe nine ſons of *Tumana Khan*, who were called *Cabul* and *Cazuli*. The eldeſt of the nine brothers was named *Zazſu*, and had three ſons, *Butakin*, *Uruth*, and *Mankatt*, from whence the three tribes of the ſame names are deſcended. 2. The ſecond ſon of *Tumana Khan* was called *Janinſhur Tumanza*, and was likewiſe the father of a particular branch. 3. The third ſon of *Tumana Khan* had the name of *Samcazun*, and from him are ſprung the *Badurgins*. 4. The fourth went by the name of *Batkilki*, and it is from him that all the *Budatts* are derived. 5. The fifth was *Cabul Khan*, great-grandfather of *Jenghiz Khan*. 6. The ſixth was *Cazuli*, who had a ſon called *Jedemſi Burlaſs*, from whom the *Burlaſs* draw their original. *Amir Timur Khan*, or *Timur Beg*, was of this tribe. The term *Burlaſs* ſignifies a commander of troops. 7. The ſeventh was called *Udur-Bajan*; and from him are iſſued the *Cajums*. 8. The eighth was denominated *Balzar Oglan*, becauſe he halted, *Oglan* ſignifying in the language of the *Moguls* a lame man; and from him are deſcended the *Vilots*. 9. The ninth ſon of *Tumana Khan* had the appellation of *Olzingan*; and from him the branch of the *Baſſuts* drew their origin. The *Moguls* call a man who has ſat long at his own fire-ſide *Olzingan*, from whence the name is given, by an indirect application, to the youngeſt ſons, becauſe parents uſually keep them longer at home than the other children. But of all the tribes iſſuing from theſe princes, we ſhall preſent our readers with a full and ample account in a future part of this work [c]. Tumana Khan.

AFTER the death of *Tumana Khan*, his ſon *Cabul Khan* mounted the throne. He had the ſix following ſons: *Ukinjargak*, *Bortan-Bayadur*, *Kutuktu-Manga*, *Caſſan-Bayadur*, *Coblacun*, and *Budan-Kajat*. It is here to be obſerved, that the name or ſurname of *Kajat* had been loſt for a vaſt number of years; and that *Cabul Khan* firſt revived it in his family [d]. Cabul Khan.

CABUL KHAN being dead, his ſon *Bortan Khan* obtained the ſovereignty over the *Moguls*. He had four ſons: *Mungadai*, *Bugan Tayſhy*, *Jeſſugi Bayadur*, and *Daritlai-Bulas*, whoſe deſcendents alſo preſerved the name of *Kajats* [e]. Bortan Khan.

JESSUGI BAYADUR KHAN ſucceeded his father *Bortan Khan* in the throne of the *Moguls*. He had the five following ſons: 1. *Tamuzin*, or *Jenghiz Khan*, who did not aſſume this laſt name till after he was proclaimed khan. 2. *Zuzicar*, or *a gueſt like a wolf*; *zuzi* importing in the *Mogul* tongue *a gueſt*, and *car a carnivorous beaſt* reſembling a wolf. 3. *Kazun*. 4. *Tamuka*. 5. *Belgatai*. Theſe five brothers were of a fair complexion, inclining to yellow, with a red circle between the black and white of their eyes. As, therefore, the *Moguls* denominate this kind of eyes *borzugan*, the poſterity of theſe five brothers were ſurnamed *Borzugan Kajat*. *Tamuzin*, or *Jenghiz Khan*, as well as his brothers, deſcended in the ninth generation from *Budenſir Mogak*, Jeſſugi Khan.

[y] ABU'L GHAZI BAHADUR KHAN, ubi ſup. EBN ABD-ALLATIF, & M. PETIT DE LA CROIX, in hiſt. Genghize. p. 8. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. biblioth. orient. p. 217, 218. MIRK. ubi ſup. [z] ABU'L GHAZI BAHADUR KHAN, ubi ſup. [a] Idem ibid. [b] Idem ibid. [c] Idem, genealogical hiſt. of the *Tatars*, par. ii. c. 15. [d] Idem ibid. [e] Idem ibid.

he expelled the family of *Ommiyah*, and raiſed that of *Abbas* to the khalifat. So that, if *Budenſir Khan* was his cotemporary, he muſt have reigned about 427 years before *Jenghiz Khan*; whereas, according to *Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan*, he preceded that conqueror 1350 years (8).

(8) *D'Herbelot. biblioth. orient. p.* 217, 218.

beget by the ſpirit or incubus on *Alanca* the widow of *Dejan Bajan*, as has been already obſerved [f].

THUS have we extracted in few words from the Eaſtern writers, and particularly (H) *Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur* khan of *Khowarazm*, the hiſtory of the *Turks*, *Tartars*, and *Moguls*, from their origin to the birth of *Jenghiz Khan*; which, we hope, will prove acceptable to all our curious readers. But, in order to give them a more adequate idea of thoſe writers productions in the point before us, eſpecially that of *Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan*, which was but lately brought into *Europe* [g], as well as to render the work we are at preſent engaged in, the more complete, we have thought proper to ſubjoin the following obſervations:

The Tartar hiſtories are intermixed with fictions.

1. THE works of theſe authors, and particularly that of the khan of *Khowarazm*, are interſperſed with fictions, ſome of which muſt be conſidered as palpably abſurd. But we cannot from hence infer, that thoſe works contain nothing of truth in them. *Mohammed*, in the *Koran*, abounds with figments; and yet ſeveral of theſe are grafted upon facts that cannot be denied. The *Arab* writers, ſome of whom have met with a good reception in the learned world, have diſcovered the ſame inaccuracy, the ſame fondneſs for fabulous narrations, and, in fine, the very ſame genius, as the later *Perſian* hiſtorians, and the khan of *Khowarazm*. The *Turkiſh* annaliſts and hiſtorians, in their accounts of facts, many of which are recent and indiſputable, have ſhewn the ſame turn and diſpoſition. In fine, the *Orientals* have ever delighted in the marvelous, and their writers have ever been pleaſed with wonders and incredibilities, in order to ſuit their works to the public taſte. The warm glowing imagination peculiar to the Eaſt will eaſily account for this. And yet no man of ſenſe ever pretended, for this reaſon, intirely to reject the authority of thoſe writers; ſince nothing can be more apparent, than that many valuable hiſtorical truths are to be met with in them. So that it is not to be doubted but ſeveral curious fragments of true hiſtory, however intermixed with fabulous relations, at the drawing up of which the *Orientals* had an exceeding good talent, may be found in the writers now before us, and particularly in *Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan* [h].

The Tartar hiſtorians little verſed in chronology.

THESE authors, eſpecially the *Tartar* hiſtorians, do not only deal in fictions, but diſcover likewiſe a moſt remarkable ignorance in chronology. Yet neither ought this ſo far to prejudice us againſt them, as to think them in no particular deſerving of credit. For who can be more out in their chronology, than even thoſe *Arab* writers, whoſe works are held in great eſteem by the learned, when they treat of events that happened in the remoter ages, or even not many centuries before the *Hejra*? Nay, the antient *Perſian* writers, who have ſupplied *Gaiatheddin Ebn Hamameddin*, ſurnamed *Khondemir*, and *Mohammed Ebn Emir Khoandſchah*, with materials for their hiſtory of the dynaſty of the *Piſchdadians*, have been guilty of moſt capital blunders in point of chronology. For, to omit other inſtances, they make *Kejomaras*, the firſt king of *Perſia*, the ſon of *Aram*, the ſon of *Shem*, the ſon of *Noah*; whereas it appears from (I) Dr. *Hyde*, that he muſt have been the *Deioces*,

[f] ABU'L GHAZI BAHADUR KHAN, ubi ſup. [g] M. VON STRAHLENBERG's introduct. p. 128, 129. [h] MOHAM. in Al-Kor. ABULFED, aliique ſcript. Arab. paſſ. DEMETRIUS CANTEMIR's hiſt. of the *Othman* empire, paſſ.

(H) The *Tartarian* manuſcript, containing the genealogical hiſtory of the *Turks*, *Tartars*, and *Moguls*, written by *Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur*, khan of *Khowarazm*, was brought into *Europe* by M. *Von Strahlenberg*, who had it tranſlated out of the *Tartarian* into the *German* tongue. It was afterwards tranſlated into *French*, and publiſhed at *Leyden* in 1726 (9).

(I) It muſt be owned, that *Arbaces* was the firſt king of the *Medes*, after they had revolted from the *Aſſyrians*, 747 years before the birth of Chriſt, according to *Cteſias*. But we have, in a former part of this work, demonſtrated the improbability, not to ſay abſurdity, of ſuch a notion. All our intelligent readers, therefore, will prefer the authority of *Herodotus*, in the point before us, to that of this fabulous hiſtorian. Dr. *Hyde*, indeed, ſeems, in a good meaſure, to admit the teſtimony of *Herodotus*, in relation to *Deioces*'s advancement to the throne of *Media*; and yet at the ſame time prefers to it the improbable, not to ſay fabulous, accounts of that prince given us by ſome late *Oriental* writers. He is alſo guilty of a great miſtake, when he makes *Herodotus* to aſſert, that *Deioces* was elected king of the *Perſians* by that nation; and that, before this event happened, he lived in *Perſia*. For, according to that venerable hiſtorian, *Deioces* was a *Mede*, lived from the beginning in *Media*, and was at laſt elevated to the *Median* throne by the ſuffrages of his countrymen. And that the *Perſians* were a nation diſtinct from, and independent upon, the *Mede*, during the whole reign of *Deioces*, appears moſt

(9) *Von Strahlenberg's introduct.* p. 127, 128.

clearly

Deioces, the firſt king of the *Medes*, after they had ſhaken off the *Aſſyrian* yoke. Nay, the *Greeks* themſelves called the firſt ages *the unknown period*, and thoſe that ſucceeded them the *mythic* or *fabulous period*, after which commenced *the hiſtorical period of time*. What wonder then, that ſuch barbarians, as the *Turks*, *Tartars*, and *Moguls*, the greateſt part of whoſe vaſt dominions ſeem not to have been peopled till long after *Greece* made ſome ſort of figure, ſhould have propagated many abſurdities in their accounts of the origin and earlieſt tranſactions of their nation? That they never made any conſiderable figure till the *Scythians* paſſed the *Tanais*, under the conduct of *Madyes*, appears from hence, that the Scripture takes not the leaſt notice of them, tho' it does of the principal neighbouring nations, before the time of the prophet *Ezekiel*. If we admit this, it will follow, that neither they nor the *Chineſe* could poſſibly have made a figure near ſo early as the *Greeks*, and much leſs as the more antient nations. Notwithſtanding, therefore, the chronological blunders in the accounts they give us of the remoter periods of their nation, we ought to pay ſome regard to thoſe accounts. For, except this be admitted, we muſt aſſert, that none of the earlieſt hiſtorical memoirs of the *Greeks* merit the leaſt attention; nay, that thoſe of all other nations, except the *Jews*, are to be intirely exploded, ſince the ſame objection may be offered to them that we have urged againſt thoſe of the *Turks*, *Tartars*, and *Moguls* [i].

3. THESE things being premiſed, we ſhall now beg leave to conſider ſome of thoſe articles in *Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan*, that ſeem the moſt liable to exception; for, with regard to the antient records of the *Perſians*, and the firſt hiſtories of that nation, we have already ſpoken fully and amply of them, in another part of this work. When thoſe that ſeem to be the moſt glaring abſurdities in the *Tartar* hiſtorians, are ſhewn to be founded upon ſome truth, though greatly diſguiſed by the propenſity of the *Orientals* to fable, and their ignorance in chronology, the rational part of our readers will, perhaps, not be ſo ſtrongly diſpoſed to carp at that author, nor take theſe points to be ſo great a diminution of his authority [k].

Our author miſtaken in the age of Oguz Khan.

4. OUR author makes *Oghus Khan* to have lived in the ninth generation from *Japhet*, the ſon of *Noah*; which muſt be abſolutely impoſſible, ſince the empire of *Kitay* was in the time of that conqueror pretty powerful, and conſequently muſt have been formed a conſiderable number of years before. *Iran*, or *Perſia*, *India*, or *Great Bukharia*, were then well peopled, and made a pretty eminent figure. The cities of *Samarkand*, *Balkh*, *Cabul*, *Caſhmir*, and *Badagſhan*, were then in a flouriſhing ſtate; nay, *Turkeſtan*, *Andidſan*, *Khoraſſan* or *Khowaraſm*, *Irak*, *Armenia*, and *Aderbayagjan*, were then full of cities and towns. At firſt ſight, therefore, it ſeems to appear, that this part of the

[i] Idem ibid. MOHAM. EBN EMIR KHOANDSCH. KHONDEM. D'HERBEL. bibl. orient. p. 243. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. ii. p. 176. THO. HYDE in hiſt. relig. vet. Perſar. p. 170, 171. Oxon. 1700. H. BOCHART. lib. i. & lib. iv. Ezek. c. xxxviii. ver. 2, 3. & c. xxxix. ver. 6. [k] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. ii. p. 172—174. 237—240.

clearly from the ſame excellent author. For he informs us, that *Phraortes*, *Deioces*'s ſon, brought the *Perſians* under ſubjection to the *Medes*; which amounts to a plain implication, that the *Medes* and *Perſians* were two independent nations at that prince's acceſſion. Nay, we have already proved, that the conqueſt of *Perſia* ought not to be aſcribed to *Phraortes*, but to his ſon and ſucceſſor *Cyaxares*. Nor is Dr. *Hyde* content here with (at leaſt) ſeeming inconſiſtent with himſelf, and being guilty of a direct falſhood in relation to *Herodotus*, but he like wiſe, without reaſon, and (in our opinion) without judgment, moſt virulently aſperſes that excellent hiſtorian. *Herodotus*, ſays he, *qui nunquam in veritatis ſchola educatus*, &c. Herodotus, *who was never educated in the ſchool of truth*, &c. though immediately after he aſſents to what that author has advanced concerning *Phraortes*, and this in oppoſition to an eaſtern writer. In fine, tho' Dr. *Hyde* was moſt certainly a man of profound erudition, yet his works are not ſo finiſhed and correct as could be deſired. Several of his obſervations are but indifferently put together; many inaccuracies, and even ſome groſs errors, appear in moſt of his performances, particularly that at preſent under conſideration; ſeveral points laid down by him there with not ſufficient perſpicuity, ſtand in need of a proper explication; and a new arrangement of the parts of this treatiſe is very much wanted. A new edition, therefore, of his *Hiſtoria religionis veterum Perſarum*, rendered more complete by ſome alterations in the original plan, by clearing up or expunging all apparent or real contradictions and errors, and by the addition of every thing curious relating to the religion of the antient *Perſians* omitted in this piece, would doubtleſs be highly eſteemed by all admirers of antient hiſtory. But then it muſt be allowed, that ſuch an edition as this *only* will be conſidered by proper judges as a valuable preſent to the learned world (1).

(1) *Diod. Sic. lib.* ii. *c.* 1. *Herodot. lib.* i. *c.* 95—99. *Univerſ. hiſt. vol.* i. *b.* i. *c.* 8 *and vol.* ii. *p.* 9—26. *Hyde in hiſt. relig. vet. Perſ. p.* 185.

Tartar

Tartar history is absolutely false, and consequently must, without hesitation, be exploded by the learned [l].

Some truth, however, in the Tartar history of Ogus Khan.

But, we own, it appears to us in another light. For, tho' we are fully persuaded, that the empires of *Kitay* and *Persia*, the cities of *Balkh*, *Cabul*, *Cashmir*, *Badagshan*, and *Samarkand*, had not a beginning till long after the times we are now upon; yet we cannot help believing, that the *Tartar* history of *Ogus Khan* has something of truth in it, and something too that has been taken notice of by *Herodotus*. The accounts given us of that prince's great exploits by the khan of *Khowarasm*, and *Mohammed Ebn Emir Khoandschah*, in the main agree; and the memory of that conqueror has been held in the highest veneration over a great part of the East for a long series of ages; which considerations leave us no room to doubt of the reality of his existence. That *Ogus Khan*, therefore, was at the head of a powerful nation in the East, the progenitors of the present *Tartars*, and rendered himself famous by his conquests, is a point that cannot be disputed, without incurring the imputation of historical scepticism. However, it must be owned, that the real atchievements of this monarch have been so magnified, and the age in which he lived pushed up so high, by the *Tartars* of later times, that part of the history they have given us of him exceeds the utmost limits of probability. But then some allowance may be made for this, if we closely attend to what has been just advanced. The disposition of the *Tartars*, always extremely prone to fable and romance, their invincible inclination to extol above measure, and even deify, their most celebrated heroes, a foible by no means peculiar to them, and their surprising ignorance in chronology, must be allowed, in the present case, to plead very strongly for them [m].

Ogus Khan *the* Madyes *of* Herodotus.

That *Ogus Khan* was the *Madyes* of *Herodotus*, and therefore that the conquests of this prince terminated in the reduction of the *Upper Asia*, appears to us by no means improbable. *Ogus Khan*, according to our historian, made himself master of the cities of *Armenia*, which belongs to the *Upper Asia*, as well as those of the neighbouring provinces. Now, we read of no *Scythian* prince who ever possessed himself of that country, but the *Madyes* of *Herodotus*. The same conqueror, according to *Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan*, took several cities in *Aderbayagjan*, some by force, and others by capitulation. Now *Aderbayagjan* is known to be the antient *Media*, and no *Scythian* prince ever made an irruption into *Media*, but the *Madyes* of *Herodotus*. The *Tartar* hero penetrated into *Sham*, or *Syria*, and even to the borders of *Mesr*, or *Egypt*: but no *Scythian* king, except *Madyes*, ever entered *Syria*, or approached *Egypt*; and that he did so, we learn from *Herodotus*. This was the last expedition of *Ogus Khan*, according to our author; and it appears from *Herodotus*, that, after *Madyes* had advanced towards the borders of *Egypt*, he grew quite obscure. That the *Scythians* are to be understood by the words *Gog* and *Magog*, and particularly *Gog*, in the prophet *Ezekiel*, is allowed by the learned. Now we find the words *Gog* and *Magog*, and particularly *Gog*, as proper names of nations, never used in Scripture before the time of *Ezekiel*; and therefore we may reasonably suppose, that the *Scythians* did not make any figure in the neighbourhood of *Israel* long before the days of that prophet: which if we admit, the expedition of *Ogus Khan* into *Armenia* and *Aderbayagjan*, *Sham*, and *Mesr*, must have been the same with that of *Madyes* into *Syria*. After *Ogus Khan*'s death, his conquests did not long remain annexed to his hereditary dominions, since none of his successors made any considerable figure; and the *Scythians* under *Madyes* maintained themselves but a short time in their new acquisitions, having been driven from thence by the *Medes*, after they had kept possession of them only twenty-eight years. Lastly, as Dr. *Hyde* renders it probable, that *Kejomaras*, the first king of *Persia*, of the *Pischdadian* dynasty, was that person under whose conduct the *Medes* shook off the yoke of the *Assyrians*, we must suppose him to have been *Deioces*, the first king of *Media*, after it had revolted from *Assyria*, according to *Herodotus*. Now our *Tartar* historian makes *Ogus Khan*'s irruption into *Armenia*, *Sham*, and *Aderbayagjan*, to have happened not many years after the death of *Kejomaras*; so that, as *Deioces* was cut off by the *Assyrians* about 656 years before Christ, and the *Scythians* under *Ma-*

[l] Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan's genealogic. hist. of the *Tatars*, par. ii. c. 2. Mirkhond, ubi sup. D'Herbel. biblioth. orient. p. 685. [m] Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan, & Mohammed Ebn Emir Khoandschah ubi sup. M. Von Strahlenberg's introduct. p. 46.

dyes

dyes penetrated into the aforesaid countries nineteeen years after it, it seems probable, that the *Ogus Khan* of *Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur* was the *Madyes* of *Herodotus* [n].

If this be admitted, it will follow, that *Ogus Khan* put an end to his expeditions about the year before Christ 631. and that his conquest of *Kitay* or *Kathay*, &c. is an idle conceit of the later *Tartars*. The most considerable part of *China*, and *Great Tartary*, were then in all likelihood but thinly peopled, since *Gog* and *Magog*, the *Jagiuge* and *Magiuge*, or *Yajuj* and *Majuj*, of the *Orientals*, were scarce known to the *Jews*, and neighbouring nations, before that time; and seem even then to have been confined to the proper *Scythians* only. Hence we may perceive, that the history of *Ogus Khan*, preserved among the *Tartars*, though disguised by fabulous incidents, and gross chronological errors, is undoubtedly founded upon truth; nay, that *Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan*, and *Herodotus*, mutually strengthen and support each other [o]. *Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan and Herodotus mutually assist each other.*

5. That a prince should divide a large extensive empire among forty-eight persons, when without the least obstruction he might have kept possession of the whole, in order to avoid difficulties which he would necessarily run himself into by such a division, is certainly very improbable, and has the manifest air of a fiction. In this light, therefore, we must view what our royal author has related of *Kiun Khan* soon after his accession. It is too incredible and absurd to merit the regard of any sober intelligent person; and yet from this historical fragment, clouded as it is with fable, something of truth seems to appear. We may from hence infer, that the division of the *Turkish*, *Tartar*, or *Mogul* nation, into forty-eight tribes, is of a very high antiquity; so high, that, when *Khoja Rashid*, *Khosda Rashidt*, or *Fadl'allah*, finished his *Tartar* history, at the command of *Gazan Khan*, in the year of Christ 1302. if not in the reign of *Jenghiz Khan* himself, there was no clear tradition concerning the author of it. A truth which cannot be so fairly collected from *Mohammed Ebn Emir Khoandschah*, the *Persian* historian, though he relates something similar of the father of this prince, that is, the great and puissant conqueror *Ogus Khan* [p]. *A strange narration of the Tartar historians, which points at an historical truth.*

6. According to our historian, the *Tartars* under *Siuntz Khan* overthrew the empire of the *Moguls*, whose very name was lost for 450 years in *Irgana-Kon*. But at last they melted their way with seventy bellows out of the mountains which surrounded that delicious tract. And though there were only two *Mogul* families, who at first escaped thither, yet in so short a space of time as 450 years, they became so numerous, that, after their sally out of *Irgana-Kon*, without the knowlege of arms, they defeated the *Tartars*, a very warlike nation, overturned their empire, and a second time erected their own. Now, that this narration is clogged with insurmountable difficulties, if not apparent absurdities, must be readily owned; and yet, extravagant as it is, it seems to be founded upon some real event; and from it, without doubt, some historical truth is deducible. That it is founded upon some real event, is apparent from hence, that the memory of the aforesaid sally has been perpetuated even to this day, by the celebration of the anniversary of it, which is still observed through the whole extent of the empire of the *Moguls*. They make upon that day a piece of iron red hot; then the khan with a hammer gives the first stroke upon it; after him the heads of tribes and officers of distinction do the like; and, last of all, the common people of every tribe. M. *Von Strahlenberg* thinks the fable of *Prometheus*'s being fastened to mount *Caucasus*, and delivered from thence by *Vulcan*, alludes to this memorable event. The same ingenious author, not without an appearance of truth, imagines, that the defeat of the *Moguls* by *Siuntz Khan*, the abode of the few *Moguls* who survived that defeat in *Irgana-Kon* for 450 years, their sally from thence, and the total overthrow they gave the *Tartars* after that sally, under the conduct of *Bertezena Khan*, relate to the war between the *Pygmæi* and the cranes. He observes, that *Pliny* calls the *Pygmæi*, *Cattuzi* or *Katuzi*, which in sound pretty nearly approaches *Kajat*, the name of the *Moguls* whilst they lived in *Irgana-Kon*; and that, after their sally from thence, they made war up- *Another of the same kind.*

[n] Herodot. lib. i. & lib. iv. Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan's genealogic. hist. of the *Tatars*, par. ii. c. 2, 3. Ezek. c. xxxviii. ver. 2, 3. & c. xxxix. ver. 1. D. Augustin. Calmet. ubi sup. in dissert. de *Gog & Magog*. Hyde, ubi sup. p. 171. Th. Sig. Bayer. chronolog. Scythic. vet. in comment. academ. scientiar. imperial. Petropolitan. tom. iii. ad ann. 1728. p. 295—388. Petropoli, 1732. [o] Th. Sig. Bayer, ubi sup. p. 303. D'Herbel. biblioth. orient. p. 470, 471. M. Von Strahlenberg's introduct. p. 39 - 51. Ezek. ubi sup. Joseph. antiquit. lib. vii. c. 1. Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan's genealogic. hist. of the *Tatars*, par. ii. c. 2, 3. Herodot. lib. i. & lib. iv. [p] Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan, ubi sup. c. 3. & c. 5. Mohammed Ebn Emir Khoandsch. ubi sup. Vide etiam D'Herbel. biblioth. orient. p. 685.

on the *Tartars*, who had annually their ſummer and winter-quarters, as they have at this very day, in the ſame manner as cranes and ſtorks. For, in the ſummer-time, they lived on the banks of rivers, lakes, or ſeas, where fiſh was to be met with in plenty; and, during the winter, in woods, where game abounded, for the convenience of hunting. *Pliny* therefore, and *Solinus*, compared the *Scythians* to ſtorks and cranes, and by the *Pygmæi* they underſtood a warlike people, as may be evinced from ſeveral authors. The ſame *Latin* writers call the habitations, or rather the capital city, of the *Pygmæi Gerania*, and *Geronia*; which may poſſibly be corruptions of *Gergonia*, a word that differs but little from *Irgania*, or *Irgana-Kon*; nay, they have both the very ſame ſignification, as has been fully proved by M. *Strahlenberg*. This will appear ſtill the more probable, as the country of the *Pygmæi*, according to *Pliny*, and that of the *Moguls* and *Tartars*, had nearly the ſame ſituation. Farther, as *Pliny* tells us, that the *Pygmæi* were put to flight by the cranes, ſo, according to our royal author, the *Moguls* were firſt defeated by the *Tartars* under *Siuntz Khan* [q].

BEFORE we diſmiſs this point, it ought to be obſerved, that M. *Strahlenberg* has diſcovered a ſurpriſing agreement between *Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan* and *Annius* of *Viterbo*; which ſeems to demonſtrate, that the laſt author had ſome very valuable materials for compiling antient hiſtory in his hands, though he made a very wrong and moſt ſhameful application of them. But it is ſufficient juſt to have hinted this here. If any of our curious readers is deſirous of purſuing this hint, he may conſult the ingenious writer we are obliged to for it, who, we doubt not, will give him full and ample ſatisfaction [r].

FROM theſe events we may infer, that the *Tartars* cannot carry back even the general and traditional knowlege of their hiſtory, with any appearance of regularity, farther than their famous ſally out of *Irgana-Kon*. Nor, indeed, ought their hiſtory to be looked upon as genuine, even ſo high as that memorable event. For the number of years intervening between *Bertezena Khan* and *Cabul Khan*, the great grandfather of *Jenghiz Khan*, amount to 2550, though our hiſtory places between them only ſeventeen khans in continual ſucceſſion; which is at leaſt 2000 years too much, even allowing each of them thirty years to his reign. In fine, the proper hiſtorical period of the *Tartars* commences at the reign of *Jenghiz Khan*, as that of the *Romans* does at *Romulus*, and that of the *Arabs* at *Mohammed*; the reign of that conqueror ſeparates the hiſtorical from the mythic or fabulous times; nor can we, before this, be ſure of attaining the truth [s].

The Tartar *hiſtorians differ from thoſe of the* Perſians.

7. OUR author *Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan* differs greatly in ſome points from the *Perſian* hiſtorians, of which the limits we have here preſcribed ourſelves will not permit us to give many inſtances. The *Perſian* hiſtorians make *Tur*, the founder of the *Turkiſh* nation, to have been a ſon of one of their firſt monarchs, and repreſent the *Tartar* princes as often overcome and made tributary by their heroes; which runs counter to what has been advanced by our *Tartar* hiſtorian. The *Perſian* writers conſider *Afraſiab* king of *Turkeſtan* as a great hero, and conqueror of *Perſia*; whereas, according to the khan of *Khowarazm*, *Afraſiap Khan* was at the head only of an inferior monarchy, and is not placed in the line of *Mogul* or *Tartarian* emperors. But all ſuch differences as theſe muſt be aſcribed to the enmity, the ſpirit of jealouſy and emulation, always ſubſiſting between the *Perſian* and *Tartar* nations, which determined their hiſtorians to endeavour conſtantly to raiſe the glory of the one at the diſadvantage of the other. Nor is any thing more common than ſuch a conduct among the hiſtorians of rival nations, in other and more polite parts of the world. For which reaſon we have here taken little notice of what the *Perſian* writers have related concerning the *Tartarian* affairs, except when they confirm what has been related by our royal author. Beſides, had we done this, we ſhould have been guilty of a repetition, ſince every thing of moment, delivered by the beſt *Perſian* hiſtorians of the antient

[q] ABU'L GHAZI BAHADUR KHAN, ubi ſup. c. 4, 5. M. VON STRAHLENBERG's hiſtorico-geographic. deſcript. &c. p. 416, 417, 418. M. PETIT DE LA CROIX's hiſt. of Genghizc. p. 8. ABDAL. BEID. hiſt. Sinenſ. p. 71, 72. edit. ab Andr. Mull. Greiffenhagen. D'HERBEL. ubi ſup. p. 489. PLIN. lib. iv. c. 11. SOLIN. c. 10, & 16. CALIMACH in orat. de bell. Turcic. apud Bizar. hiſt. rer. Perſicar. p. 389. HIERON. in Ezek. c. xxvii. BUDÆI lexic. Græc. SCAPUL. lexic. Græc. Lat. p. 1411. JOB. LUDOLF. comment. hiſt. Æthiop. p. 73. THO. HYDE hiſt. relig. vet. Perſar. p. 427. G. G. LEIBNITIUS in miſcel. p. 133. See alſo STRAHLENBERG's introduct. p. 20. & p. 139, 140, 141. [r] M. VON STRAHLENBERG's introduct. p. 141. [s] ABU'L GHAZI BAHADUR KHAN's genealogical hiſt. of the *Tatars*, par. ii. c. 15. See alſo the tranſlator's preface, p. 8, 9.

Turkiſh

Turkiſh or *Tartar* princes, will be found in the hiſtory of *Perſia*, according to the *Oriental* writers [t].

We have here likewiſe omitted a few atchievements of ſome princes, or heads of particular tribes, who lived a little before the birth of *Jenghiz Khan*, as judging them not ſo naturally to come in here, as in the reign of that prince. For, when hereafter we ſhall write his life, it will be expected of us to give an hiſtorical account of every tribe he reduced. We ſhall there likewiſe endeavour to ſupply all material omiſſions, if any ſuch are to be found, which we have been guilty of in this hiſtory of the antient *Turks*, *Tartars*, and *Moguls*, from their origin to the birth of *Jenghiz Khan* [u].

Thus have we obliged our readers with the hiſtory of the (K) antient *Turks*, *Tartars*, and *Moguls*, drawn chiefly from their own authors, in conformity to our original plan. We might, indeed, have ſwelled it to a larger bulk, had we inſerted a minute account of the wars between the *Perſians* and khakhan, or king of a conſiderable branch of the *Tartars* in the neighbourhood of *Perſia*, and the people of *Abtela*, who were undoubtedly the *Khaganos* and *Euthalites*, *Nephthalites*, or *Ephthalites*, of the *Greeks*. But as this has been already done in the hiſtory of the *Perſians*, and as we have conſidered theſe *Ephthalites* as the ſame people with the *Hunns*, who, though they may be deemed of *Tartar* extraction, yet formed a nation afterwards diſtinct from the original *Turks*, it would not only have been ſuperfluous, but likewiſe highly improper, to have inſerted any memoirs relating to them here. Beſides, as we propoſed to conſider the origin and atchievements of the true original *Turks*, *Tartars*, and *Moguls*, only to the birth of *Jenghiz Khan*, in the conciſeſt manner poſſible, it would have been incongruous with our preſent deſign. The wars that happened between a branch of the *Hunns* and the *Perſians*, are properly the object either of the hiſtory of the *Perſians*, or that of the *Hunns* [w].

The ſame thing may be ſaid of the migration of the *Getæ* into the northern parts of *Europe*, towards the commencement of the *Roman* empire, of which we have been favoured with a very learned and accurate account by M. *Theoph. Sigefrid Bayer*, in the commentaries of the Imperial Academy of *Peterſburg*, a gentleman of moſt profound erudition. For theſe *Getæ*, though originally a branch of the *Scythians* or *Tartars*, leaving their parental country, formed a particular nation, that greatly diſtinguiſhed themſelves. They were the anceſtors of, or rather the ſame people with, the *Goths*, who ſpread terror over ſo large a part of the world, and to whom we have aſſigned a place in this hiſtory. However, it may not be improper to obſerve, that the antiquities of the northern nations are in all reſpects as fabulous as thoſe of the *Tartars*. Nor does their great hero *Odin*, *Othin*, or

[t] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. ii. p. 172—240. & vol. iv. p. 323—406. Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan, ubi ſupra, par. ii. c. 11. See alſo the tranſlator's preface, p. 10, 11.

[u] Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan, ubi ſupra, par. ii. c. 6, 11, 13, 14.

[w] Univerſ. hiſt. ubi ſupra. See alſo vol. vii. in the hiſt. of the *Hunns*.

(K) We have not here touched upon the migrations of the *Scythian*, *Turkiſh*, or *Tartar* colonies, from various parts of *Scythia* or *Tartary* into different parts of *Europe*, as not ſo naturally falling in with our preſent deſign. However, ſeveral ſuch migrations really happened. The *Chazari*, a *Turkiſh* or *Tartar* colony, came from *Turkeſtan* into the *Taurica Cherſoneſus*, and the upper regions extending to the heads of the *Tanais*, many ages before the birth of *Conſtantine Porphyrogennета*. Above the *Chazari* another tribe of *Turks* ſeated themſelves, about the ſame time, and occupied all the tract extending from the ſprings of the *Tanais* to the *Iſter*. Theſe, being expelled by the *Pazinacitæ*, about the year of Chriſt 893. took up their habitations near the *Iſter* or *Danube*, and in *Pannonia*. Nay, that ſome hordes or tribes of *Getæ* and *Scythians* inhabited the whole extent of this tract in the time of the famous *Odin*, or the age of *Pompey the Great*, may be inferred from the learned *Stiernhielm* and *Snorro Sturlæus*. That the *Getæ* alſo about this time broke, with the greateſt part of their ſtrength, into *Scythia Propria*, and, under the conduct of *Odin*, forced the *Neuri*, *Geloni*, &c. to attend them in their migrations into the northern and weſtern regions of *Europe*, has been rendered extremely probable by M. *Bayer*. And that the *Neuri* were the ſame people with the *Væni* of *Snorro Sturlæus*, and the preſent *Fenni* or *Finlanders*, ſeems to be clearly evinced by that learned and ingenious author. This is likewiſe confirmed by *Tacitus*, who makes the *Fenni* in his time to have roved about *Poland*, and particularly that tract near the banks of the *Viſtula*, after the *Scythian* or *Tartar* manner. From whence we may conclude, that, in the age preceding *Pompey*, *Finland*, *Sweden*, *Norway*, and the other moſt northern regions of *Europe*, were almoſt void of inhabitants (z).

(z) *Theophan. Byzant. p.* 263. *Stiernhielmus apud Olaum Verelium ad Her. Saga, p.* 5, *& ſeq. Snorro Sturlæus, tom. i. p.* 5, *& alibi. Tacit. apud T. S. Bayer. in converſ. Scythic. ut & ipſe Bayerus ibid. p.* 339···351.

Vodin, riſe higher in his antiquity than the age of *Pompey*, notwithſtanding ſome of the northern antiquaries puſh him up almoſt as high as the remoteſt ages. This muſt be admitted a plain proof, that the moſt northern parts of *Europe*, to wit, *Sweden*, *Norway*, *Lapland*, *Finland*, *Livonia*, *Denmark*, *Eſthonia*, &c. were but thinly peopled before the time of *Julius Cæſar*. However paradoxical this may ſeem, it is clearly deducible from what has been advanced by M. *Bayer*, and amounts to a ſtrong preſumption, that neither *Tartary*, from whence the *Getæ*, *Venni*, &c. came, nor *China*, was peopled ſo early as ſome learned modern authors pretend; with which obſervation we ſhall beg leave to cloſe our hiſtory of the antient *Turks*, *Tartars*, and *Moguls* [x].

[x] Th. Sig. Bayer. converſion. Scythic. in commentar. academ. ſcientiar. Petropolitan. tom. v. ad an. 1730, & 1731. p. 325--359 Petropoli, 1738.

*The History of the Indians.

*Octavo Edition, Vol. XX. p. 52.

SECT. I.

Deſcription of India.

Many remote countries antiently called India.

IT has been already obſerved, that the antients ſometimes gave the name of *India* to the *Proper Ethiopia*, as ſeveral of the Eaſtern nations, particularly the *Perſians*, do at this day. Nay, that they comprehended many of the remoteſt nations, eſpecially thoſe under the *Torrid Zone*, whoſe names they were ignorant of, under the denomination of *Indians*, has been alſo evinced from ſome good authors. Part of *Scythia* ſeems to have been annexed to *India* by *Ptolemy*; and we find four ſatrapies, or provinces, poſſeſſed by the *Gedroſi*, *Arachotæ*, *Arii*, and *Paropamiſadæ*, all lying to the weſt of the river *Indus*, added to it by *Pliny*. But neither thoſe provinces, nor any part of *Scythia*, belonged to *India* properly ſo called, as appears even from *Ptolemy* himſelf, in his deſcription of this country, whoſe limits and extent we ſhall now endeavour to define [a].

The limits and extent of India Propria.

INDIA, then, or rather *India Propria*, was bounded, according to *Ptolemy*, on the weſt by the territories of the *Arachotæ*, *Gedroſi*, and *Paropamiſadæ*; on the north by *Scythia* and *Seric*, from the former of which part of it was ſeparated by mount *Imaus*; on the eaſt by the country of the *Sinæ*; and, on the ſouth, by the *Indian* ocean. Now the weſtern limit here ſeems not to be ſo preciſely determined. For tho' it is natural to ſuppoſe, that our geographer ſhould make the *Indus* the eaſtern boundary of the three nations juſt mentioned as lying to the weſt of that river, and conſequently the weſtern one of *India*, yet he appears himſelf to render a little doubtful ſuch a notion; ſince he calls the tract, including the weſtern banks of the *Indus*, *Indoſcythia*, which amounts to an inſinuation, that it appertained to *India*. But this only implies, that the *Indians* and *Scythians*, bordering upon the frontiers, were intermixed one with another, as we have already obſerved the neighbouring *Libyans* and *Carthaginians*, *Syrians* and *Phœnicians*, who, from this circumſtance, received the names of *Libyphœnicians* and *Syrophœnicians*, were. It will not, therefore, follow from *Ptolemy*'s denominating the people on the immediate eaſtern and weſtern banks of the *Indus*, *Indoſcythians*, either that the latter were ſubject to the *Indians*, or the former to the *Scythians*; but only that thoſe people were a mixture or compoſition of both nations.

[a] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vii. p. 179, 180, 181. D'Herbel. biblioth. orient. p. 447, 448, & alibi. Ptol. lib. vii. c. 1, 2. Plin. lib. vi. c. 17. & c. 30. Arrian. de expedit. Alexand. lib. v. c. 4. Dionysius Characenus perieg. ver. 1088.

We

We may, therefore, reaſonably preſume, that *Ptolemy* took the *Indus* to be the weſtern limit of *India Propria*; eſpecially as we find this aſſerted by *Diodorus Siculus*, *Arrian*, and *Strabo*. Nay, *Pliny*, though this renders him a little inconſiſtent with himſelf, comes into the ſame opinion. With regard to the extent of this country, authors are not agreed. It formed a ſort of *rhomboides*, according to *Strabo*, two of whoſe ſides exceeded thoſe oppoſite to them three thouſand ſtadia. One of the former was thirteen thouſand, and the other ſixteen thouſand, of thoſe ſtadia; beſides which, there were two capes or promontories belonging to the country now under conſideration, that projected three thouſand ſtadia into the *Indian* ocean. In this *Eratoſthenes* and *Megaſthenes*, two of *Strabo*'s authors, agreed; but *Patrocles*, another of them, was of a different opinion. *India* equaled in extent all the other kingdoms of *Aſia*, if we may give any credit to *Cteſias*. *Nearchus* ſays, that it could not be traverſed under four months, and *Oneſicritus* aſſerts it to have been a third part of the habitable world. *Diodorus Siculus* affirms *India* to have been thirty thouſand ſtadia broad, and twenty-eight thouſand ſtadia long; but all theſe computations not a little exceed the truth [b].

Its ſituation.

In fact, this vaſt region is ſituated between the 69th and 90th degrees of longitude from the meridian of *London*, and the 8th and 36th degrees of north latitude; ſince it extends from the moſt weſtern mouth of the *Indus* to the moſt eaſtern one of the *Ganges*, and from *Mus Tag*, or mount *Imaus*, to cape *Comorin*. It is beautifully diverſified by mountains, rivers, and ſpacious fruitful plains; which renders it one of the moſt agreeable and delicious countries in the world. The riches produced in the bowels of it are immenſe; but theſe we ſhall touch upon hereafter [c].

The primary diviſion of India Propria. India intra Gangem.

The river *Ganges*, according to the old geographers, divided this country into two parts, which they called *India intra Gangem*, and *India extra Gangem*; and this diviſion, eſpecially among the learned, ſtill prevails. *India intra Gangem* was limited on the weſt by the *Indus*, on the north by mount *Imaus*, on the eaſt by the *Ganges*, and on the ſouth by the *Indian* ocean. It contained a great number of kingdoms or provinces, as well as cities and towns, the principal of which we muſt here endeavour to give our readers ſome idea of, and then proceed to a ſhort deſcription of the other part of *India* ſituated to the eaſt of the *Ganges* [d].

Some place in the northern part of this tract the *Aſpii*, *Thyræi*, and *Arraſaci*, not far from the river *Choaſpes*, whom *Alexander* ſubdued in his march to that river. The chief towns here were *Plegerium* and *Gorydalis*, according to *Strabo*. The *Guræi* were a neighbouring people, through whoſe territories *Alexander* paſſed, in order to attack the *Aſſaceni*. The former of theſe had a town near the confluence of the *Cophen* and the *Choaſpes*, that went under the names of *Nagara* and *Dionyſiopolis*; but this was not a place of ſuch note as *Maſſaga* or *Mazaga*, the capital of the *Aſſaceni*, which, after a brave defence, ſurrendred to the *Macedonians*. *Ora* and *Bazira* likewiſe were two fortreſſes in this diſtrict taken by *Alexander*, who obliged the gariſon of the latter, that had a very high ſituation, to abandon the place, and retire to a ſteep rock called *Aornos*. This rock was two hundred ſtadia in circumference, and eleven ſtadia high, according to *Arrian*, and a poſt of ſuch ſtrength, that the *Indians* conſidered it as impregnable. For it could only be aſcended by one narrow path, which had been made with great difficulty, and had on its ſummit a fountain of pure water, with as much arable ground as would produce corn ſufficient to ſupport a thouſand men; inſomuch that it had baffled all the efforts of *Hercules* himſelf. However, *Alexander* at laſt poſſeſſed himſelf of it with inconſiderable loſs, after he had forced *Peucela*, or *Peucelaotis*, *Embolima*, and ſeveral other towns near the weſtern bank of the *Indus*, to ſurrender at diſcretion. We muſt not omit obſerving here, that the famous city of *Nyſa*, ſuppoſed to be built by *Bacchus*, according to *Strabo*, ſtood in the tract between the *Cophen* and the *Indus*. Mount *Meros*, or *Merus*, ſtood in the neighbourhood of *Nyſa*, which was famous for *Bacchus*'s preſervation, with his army, upon it, when the plague, and other diſtempers, made a dreadful havock in the circumjacent plains. This occaſioned the fable inſinuating *Bacchus* to have been twice born, and taken out of *Jupiter*'s thigh, if we will believe *Diodorus Siculus*, μηρὸς in *Greek* ſignifying a *thigh*. The towns and petty

[b] Ptol. & Dionys Characen. ubi ſup. Bochart. Chan. lib. i c. 1, & c. 25. Arrian. ubi ſup. Diod. Sic. lib ii. c. 85, 86, 87. Plin. lib. vi. c. 17. Eratosthenes, Megasthenes, & Patrocles, apud Strab. lib. xv. ut & ipſe Strab. ibid. Cteſias, Nearchus, & Oneſicritus, apud Strab. ubi ſup.
[c] Idem ibid. & alibi. [d] Ptol. geogr. lib. vii. Diod. Sic. Strab. Plin. Arrian. ubi ſup.

nations, or cantons, mentioned here, we could not prevail upon ourſelves to omit, as ſome authors of credit ſeem to annex them to *India*, though others, with more reaſon, ſeparate them from *India Propria*, as being ſituated to the weſt of the *Indus* [e].

TAXILA was a large and opulent city, not far from the eaſtern bank of the *Indus*, and the moſt conſiderable of all thoſe ſeated between the *Indus* and the *Hydaſpes*. It was celebrated for the wiſdom of its laws, and political inſtitutions. It is probable, that the *Samarabriæ*, *Sambruceni*, *Biſambritæ*, *Oſii*, *Antixeni*, and others, inhabited part of the country where *Taxila* ſtood. The whole tract, according to *Pliny*, went under the name of *Amanda*. It appears from ſome good authors, that *Alexander the Great*, to perpetuate the memory of the victory he gained over *Porus*, and of his horſe *Bucephalus*, built two cities, which he called *Nicæa* and *Bucephala*; the former of which probably ſtood upon the eaſtern, and the latter upon the weſtern, bank of the *Hydaſpes* [f].

THE kingdom of *Porus*, who was defeated by *Alexander*, lay between the *Hydaſpes* and the *Aceſines*, and was one of the moſt flouriſhing kingdoms of *India*, when that conqueror carried his victorious arms into this region. It was then extremely rich, and contained three hundred towns, according to *Strabo*. But the names of few of them have been handed down to us by any of the antient geographers [g].

THE *Adraiſtæ*, an *Indian* canton, poſſeſſed a diſtrict to the eaſt of the *Aceſines* and the *Hydraotes*, near the eaſtern bank of which laſt river ſtood a city, which *Alexander* forced to a capitulation. The name of this city, according to *Arrian* and *Curtius*, was *Pimprama*. After the reduction of it, *Alexander* penetrated into the territories of the *Cathæi*, as *Arrian* calls them, or the *Cathei*, as we find them named by *Strabo*. That prince ſoon made himſelf maſter of *Sangala*, their metropolis, ſeated near the weſtern bank of the *Hyphaſis*, the laſt river he paſſed in his *Indian* expediton. The word *Cathæi* here ſeems to be of *Tartarian* extraction, and amounts to a ſort of proof, that the *Tartars* had extended their frontiers on that ſide as far as the *Hyphaſis*, at the time of this expedition; unleſs we will ſuppoſe, that *Alexander*'s ſoldiers applied the name of a neighbouring nation to the tract between the *Hydraotes* and the *Hyphaſis* by miſtake. And that there is nothing abſurd in ſuch a ſuppoſition, appears from hence, that the *Macedonians* called the (A) *Iaxartes* the *Tanais*; which made *Curtius* and *Arrian* to confound thoſe two rivers, according to *Pliny*. In fine, as the *Greeks* muſt have had very imperfect and inadequate ideas of the parts of *Tartary* and *India* which they traverſed, we muſt expect to meet with many inaccuracies and miſtakes in their authors, who have tranſmitted down to us relations of *Alexander*'s military exploits in thoſe countries. Nor did the ignorance of the *Greeks* in the *Scythian*, or *Tartarian* and *Indian* languages, a little contribute hereto; it being almoſt impoſſible for the *Macedonian* conqueror to find any perſon thoroughly verſed both in thoſe languages and the *Greek*. But, not to inſiſt longer upon this, *Alexander* erected twelve altars on the eaſtern bank of the *Hyphaſis*, for a memorial that the ſpot on which they ſtood was the limit of his conqueſts, his troops refuſing to follow him to the *Ganges*. Having, therefore, repaſſed the *Hyphaſis*, he made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for a march towards the *Hydaſpes* [h].

NEAR the confluence of the *Hydraotes* and the *Aceſines*, the *Oxydracæ* had their habitations. They were a fierce and valiant nation, as were alſo their neighbours the *Malli*, whoſe territories bordered upon the *Hydraotes*. Both theſe nations *Alexander* reduced by the ſuperiority of his arms; but was in great danger of his life, in an aſſault he made upon a city of the *Oxydracæ*, if we will believe *Curtius* and *Arrian*, though that city belonged to the *Malli*, according to *Strabo*. In the neighbouring diſtrict he

[e] ARRIAN. de expedit. Alexand. lib. iv. c. 28. STRAB. lib. xv. DIOD. SIC. lib. ii. c. 88. PTOL. ubi ſupra. Vide etiam CHRISTOPH. CELLAR. geograph. antiq. lib. iii. c. 23. [f] ARRIAN. ubi ſup. lib. v. c. 4. & c. 8. STRAB. ubi ſup. DIOD. SIC. lib. xvii. c. 95. CURT. lib. ix. c. 1. & alibi. PLIN. lib. vi. c. 20. & alibi. PTOL. geograph. lib. vii. c. 1. [g] STRAB. geogr. lib. xv. [h] ARRIAN. ubi ſup. lib. v. STRAB. ubi ſup. PLIN. lib. vi. c. 16, 17, & alibi. CURT. lib. vi. & lib. vii. Vide etiam CHRISTOPH. CELLAR. ubi ſup. lib. iii. c. 21. & c. 23.

(A) The word *Iaxartes* was a corruption of *Ikſertes*, or *Ykſert*, which name it retains to this very day. In the antient *Scytho-Mungalian* language, *Yk* ſignifies *great*, and *ſert*, or *ſer't*, a *river*; ſo that *Ikſertes*, or corruptly *Iaxartes*, denotes the *great river* (1).

(1) *Von Strahlenberg's introd. p.* 8, 9.

is

is ſaid to have built a new city, to which, as *Cellarius* imagines, he gave the name of *Alexandria* [i].

To the ſouth of the *Malli* were ſituated the *Sabracæ*, a powerful nation, according to *Curtius*; near whom, in a ſoutherly direction, we may place the *Sogdii*, in whoſe country *Alexander* built another city, which he likewiſe probably called *Alexandria*. The *Muſicani*, whoſe kingdom or dynaſty we find mentioned by *Oneſicritus* in *Strabo*, had ſtill a more ſoutherly ſituation; and, to the ſouth of them, *Curtius* has fixed the ſeat of the *Præſti*. The kingdom of *Sabus*, or, as *Diodorus Siculus* will have it, *Sambus*, approached ſtill nearer the *Indian* ocean. All the nations, or tribes, and places here mentioned, bordered upon the eaſtern bank of the *Indus*, as did likewiſe the town and iſland of *Patala*, the laſt of which was formed by the mouths of that river. Some of the antients have denominated the iſland *Patalena*, *Pattalena*, and *Patalia*, and the city *Patala* or *Pattala*; this was built in the upper part of the iſland, and defended by a very ſtrong citadel. The *Porticani*, another *Indian* tribe, ſeem to have been placed between the *Muſicani* and *Patalena*, both by *Diodorus Siculus* and *Strabo* [k].

Besides the nations and places above-mentioned, we find many more ſituated on the ſea-coaſt between the mouths of the *Indus* and the *Ganges*, enumerated by *Ptolemy*. But as theſe were, for the moſt part, inſignificant and obſcure in the days of that geographer, we ſhall only touch upon a few of the moſt conſiderable of them here. For it would be of no advantage to the bulk of our readers, nor even prove the leaſt amuſement to the more curious part of them, ſhould we take any notice of the reſt [l].

The three firſt places that preſent themſelves to our view are *Barygaza*, *Supara*, and *Simylla*. *Barygaza*, or *Burygaza Emporium*, was a maritim city, and port, upon the river *Namadus*, in a ſouthern direction from the mouths of the *Indus*. The neighbouring gulph, from it, received the denomination of *Sinus Barygazenus*. The true name of this town ſeems to have been *Gaza*, the word *Bar* or *Bary* having been added to it on account of its ſituation; that word ſignifying, in the antient *Indian*, *Perſic*, and *Tartarian* tongues, *water*, or the *ſea*. And we are informed by *Pliny*, that there was a remote town in *Ethiopia* called *Gaza*, and another on the sea-coast, at ſome diſtance from it, which went by the name of *Baragaza*. Nay, in confirmation of this notion, we find a mediterranean town mentioned by *Arrian* as ſituated in *Sogdiana*, not far from the confines of *India intra Gangem*, the very region we are conſidering, called *Gaza*; which amounts to an evident proof, that *Gaza* may be naturally ſuppoſed to have been the name of a town, and *Baragaza* that of a maritim town in *India intra Gangem*. Many traces of *Alexander*'s expedition, ſuch as antient *ſacella* or chapels, altars, the veſtiges of camps, large wells, and the like, were ſtill remaining in the adjacent territory, when *Arrian* wrote his *Periplus Maris Erythræi*. This author alſo relates, that even to his time many antient drachms, with *Greek* legends, and the effigies of *Menander* and *Apollodotus*, two princes who reigned there after *Alexander*'s departure, were found in the neighbourhood of *Barygaza*. The modern *Bargant*, both by its name and ſituation, ſeems to anſwer to the *Barygaza* of the antients [m].

Supara, or *Supara Emporium*, was likewiſe ſeated on the *Sinus Barygazenus*, a little ſouth of *Barygaza*. Poſſibly the modern *Chitpour*, or *Shitpur*, may be ſuppoſed to correſpond with *Supara*, both the name and ſituation of the latter agreeing tolerably well with thoſe of the former. Be that as it will, *Supara* has been taken for the *Ophir* of Scripture by the learned *Lucas Holſtenius* [n].

Simylla was the name both of a town, and of a cape or promontory. The former, by way of diſtinction, had the denomination of *Simylla Emporium*, and ſtood at a conſiderable diſtance in a ſouthern direction from *Supara*; but neither of them has been greatly celebrated by the antients. *Souali* on the river *Tapi*, oppoſite to *Surat*, probably occupies the ſpot on which ſtood the *Simylla* of the antients [o].

Hippocura, *Balipatna*, and ſome other places in this tract, are mentioned, but not with any marks of diſtinction, by the old geographers. *Muziris* was not a town of any repute when *Pliny* wrote his natural hiſtory; but it made a conſiderable figure in

[i] Curt. lib. ix. c. 4. Arrian. ubi ſup. lib. vi. c. 11. Strab. ubi ſup. Cellar. ubi ſup. c. 21.
[k] Curt. lib. ix. c. 8. Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. c. 102. Arrian. ubi ſup. lib. vi. c. 17. Plin. lib. vi. c. 20, 21. Dionys. Charaden. perieg. ver. 1093. Oneſicrit. apud Strab. ubi ſup. ut & ipſe Strab. ibid.
[l] Ptol. geogr. ubi ſup. [m] Idem ibid. Arrian. peripl. Mar. Erythr. p. 25, 27, & alibi. Oxon. 1698. Plin. lib. vi. c. 29. Arrian. ubi ſup. lib. iv. c. 2, 17, &c. [n] Ptol. ubi ſup. Lucas Holstenius ad Ortel. p. 137. [o] Ptol. ubi ſup.

the time of *Arrian* and *Ptolemy*. *Calligeris*, *Nitriæ*, and other obſcure places lightly touched upon by the antients, deſerve not the leaſt attention [p].

TOWARDS the ſouthern extremity of this tract, we find the region of the *Aii*, *Elancon Emporium*, *Cottiara Metropolis*, and the town and promontory of *Comar* or *Comaria*, to the laſt of which anſwers the cape *Comorin* of the moderns. All theſe places were to the ſouth of the river *Baris*, whoſe name denotes *water* in the languages above-mentioned. We meet with other obſcure nations, or rather tribes, and maritim places, between cape *Comar* or *Comorin*, and the mouths of the *Ganges*, taken notice of by the antients; but they merit not the leaſt regard [q].

OZENE. *Bætana*, *Hippocura*, *Carura*, *Sora*, *Othura*, and other mediterranean towns in the ſouthern part of *India intra Gangem*, by reaſon of their inſignificancy and obſcurity, our readers will excuſe us from expatiating upon. But *Palibothra*, upon the confluence of the *Erannoboa*, and the *Ganges*, has been repreſented as ſo conſiderable a place by *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and *Strabo*, that we muſt not paſs it over in ſilence. It was the capital of the *Praſii*, who were one of the moſt illuſtrious and potent nations of *India*. *Palibothra* made ſuch a figure in the ſouthern part of the country we are conſidering, that, according to ſome, from it all the inhabitants of the tract in which it ſtood received the denomination of *Palibothri*. Their king was ſo powerful, that he could bring into the field an army of 600,000 foot, and 30,000 horſe. *Ptolemy* places the *Praſii*, whom he calls *Praſiatæ*, near the *Ganges*, but above the *Palibothri* [r].

THE *Indian* ſages, or philoſophers, ſtiled by the *Greeks Gymnoſophiſts*, have had a ſeat aſſigned them by *Ptolemy* in the north-eaſtern part of *India*, between the *Hyphaſis* and the *Ganges*. The *Brachmans*, or *Brahmans*, a branch of the *Gymnoſophiſts*, according to *Cellarius*, have alſo been fixed in the ſouthern part of this region, between the *Solenus* and the *Chaberus*, two rivers not far from the ſea-coaſt, by the ſame geographer; who, by theſe different ſituations, ſeems to have conſidered the latter as ſeparate and diſtinct from the former. *Pliny* ſays, that many *Indian* nations had the ſurname of *Brachmanæ*, one of which were the *Maccocalingæ*. *Alexander* took a city inhabited by the *Brachmans* in the territories of the *Malli*, according to *Arrian*; and that the ſame people had ſome towns near the *Muſicani* and *Sambus* or *Sabus*'s dominions, at a ſmall diſtance from the *Indus*, we are informed by *Diodorus Siculus*. The laſt of theſe, according to that author, ſurrendred to *Alexander*, after a brave defence. *Porphyry* aſſerts ſome of the *Brachmans* to have taken up their habitations in the mountainous diſtricts of *India*, and others on the banks of the *Ganges*. The *Calingæ* occupied the tract contiguous to the mouths of the *Ganges* in the days of *Pliny*, who ſeems to have called them likewiſe *Maccocalingæ*. The *Gangaridæ*, ſo denominated from their proximity to the *Ganges*, were intermixed with the *Calingæ*, from whence aroſe the appellation of *Gangaridæ Calingæ*. *Cellarius* has placed the *Padæi*, *Pandæ*, or *Pandæi*, in *India intra Gangem*; though that ſuch was their ſituation, does not appear from the antients. On the contrary, from *Herodotus*, *Tibullus*, and others, it rather ſeems probable, that they were ſituated to the eaſt of the *Ganges*, and even at a conſiderable diſtance from that river [s].

India extra Gangem

INDIA EXTRA GANGEM was terminated on the weſt by the *Ganges*, on the north by *Scythia*, on the eaſt by the country of the *Sinæ*, and on the ſouth by the *Indian* ocean. Not far from the mouths of the *Ganges*, from whence they deduced their name, were ſeated the *Gangaridæ*, of which that branch ſurnamed *Calingæ* inhabited the weſtern bank. In all the manuſcripts and printed copies of *Diodorus Siculus* and *Strabo*, we find them called *Gandaridæ*; but that this name muſt have been a corruption of *Gangaridæ*, the word *Ganges* itſelf, from which that was derived, puts beyond all manner of doubt [t].

IN the maritim part of this country were ſituated, according to *Ptolemy*, a city denominated *Pentapolis*, *Baracura Emporium*, and the mouth of the river *Tocoſanna*. The *Silver Region*, in which we find the towns of *Sambra* and *Sada*, with the river *Sadus*, came next; and after them *Berabonna Emporium*, *Temala*, and the river of the ſame name.

[p] PLIN. lib. vi. c. 23. ARRIAN. peripl. Mar. Erythr. p. 30, 31. PTOL. ubi ſup. [q] PTOL. & ARRIAN. ubi ſup. [r] PTOL. & STRAB. ubi ſup. ARRIAN. Indic. c. 10. PLIN. lib. vi. c. 19. CURT. lib. ix. c. 2. Vide etiam SALMAS. in Solin. p. 699. [s] STRAB. lib. xv. p. 489. & lib. xvi. p. 541. PTOL. ubi ſup. PLIN. lib. vi. c. 17. ARRIAN. de expedit. Alexand. lib. vi. c. 7. DION. SIC. lib. xvii. c. 102, 103. PORPHYR. περὶ ἀποχῆς, lib. iv. c. 17. HERODOT. lib. iii. c. 99. TIBUL. lib. iv. eleg. i. ver. 145. SALMAS. ubi ſup. p. 700. Vide etiam CHRISTOPH. CELLAR. ubi ſup. [t] ARTEMIDORUS apud Strabon. lib. xv. DIONYS. CHARACEN. perieg. ver. 1144. DIOD. SIC. lib. ii. PLIN. & PTOL. ubi ſup.

name. To these succeeded the country of the *Bisyngeti*, who were man-eaters, and the town of *Saraba*, from whence the *Sinus Sarabacus* received its name. Besides which, in a southern direction, we meet with *Besynga* or *Babysenga Emporium*, and *Beraba*, two towns of some note, mentioned by *Ptolemy* [u].

The *Aurea Chersonesus* projected into the *Sinus Gangeticus* and *Sinus Magnus*, having on its western side *Tacola Emporium*, and the river *Chrysoana*. In the southern angle the antients placed the promontory called *Malæi Colon*, together with the towns of *Coli* and *Perimula*. Many take this *Aurea Chersonesus* to be the *Ophir* of Scripture, because there is a great abundance of all those commodities here which *Solomon* received from *Ophir*. This opinion seems to be supported by *Josephus* and *Ptolemy*, though it is opposed by *Lucas Holstenius*, as has been already observed. Nor ought St. *Jerom* to be deemed of different sentiments, when he supposes *Ophir* to be an *Indian* island, since both in that passage, and others he exhibits, the word *insula* or *island* may very well be understood of a peninsula. M. *Bochart* believes the island of *Taprobane* to have been *Solomon*'s *Ophir*; but, as he founds his notion upon conjectures only, no great stress can be laid upon it. The region of the *Lestæ*, or pirates, was contiguous in a northern direction to the *Aurea Chersonesus*; through which ran the *Sobannus*. That river, according to *Ptolemy*, divided the country we are considering into two parts, in one of which stood the town of *Samarande* and *Pagrasa*, and in the other *Pithonobaste Emporium* and *Zaba*. *Balonga* and *Corgatha*, each of which seems to have been the capital of a particular district, were situated upon the *Sinus Magnus* of *Ptolemy*, who places the mouth of the *Doana*, as well as the town of *Throana*, between them. That geographer likewise takes notice of *Sinda*, and another *Pagrasa*, in this tract, with which, and the two rivers *Dorius* and *Serus*, he terminates the maritim part of *India extra Gangem* [w].

Near the foot of mount *Mæander*, or *Mæandrus*, were seated *Triglypton*, *Tosole*, and *Tugma*, mediterranean cities of considerable note, according to *Ptolemy*. Above the *Silver Region* was situated a tract that was stiled the *Golden Region*, between the *Sinus Gangeticus* and the *Sinus Magnus*. Between the *Dorius* and the *Serus* we meet with a province called *Chalcitis* by *Ptolemy*, from the metals it produced. The *Tacoræi*, *Coraucali*, *Indapratbæ*, and *Cacobæ*, had their habitations in the northern part of *India extra Gangem*; and in the middle of that country we find the *Iberingæ* and *Dabasæ*. But as these, and other obscure cantons inhabiting the remote part of the globe now in view, were almost intirely unknown to the antients, our readers will not expect any farther account of them here [x].

Rivers.

The most celebrated rivers of *India* were the *Indus* and the *Ganges*, both of which were larger than the *Nile*, according to *Strabo*. *Pliny* tells us, that the *Indus* (B) had its source in mount *Paropamisus*; and that nineteen rivers discharged themselves into it; the most famous of which were the *Cophes*, the *Choaspes*, the *Sinarus*, the *Hydaspes*, the *Acesines*, the *Hyarotis* or *Hydraotes*, and the *Hyphasis*. The *Cophes* carried along with it into the *Indus* the *Malamantus*, the *Soastus*, and the *Garæas*; as the *Acesines* did the *Tutapus*. As for the *Ganges*, it was taken to be the largest river in the world by *Strabo*; and issued from mount *Imaus*, the *Mus Tag* of the moderns, or from an ascent in the neighbourhood of it. *Pliny* tells us, that nineteen rivers emptied themselves into the *Ganges*, of which the principal were the *Iomanes*, the *Erannoboa*, the *Condochates*, the *Cosoagus*, the *Sonus*, the *Caina*, the *Cossoanus*, the *Sittocatis*, the *Solomatis*, the *Sambus*, the *Magone*, the *Agoranis*, and the *Omalis*. The *Namadus*, the *Nanaguna*, the *Pseudostomus*, the *Baris*, the *Solenus*, the *Chaberus*, the *Tyna*, the *Manda*, and other obscure rivers appertaining to *India*, mentioned by *Ptolemy*, we

[u] Ptol. ubi sup. [w] Idem ibid. Joseph. lib. viii. c. 2. Hieronym. apud Cellar. ubi sup. Boch. Chan. lib. i. c. 40. Luc. Holsten. ad Ortel. p. 137. [x] Ptol. ubi sup.

(B) This river was likewise called *Sindus* by *Pliny* and *Arrian*, and one of its mouths has this name given it by *Ptolemy*. The native *Indians* at this day call the *Indus*, when it draws near the *Indian* ocean, *Sinde* or *Sindus*. Hence the neighbouring tract is called *Sind*, and that part of the *Indian* ocean bordering upon it, the *Sindian* sea. The *sindon*, or fine *Indian* linen, so celebrated among the antients, probably deduced its name from this tract, as vast quantities of that valuable commodity were antiently exported from thence (z).

(z) Plin. lib. vi. c. 23. Arrian. Mar. Eryth. peripl. Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 77. & Ptol. apud Gol. ibid.

ſhall not here expatiate upon, as nothing remarkable of them has been handed down to us by any of the antient geographers or hiſtorians [y].

Mountains. PLINY informs us, that the mount *Imaus*, *Emodus*, *Paropamiſus*, and *Caucaſus*, formed a long ridge of mountains, which ſerved as a limit on that ſide to *India*. They may therefore be conſidered as bearing ſome relation both to *India* and *Scythia*. This vaſt chain of mountains, which ſeparated the latter from the former, was the ſame as the mount *Pamer* and the *Mus Tag*, or *Imus Tag*, of the preſent *Tartars*. By the laſt of theſe *Ptolemy* underſtands a large ridge of mountains running from ſouth to north, which he calls the *Semanthini*; but for this he has not a proper foundation. For the true *Imaus*, or *Imus Tag*, bends chiefly from eaſt to weſt, and ſeparates a great part of *Kalmuk Tartary* from *Little Bukharia*, or the kingdom of *Kaſhgar*. *Ptolemy* likewiſe mentions as belonging to this country the mountains called *Montes Apocopi*, *Sardoniches*, *Bettigus*, *Vindius*, *Adiſathrus*, and *Uxentus*, towards the *Ganges*. He alſo takes notice of mount *Mæandrus*, mount *Sepyrrus*, and mount *Damaſus*, in *India extra Gangem*; but none of theſe was famous on account of any remarkable event that happened in their neighbourhood. It may not be improper to obſerve here, that in the *Tartarian* language *Mus*, or *Maus*, to which the *Tartars* in common pronunciation prefix the vowel I, ſignifies *ice*, and *Tag a mountain*. *Imuſtag*, therefore, denotes the *icy* or *ſnowy mountain*; and from hence the corrupt word *Imaus* deduces its origin. The antient term ſignifying mountain was *Tau*, or *Taui*; and this is ſtill added to the proper names of their mountains by the *Tartars* of *Siberia*. Some of the modern *Tartars* pronounce this *Dag*, *Dak*, *Dau*, and *Daui*; from whence we may derive the name of the *Daci*, a nation of *Scythian* extraction, who were antiently denominated not only *Daci*, but *Daui*, as we learn from *Strabo*. In like manner the denomination of *Caucaſus*, that is, *Caf*, *Caco*, or *Coho*, in *Perſic*, denotes *mountains*, or *a mountainous tract*, as may be evinced from ſeveral authors [z].

Iſlands. WE find ſeveral iſlands in the *Indian* ocean taken notice of by the antients, which we ſhall here beg leave lightly to touch upon. *Barace* lay in the *Sinus Canthicus*, according to *Ptolemy*; *Milizigeris*, *Heptaneſia*, *Peperina*, *Tricadira*, *Trineſia*, *Leuce*, and *Panigeris*, extended themſelves from thence to the *Sinus Colchicus*; *Cory* was in the *Sinus Argaricus*, and under the mouths of the *Tyna Suſuara*. Beſides which, *Arrian* mentions another called *Cilluta*, that ſeems to have been ſituated in the principal mouth of the *Indus*, had ſeveral commodious ports, and was of a very conſiderable extent [a].

BUT the moſt famous of the *Indian* iſlands was the *Taprobane*, or *Taprobana*, of the antients, and the *Ceylon* of the moderns, ſaid to be as large as *Britain* by *Strabo*. *Mela* doubted whether it was an iſland, or the firſt part of another world, the latter opinion having been embraced by *Hipparchus*. It was, however, conſidered as an iſland by many writers who lived before *Mela*, and known to be ſo in the time of *Alexander the Great*. The king of this iſland ſent four embaſſadors to *Claudius*, the principal of which was called *Rachia*, who informed the *Romans*, that there were five hundred towns in *Taprobane*; that *Palæſimundus* the metropolis had a fine haven, and contained 200,000 ſouls; and that there was in the iſland a lake 375 miles in circumference. They alſo related, that this lake was interſperſed with ſeveral ſmall iſlands, whoſe ſoil was extremely fertile; and that out of it there iſſued two rivers, one of which named *Palæſimundus* diſcharged itſelf into the port belonging to the city of the ſame name, by three chanels, the largeſt of which was fifteen ſtadia broad, and the ſmalleſt five. The other river, according to them, had the name of *Cidar* or *Cidaria*, and moved in a northern direction. They likewiſe affirmed, that the *Promontorium Coliacum*, the neareſt part of *India*, was four days ſail from the coaſt of *Taprobane*, the iſland of the *Sun* lying in the middle of the paſſage. But *Ptolemy*, who has given us a prolix deſcription of *Taprobane*, differs in many particulars from theſe embaſſadors. He makes it to be nearer the coaſt of *India*; and does not enumerate above thirty towns. He ſays not a word of the lake *Megiſba*, nor of the two rivers whoſe courſes were deſcribed by the *Taprobanian* miniſters. Nay, he paſſes over in ſilence both the town and harbour, as well as the river, called *Palæſimundus*. Such different deſcrip-

[y] STRAB. lib. xv. PLIN. lib. vi. c. 20, & alib. ARRIAN expedit. Alexand. lib. iv. c. 22, 23, 25. ARISTOT. meteor. lib. i. c. 13. DIONYS. CHARACEN. perieg. ver. 1073. VON STRAHLENBERG's hiſtori-geographical deſcription of the N. and E. parts of Europe and Aſia, p. 416, 417. Lond. 1738. [z] PLIN. lib. vi. c. 17. PTOL. ubi ſup. VON STRAHLENBERG, ubi ſup. & alibi. STRAB. lib. vii. p. 304. Lutet. Pariſior. 1600. [a] PTOL ubi ſup. ARRIAN ubi ſup lib. vi. c 19.

tions

tions have made ſome learned men ſuſpect, that the *Taprobane* of the embaſſadors and that of *Ptolemy* muſt have been different iſlands. Several perſons of great erudition have taken *Sumatra* to anſwer to the *Taprobane* of the antients better than *Ceylon*; but the generality of learned men have been of another opinion. Nor is it ſo probable, that the *Roman* and *Alexandrian* merchants undertook ſo long a voyage as to the iſland of *Sumatra*, for the ſake of commerce, as that they ſailed to *Ceylon* on that account. But the ſituation of *Taprobane*, as laid down by *Ptolemy*, ſo nearly correſponds with that of *Ceylon*, that we cannot well doubt of the identity of thoſe iſlands; though that the aforeſaid geographer has, without any reaſon, extended his *Taprobane* beyond the *Line*, muſt not by any means be denied [b].

THE principal towns in this iſland, according to *Ptolemy*, were *Margana* and *Jogana*, on the weſtern ſhore; *Odoca*, *Dagana*, a place ſacred to the moon, and *Dionyſus*, in the ſouthern part; *Procurus* on the eaſtern coaſt; *Moduti Emporium* and *Talacori Emporium* on the northern ſide; and, among the mediterranean places, *Anurogrammum* and *Maagrammum*, two cities of conſiderable note. The moſt remarkable promontories were the *Promontorium Andraſimundi*, the *Jovis Promontorium*, the *Avium Promontorium*, the *Dionyſi Promontorium*, the *Cetæum Promontorium*, and the *Boreum Promontorium* oppoſite to *India*. The chief rivers were the *Soana*, the *Azanus*, and the *Ganges*. The moſt noted havens ſeem to have been the *Priapius Portus*, the *Mordi Portus*, the *Solis Portus*, the *Rhizola Portus*, and the *Spatana Portus*. Among the principal bays or gulphs, we may rank the *Praſodes Sinus*, which has been placed by *Ptolemy* on the weſtern coaſts of the iſland [c].

CELLARIUS believes, that the *Inſula Solis* of *Pliny* may be conſidered as the ſame iſland with the *Cory* of *Ptolemy*; which, if thoſe authors are reconcileable with each other, may poſſibly not be very remote from truth. The latter has fixed *Bazacata*, a ſmall iſland, in the *Sinus Gangeticus*, at preſent the bay of *Bengall*; and, at a good diſtance from it, in a ſouthern direction, the iſland of the *Good Dæmon*. In the *Sinus Magnus*, now the bay of *Siam*, oppoſite to the country of the *Sinæ*, were ſituated the *three iſlands of the Satyrs*, and farther to the ſouth the auriferous iſland of *Iabadius*, whoſe metropolis was denominated *Argentea*, or *The Silver city*. Some of the old geographers mention two iſlands called *Chryſe* and *Argyre*, as lying between the mouths of the *Indus* and the *Ganges*; but their accounts of them are ſo confuſed and indiſtinct, that they cannot be depended upon. In fine, thoſe pretended iſlands ſeem to be the *Silver Region* and *Golden Region*, or *Golden Peninſula*, above-mentioned, as has been long ſince hinted by the excellent *Salmaſius* [d].

The country of the Sinæ.

THE *Sinæ*, according to *Ptolemy*, inhabited a tract to the eaſt of *India*, behind the *Sinus Magnus*; ſo that, properly ſpeaking, they did not belong to *India*, though they ſeem to have been conſidered as appertaining to that country by *Cellarius*. The tract they occupied was bounded on the eaſt and ſouth by the *Terra incognita*, on the north by *Serica*, and on the weſt by *India extra Gangem*. The town of *Aſpithra*, near which ran a river of the ſame name iſſuing from the *Semanthine* mountains, was ſituated at a ſmall diſtance from the confines of *India*. The towns of *Bramma* and *Rabana* ſtood near the mouths of the rivers *Ambaſtus* and *Senus*, which diſcharged themſelves into the *Sinus Magnus*. The *Ichthyophagi*, or the *Ichthyophagi Æthiopes*, had a diſtrict aſſigned them near the *Line*, and to the ſouth of them ran the river *Cotiares*. In a ſouthern direction from the *Line*, we likewiſe meet with *Coccorangora*, *Thinæ*, *Thina*, or *Sinæ Metropolis*, *Cottigara*, and the town of *Saraga*. *Acadra*, or *Acathra*, a mediterranean town, had a northern ſituation, and ſeems to have been a place of ſome importance. In fine, the country of the *Sinæ* ſeems to have anſwered to the tract comprehending the kingdoms of *Siam*, *Laos*, *Camboya*, or *Cambodia*, *Tonquin*, and *Cochinchina*, or at leaſt the moſt conſiderable part of that tract. It is probable, that this region was antiently called *Sin*, *Sim*, and *Siam*, which ſeem to be names very nearly related; for, as *Sinæ* was the antient name of the people, *Sin*, or *Sim*, was undoubtedly that of the country; and *Siam*, the preſent name of a pretty large part of it, in ſound approaches very near to *Sim*, or *Sin*. Nor can any thing material be objected to this, except the ſituation of *Serica*, bounding the country of the *Sinæ* on

[b] STRAB. lib. ii. HIPPARCHUS apud Pompon. Mel. lib. iii. ut & ipſe MEL. ibid. DIONYS. CHARACEN. ubi ſupra, ver. 952. FEST. AVIEN. ver. 777. PLIN. lib. vi. c. 22. SALMAS. BOCHART. Is. VOSS. apud Cellar. ubi ſup. ut & ipſe CELLAR. ibid. [c] PTOL. ubi ſup. CELLAR. geograph. antiq. lib. iii. c. 23. [d] PLIN. lib. vi. c. 21. POMPON. MEL. lib. iii. c. 7. PTOL. ubi ſup. CELLAR. lib. iii. c. 23. ſub fin. SALMAS. in Solin. p. 701.

the north, which ſome may poſſibly place at a very conſiderable diſtance from the eaſtern extremity of *India extra Gangem.* However, we cannot believe, that there is the leaſt foundation for ſuch an opinion. M. *Bayer*, indeed, aſſerts the *Seres* to have been ſeated in the interior part of *India intra Gangem*, and conſequently nearer the frontiers of *Perſia*, than thoſe of *China.* But this notion, in ſupport of which he has not offered ſo much as a ſingle argument, our readers will find overthrown in the hiſtory of the *Chineſe* [e].

Most of the mountains of *India* were covered with trees that bore a vaſt quantity and variety of fruits. The delightful plains, with which this country abounded, were very ſpacious and fruitful. The richneſs of their ſoil was incredible, their atmoſphere pure and balſamic, and the rivers with which they were interſected inexpreſſibly pleaſant and fertilizing. It is no wonder, therefore, that the *Indians* had two harveſts in a year; that the region they inhabited produced a variety of animals of uncommon ſtrength and beauty; and that their country (being animated by a proper quantity of the ſolar rays) ſhould have been in reality a ſecond paradiſe. The elephants of *India* excelled all others, and particularly thoſe of *Africa.* Some of them were immenſely large, and, after being trained up in a proper manner, behaved with inconceivable dexterity in an engagement. The woods abounded with great plenty and variety of game; as alſo with animals that were not elſewhere to be found. As for the bowels of the earth, they were well ſtored with gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones. The men and animals are ſaid to have been of a larger ſize than in other countries, nature ſeeming here to be in her bloom, and utmoſt vigour. But of all theſe particulars, and many more, our readers may expect a full and minute account, when we come to the modern hiſtory of the *Indians* [f].

Curioſities. As the limits here preſcribed will not permit us to expatiate largely upon the curioſities of this country, a deſcription of which would form a conſiderable volume, we ſhall only exhibit to our readers the following, which are ſome of the principal of them. 1. A ſpecies of amphibious animals produced on the coaſt of *Taprobane*, ſome of which reſembled an horſe, others an ox, and others other creatures ſtrangers to the watry element, called whales by *Strabo.* 2. The ſurpriſing inundations of the *Aceſines*, and other rivers, whoſe waters, about the time of the ſummer ſolſtice, roſe forty cubits high, and overflowed all the neighbouring plains, according to ſeveral authors. 3. The northern rains ſwelling the rivers of *India* in the ſame manner that the ſouthern ſhowers do the *Nile.* 4. A deſert of vaſt extent, containing above a thouſand cities, villages, and towns, which had been abandoned by their inhabitants, upon the *Indus*'s changing its chanel. 5. The fine linen and ſilk made in this country, which were highly valued by the antients. 6. The reed or cane producing a ſort of natural honey, which was endued with an intoxicating quality. 7. A tree, deſcribed by *Oneſicritus*, growing in the territories of the *Muſicani*, one of the ſouthern parts of *India*, whoſe boughs, after they had aſcended to the height of twelve cubits, grew downwards, and took root in the earth; which courſe they continued till they had formed a ſort of long booth or arbour reſembling a tent or pavilion ſupported by pillars. 8. Some *Indian* trees of a moſt enormous ſize, every one of which afforded ſhelter to four hundred horſemen. 9. A ſmall tree, or ſhrub, that had cods like thoſe of a bean, ten inches long, and full of a kind of honey of a poiſonous nature. 10. The corn, reſembling wheat, in the country of the *Muſicani*, which grew wild on a ſpot of ground that required not the leaſt cultivation. 11. The great number of medicinal plants, of various qualities and colours, many of which were not to be found in any other region. 12. The cinnamon-tree, ſhrub bearing ſpikenard, variety of herbs, flowers, drugs, *&c.* the produce of the ſouthern parts of *India.* 13. The vaſt number of apes or monkies, in a wood near the city of *Nicæa*, which, upon *Alexander*'s approach, drew up in order of battle, inſomuch that the *Macedonians* took them for a body of regular troops, and began to make the proper diſpoſitions for an engagement. But *Taxilus*, who at that time attended *Alexander*, by diſcovering to them what ſort of an enemy this was, put an end to the alarm. Theſe apes were taken two ways. Firſt, the hunters of them filled large diſhes with water, and placed them

[e] Ptol. ubi ſup. c. 3. Cellar. ubi ſup. Marcian. Heraclеot. p. 2. Th. Sig. Bayer. comment. orig. Sinicar. p. 309. Petropoli, 1730.

[f] Diod. Sic. Strab. Plin. Arrian. Curt. Plut. in Alexandr.

near

near the trees the apes had poſted themſelves upon, and, in the ſight of thoſe animals, waſhed their eyes; afterwards they put ſome viſcous matter into the diſhes, inſtead of the water, and then retired. As theſe animals, therefore, are great mimics, they no ſooner obſerved the coaſt to be clear, than they came down from the trees, and, attempting to waſh their eyes as the hunters before had done, they blinded themſelves, and were eaſily taken. Secondly, the ſame hunters, at other times, put on a ſort of ſack or budget, ſomewhat reſembling trowſes, in the ſight of the apes, and left others for thoſe animals, hairy within, and beſmeared with ſuch viſcous matter as that already mentioned, which they putting on, were thereby rendered incapable of making their eſcape. 14. The prodigious quantity of foſſile ſalt, dug out of a mountain in the kingdom of *Sopithes*, ſufficient to ſupply all *India* with that commodity. 15. The rich gold and ſilver mines mentioned by *Strabo*. 16. The famous breed of dogs in the kingdom of *Sopithes*, of which that prince gave 150 to *Alexander the Great*. Four of theſe, in the ſight of *Alexander* and *Sopithes*, were ſet upon a lion, and proved a match for him. In the middle of the conflict, *Sopithes* commanded one of them to have a thigh cut off gradually, in order to force him to leave the lion; but this did not oblige him to quit his hold. 1 . The numerous inſtances of longevity among the *Indians* and the *Seres*, many of them attaining to an hundred and thirty, and ſeveral to two hundred years of age. 18. The tigers in the country of the *Praſii*, as big again as a lion, and of ſuch ſtrength, that one of them, with his hinder paw, could eaſily ſeize upon, and drag to him, a large mule. 19. A ſpecies of monkies bigger than dogs of the largeſt ſize, all over white, except the face, which was black; tho' ſometimes the face was white, and every other part black. Their tails were above two cubits long. They were extremely mild and harmleſs, never playing any miſchievous tricks. 20. The foſſile ſtones of the colour of frankincenſe, ſweeter than honey itſelf. 21. The ſerpents two cubits long, with wings like bats, that flew about in the night, and emitted ſome poiſonous drops, which made the bodies of thoſe animals they fell upon to putrefy. 22. An uncommon and ſurpriſing ſpecies of very large flying ſcorpions, that greatly infeſted ſome parts of *India*. 23. A monſtrous and incredibly ſtrong breed of dogs, that could hold faſt even a bull, or a lion, and were ſo fierce, that their eyes ſometimes fell out of their heads, after they had faſtened upon thoſe animals. Theſe creatures would have been cut to pieces, rather than let go their hold, as will the true bull-dogs here in *England*. However, the *Indians* could diſengage them, by pouring water into their noſtrils, as we learn from *Strabo*. 24. The water of the river *Silia*, or *Silias*, which was of ſuch a nature, that nothing could ſwim upon it. 25. The natural honey flowing from reeds, or canes, called μέλι τὸ καλάμινον and σάκχαρ by *Arrian*. 26. A ſpecies of ſerpents that were ſhort, black, had heads like thoſe of dragons, and eyes of the colour of blood. 27. The pearl-fiſhery in the ſouthern part of *India*, not far from the promontory at preſent going under the denomination of cape *Comorin*. 28. The diamonds, pearls, carbuncles, and other kinds of precious ſtones that were produced in this region. 29. Some of the whales left by the tide on the ſhore, in ſome of the maritim parts of *India*, an hundred cubits long, of whoſe bones the *Indians* built themſelves houſes. 30. The vaſt number of jewels found on the banks of the *Aceſines* and the *Ganges*. 31. The fountain whoſe water was as combuſtible and inflammable as oil. 32. The ebony, opals, onyxes, alabaſter, vermilion, cryſtal, amber, and the two mountains near the *Indus*, one of which attracted iron, and the other repelled it. 33. The lions, panthers, rhinoceros's, camelopardales or camel-panthers, ſphinges or marmoſets, cynocephali or larger kind of baboons, crocottæ or lion-wolves, and the dragons of an immenſe ſize taken notice of by *Strabo*. 34. The horſes with a ſingle horn in their foreheads, or unicorns, with the heads of ſtags. 35. The rivers that abounded with particles of gold, and enabled the neighbouring *Indians* to pay the taxes and duties impoſed upon them. 36. The *Pedra de Cobra* (C) already mentioned, which was known to the *Indians*, as well as the antient *Scythians*, or *Tartars*, from the remoteſt antiquity [s] (D).

[s] Nearch. peripl. Oxon 1698. Megasthenes, Eratosthenes, Onesicritus, Cresias, Patrocles, Deimachus, Anaxarchus, Aristoteles, & Aristobulus, apud Strabon. lib. xv. ut & ipſe Strab. ibid. Plin. nat. hiſt. paſſ. Arrian. in expedit. Alexand. & in Indic. paſſ. Curt paſſ. Plut. in Alexand. Diod. Sic. lib. ii. & alibi. Porph. de abſtinent. lib. iv. Arrian. peripl. Mar. Erythr. paſſ.

(C) We have already given a ſhort account of this ſtone in our hiſtory of the *Tartars*; but our readers will find ſeveral particulars relating to it in Dr. *Kempfer's Amœnitates exoticæ*, omitted there. To that piece, therefore, we muſt beg leave to refer the curious, for their farther ſatisfaction (3).

(D) Beſides the curioſities here mentioned, we find others taken notice of by ſome of the antients,

(3) *Engelb. Kaempf. amœnitat. exotic. politico phyſico-med. p.* 395. 396. 578, 579. 581. *Lemgov.* 1712.

SECT. II.

The Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Cuſtoms, Language, Learning, and Diſpoſition of the Indians.

Antiquity. THOUGH the *Indians* have been already deduced from *Japhet* in a former part of this work, yet we would there be underſtood of only a part of that nation. For, though it may be allowed, that ſome of them were deſcended from *Magog* the ſon of *Japhet*, in conjunction with the *Tartars* and *Chineſe*; yet it is likewiſe probable, that many of them ſprung from the other ſons of *Noah*. That *Elam* ſettled in the country afterwards called *Perſia*, has been fully proved; ſo that many of his deſcendents may be ſuppoſed to have puſhed farther eaſtward, and particularly into the nearer eaſtern regions, of which *India* was one. Some of the poſterity of *Cuſh*, if not their great progenitor himſelf, ſeated themſelves in that part of *Suſiana* ſtill called *Khuzeſtan*, or the country of *Chuz*, as well as in *Arabia*; from whence they might eaſily migrate to the banks of the *Indus* and the *Ganges*. In confirmation of which opinion, it may be obſerved, that the *Arabs* have always believed the nations denominated by them *Sind* and *Hind*, which comprehend the whole body of the *Indians*, to have been deſcended from two of the great grandſons of *Ham*, of the ſame names. We may, therefore, reaſonably enough preſume, that the deſcendents of *Shem* and *Ham*, as well as thoſe of *Japhet*, contributed towards peopling the vaſt continent of *India* [a].

THE *Indians*, like other nations, boaſted of too high an antiquity, as we learn from *Pliny*. They pretended, according to that author, to have had a ſeries of an hundred and fifty-three kings, between *Bacchus* and *Alexander the Great*, who reigned above five thouſand four hundred years. But neither *Pliny*, nor any other antient writer, has ventured to give us a liſt or catalogue of thoſe kings. Such a notion as this muſt be allowed to be not only repugnant to ſacred writ, but to the whole ſtream of genuine profane antiquity, and particularly to *Herodotus* the father of hiſtory [b].

BUT, whoever were the firſt planters of this region, it could not have been peopled till long after *Perſia*, or *Elam*, had been ſufficiently cultivated, and a conſiderable number of ages after *Aſſyria*, and the other countries adjoining to *Ararat*, had been planted. This is ſo apparent both from Scripture, and the nature of things, that it will not admit of a diſpute. For, according to Scripture, the *Indians* were ſo obſcure a nation, that they were not known to the *Jews* before the captivity, though the *Perſians*, not long after that event, erected a moſt puiſſant empire; and, according to the courſe of nature, the different parts of the earth muſt have been peopled ſooner or later in proportion to their diſtances from that ſpot on which the firſt men ſettled. Nothing, therefore, in abſurdity can equal the ſyſtem of *Cteſias*, who firſt makes the monarchy of *Aſſyria* to have had a greater number of ſubjects than almoſt any that has ever yet been formed, at a time when that region muſt have been very thinly peopled; and then repreſents *India* as more formidable and populous, at the ſame time, than that monarchy. It is, therefore, to us matter of wonder, that the bulk of the learned, till of late, ſhould have come into that ridiculous ſyſtem; though we are not at all ſurpriſed, that it ſhould have been exploded by ſo learned, impartial, and judicious a writer as *Strabo* [c].

Government. WITH regard to the government of the *Indians*, we ſhall not be here prolix. That it was of the ſame kind with that of the moſt antient *Numidians*, *Arabs*, *Tartars*, and *Chineſe*, we have no reaſon to doubt. The *Indians*, for ſeveral ages, like thoſe nations,

[a] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. i. p. 118. 162. 164. & vol. vii. p. 205. 240. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 77.
[b] PLIN. lib. vi. c. 17. [c] STRAB. lib. xv. DIOD. SICUL. biblioth. hiſtor. lib. ii. c. 90—95. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. i. p. 871—883.

that were deſervedly exploded as fabulous by *Strabo*. Such were the dwarfs of three and five ſpans high, ſome of whom had no noſes, and others waged perpetual war with the cranes; the *Enotocœtæ*, whoſe ears were ſo large, that they lay upon them; the wild men about the *Ganges*, who had no mouths; the *Ocypodes*, who could outrun an horſe; thoſe men who had dogs ears, a breaſt covered with hair, and one eye only in the middle of their foreheads. Many more wonders of this kind occur, which exiſted only in the imagination of thoſe writers who have given us any account of them (4).

(4) *Strab geogr. lib.* xv.

had

had many petty princes among them, who exercised a sovereign authority, till at last they found themselves obliged to submit to others that were more powerful, or else voluntarily united themselves under such heads, to repel all foreign invaders. So several little sovereigns seem to have elected *Chedorlaomer* to preside over them, though some of these afterwards, without any just cause, withdrew their allegiance from him; for which reason, the Scripture says they rebelled. In like manner the *Etruscans* had twelve lucumo's; but over them presided a chief, whose orders they obeyed on all extraordinary occasions. Nay, that this kind of government prevailed in *India*, when *Alexander the Great* invaded that country, may be inferred from *Arrian*, *Curtius*, and *Strabo*. Nor, if we remember right, was the greatest part of this vast region ever reduced under the obedience of one prince, till the reign of *Sandrocottus*. However, the princes or kings, among whom *India* was antiently divided, seem to have ruled with an absolute sway, since they were the sole proprietors of all the lands under their respective jurisdictions, as we are informed by *Diodorus* and *Strabo*. There were several republics likewise in this country, at the time of *Alexander*'s invasion. The *Indians*, as well as the *Chinese*, confined themselves to their own country, and always kept themselves unmixed with foreigners; so that it is no wonder they should have been governed by *Indian* princes, for the most part, till the time of *Sandrocottus*. For, even supposing *Bacchus*, or *Sesac*, to have made so rapid a progress in the reduction of *India*, as we are told he did by *Diodorus Siculus*; yet it does not appear from history, that any considerable part of that region was ever thoroughly subdued by, and much less continued for any time in a state of servitude to, the *Egyptians*. Several kings reigned here in the time of *Alexander the Great*, though some of those princes were then very powerful, and made a noble stand against that conqueror. Nor have all the most considerable *Rajahs* of this vast tract been subjugated by the *Moguls* themselves till within these few years, as will be seen in the modern history of the *Indians* [d].

Laws.

THAT the antient *Indians* had several salutary laws, appears from what we have observed of the *Catheans*, in the history of the *Tartars*, and may be farther evinced from some good authors. But as the limits here prescribed will not permit us to be very copious on this head, we shall at present only mention the following, which are some of the principal of them. 1. The *Indians* were, by a particular law, divided into seven classes, or orders of men, as we learn from *Diodorus* and *Strabo*. The first of these were the philosophers, who were but few, in comparison of the rest. They admitted those who assisted in offering the sacrifices into their private assemblies, and the kings themselves seem to have presided in their great convention, as we shall presently have occasion to observe. The second were the husbandmen, a very numerous and upright body of men. The shepherds and hunters formed the third class, and were likewise pretty considerable. Artificers and mechanics, and particularly those who fabricated arms, constructed ships, *&c.* made up the fourth. The fifth division was composed of military men, who in time of peace had a place assigned them to reside in, and a proper allowance granted them, by the prince they served. The sixth order consisted of officers who were employed by the king, or his ministry, to inspect the actions and conduct of the people, and make a private report to him of their discoveries. The seventh division was formed by the king's privy-council, from whence justice was distributed throughout the whole community, and that in the most equitable manner. 2. By a particular law, the philosophers were injoined to repair to the king's palace at the beginning of the year, and there to produce all their compositions, observations, and predictions, relating either to the fruits of the earth, animals, or the commonwealth. After any one of them had been proved guilty of falshood or ignorance, three times, he was silenced for life; but the others were exempted from taxes, and held in the highest veneration. 3. The husbandmen were never pressed, or obliged to take on in the king's service; which was but reasonable, as they tilled the ground for the king, who was the sole proprietor of it, and who received from them the fourth part of the produce of it. 4. No private person was permitted to bring up either an horse, or an elephant. 5. All those animals belonged to the king of the country in which they were produced. 6. The privy-counsellors were not permitted to marry in a lower family, nor to apply themselves to more branches of business at once, except they were philosophers. 7. Every *Indian* convicted of giving in false evidence was punished in the extreme parts of the body. 8. If any person deprived another of a limb, he did not only forfeit the same part himself, but had likewise his hand cut off;

[d] Gen. c. xiv. ver 4. See before, p. 18, 19. vol. vii. p. 244, 245 Diod Sic. lib. ii. Strab. lib xv.

and to render uſeleſs either the hand or eye of an artificer, was conſidered as a capital crime. 9. The woman that killed a drunken king, was married to his ſucceſſor; from whence we may conclude, that drunkenneſs was looked upon as an enormous vice among them. 10. Neither the life-guards, nor any of the king's other troops, were permitted to enter the city where he held his reſidence. 11. It was not lawful for the king to ſleep in the day-time; and in the night he found himſelf obliged frequently to change his bed, to avoid the treachery of his ſervants. 12. In ſome parts of *India* the married women were not permitted to ſurvive their husbands, but were burnt with their bodies, as has been already obſerved in the hiſtory of the *Tartars*. 13. Polygamy was tolerated by law among them. 14. By a particular law, the virgins who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in fighting at fiſty-cuffs, were rewarded with husbands. 15. The privy-counſellors were famed for their prudence, conſummate abilities, and noble extraction; and, out of their body, the king ſelected judges, generals, and all ſuperior magiſtrates. 16. It ſeems to have been a law among them, that all their civil or political inſtitutions ſhould be derived from their *Brachmans*, or philoſophers. 17. Whatever wars they might be engaged in at any time among themſelves, they obliged themſelves by a common law not to make hoſtile incurſions, to ravage the country, nor to plunder the husbandmen, whom they conſidered as the greateſt benefactors to the public. 18. The *Indians* were not ſuffered to make any of their countrymen ſlaves, every one of them being conſidered as in a natural ſtate of liberty. 19. They had ſeveral cuſtoms wearing the face of laws in common with ſome of their neighbours, which have been mentioned in other parts of this work. Nor is this to be wondered at, ſince the *Indians* were ſometimes confounded with the neareſt circumjacent nations by the antients, and particularly with the *Scythians*, or antient *Tartars* [c].

Religion. THE principal objects of religious worſhip among the *Indians*, in the earlier ages, were *Jupiter*, or *Jupiter Ammon*, and *Bacchus*; in which they agreed with the *Egyptians*, *Arabs*, and other nations. *Hercules* and *Pluto* had likewiſe divine honours paid them. The *Indians* alſo worſhiped a deity repreſenting *Jupiter Pluvialis*, *Pan*, the river *Ganges*, and a ſort of gods anſwering to the *Dii Indigetes* of the *Romans*. Theſe were a kind of *Genii*, or inferior deities, that were in high repute all over *India*. Their power was ſuppoſed to extend over this lower world, and in particular over man. A belief of the exiſtence of theſe ſpirits is of great antiquity, and ſeems to have had its ſource from a diſguiſed and (E) corrupted tradition of the rebellion of the fallen angels, ſince many of the *Genii* were repreſented as ludicrous, imprudent, and wicked beings. Some of the later *Platoniſts* have allotted two *Genii*, a good and a bad one, to every perſon, whoſe conduct they thought was influenced by them. The good *Genius* had the denomination of *Lar* among the *Romans*, and the evil one that of *Larva*, according to *Servius*. They were ſuppoſed to have their reſidence in the atmoſphere that ſurrounds this terraqueous globe, and even ſome of them upon the earth itſelf. Be that as it will, the notion of good and evil *Genii* is of ſo great antiquity, that it will be extremely difficult to trace out its original [f].

WHATEVER ſpecies of idolatry might at firſt have prevailed among the *Indians*, it is probable, that, after *Cambyſes* conquered *Egypt*, the prieſts, being obliged to abandon that country, found their way into *India*, where they planted and propagated the *Egyptian* ſuperſtition. This has been ſet in a clear light by *Kircher*, who extends the obſervation even to *Tartary* and *China*. The hieroglyphic repreſentations of the *Egyptian* deities, which the aforeſaid prieſts introduced into this vaſt region, undoubtedly gave birth to thoſe monſtrous figures, or images, of their falſe gods, that ſtill in *India* are the objects of adoration. As a farther demonſtration of what is here

[c] NEARCH. parapl. Oxon. 1698. MEGASTHENES, ERATOSTHENES, ONESICRITUS, CTESIAS, aliiq; apud Strabon. lib. xv. ut & ipſe STRABO, ibid. DIOD. SIC. lib. ii. PLIN. paſſ. ARRIAN. in expedit. Alexand. in Indic. & in peripl. Mar. Erythr. CURT. PLUT. in Alex. [f] DIOD. SIC. & STRAB. ubi ſup. D. AUGUST. de civitat. Dei, lib. x. c. 2. See alſo the Abbé BANIER's mytholog. and fab. of the ancients, vol. i. b. v. c. 6.

(E) This has been fully proved, and the high antiquity of the notion of good and evil genii clearly evinced, in a critical diſſertation upon the words ΔΑΙΜΩΝ and ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ, publiſhed ſome years ago, to which, for farther ſatisfaction, we beg leave to refer our curious and inquiſitive readers (5).

(5) *A diſſertation upon the words, &c. Lond.* 1738.

advanced,

advanced, it may be obſerved, that the *Indians* ſtill preſerve ſome traces of the worſhip of *Iſis* and *Oſiris*, that antiently prevailed among the *Egyptians* [g].

THE *Brahmans*, *Brachmans*, or philoſophers, were not only the prieſts of the *Indians*, but likewiſe the principal counſellors and directors of their kings, as we learn from *Diodorus* and *Strabo*. They, therefore, ſerved their country both in a civil and religious capacity, as did the *Magi* among the *Perſians*. *Diodorus* ſays, that the *Indians* looked upon theſe *Brahmans* as the greateſt favourites of heaven, and as men who were perfectly acquainted with every thing that paſſed in the infernal regions, or related to the kingdom of *Pluto*. That they bore the principal ſway in every part of *India* where they were ſettled, appears from the beſt writers among the antients, who have taken any notice of them [h].

HOWEVER, the *Greek* and *Latin* authors have not all entertained the ſame ſentiments of theſe *Indian* ſages. They have been conſidered as diſtinct from the *Gymnoſophiſts* by *Ptolemy*, who places the *Brachmans*, whom he calls *Magi*, in a ſouthern diſtrict of *India*, between the rivers *Solenus* and *Chaberus*, not far from the ſea; whereas he aſſigns the *Gymnoſophiſts* a ſituation in the north-eaſtern part of that country, near the weſtern bank of the *Ganges*. On the contrary, that the *Gymnoſophiſts* were divided into two branches or ſects, the *Brachmans* and the *Germanes*, we find aſſerted by *Megaſthenes* in *Strabo*. *Diodorus*, in one place, makes the *Philoſophers* of *India*, who were the *Brachmans* of *Megaſthenes*, to have correſponded, in a great meaſure, with the prieſts of other nations. Whereas, in another paſſage, he conſiders them as a ſeparate nation, ſect, or body of men, ſettled in one particular part of *India*. *Arrian* fixes the *Brachmans* among the *Malli* and the *Muſicani*; and *Pliny* makes the word *Brachman* to have been the ſurname of many nations. *Porphyry* affirms the *Gymnoſophiſts* to have been divided into two ſects, the *Brachmans* and the *Samanæi*; and that, of the *Brachmans*, ſome lived in a mountainous tract, and others about the *Ganges*. *Arrian*, *Apuleius*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Plutarch*, differ in ſeveral particulars relating to theſe *Indian* ſages; though they all ſeem to agree in celebrating their love of divine wiſdom, their knowlege, their abſtemious way of life, and ſingular temperance, in fine, their contempt of all the good, as well as bad, things of this world, ſo much deſired, or dreaded, by the bulk of mankind [i].

WE have neither time nor inclination to tranſcribe every thing that has been related of the *Brahmans* by the antients; nor would this, if tranſcribed, be of any real advantage to our readers. For, as has been obſerved, the *Greek* and *Roman* writers, when ſpeaking of them, differ in ſeveral particulars; which rather tends to confound and perplex, than inform and inſtruct, thoſe that peruſe them. What, therefore, we have to ſay farther of them, ſhall be compriſed in few words. They were not ſo much a diſtinct nation, or particular claſs of philoſophers, as a tribe or ſet of men, or rather a numerous family, deſcended from one common anceſtor, different from the progenitors of the people among whom they lived. They were a body of men that we may conſider as ſimilar to the *Fabian*, *Cornelian*, *Claudian*, &c. families in antient *Rome*, deducing their origin from *Brahma*, the firſt of the three beings whom GOD created, and by whoſe means he afterwards formed the world, according to the modern *Brahmans*, but in reality the patriarch *Abraham*. For, that *Brahma* ſhould be the Supreme Being, as M. *Bayer* aſſerts, is too abſurd to be ſuppoſed; and that he was *Abraham*, has been allowed by ſome of the beſt *Jewiſh* writers, as well as *Shahreſtani*, an *Arab* author of good repute. Dr. *Hyde* likewiſe offers ſuch reaſons in defence of this notion, as cannot eaſily be overturned [k].

POSTELLUS takes theſe *Brahmans* to have been deſcended from *Abraham* by his wife *Keturah*, and believes that the true religion prevailed long among them; and, indeed, from the accounts given us of them by the antients, it ſeems to appear, that they acknowleged one Supreme Being, and a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments. Nay,

[g] ATHANAS. KIRCHER. Chin. illuſtrat. par. iii. [h] DIOD. SIC. & STRAB. ubi ſup. PLUT. in Alex. ARRIAN. de expedit. Alexand. in Indic. & peripl. Mar. Erythr. PORPH. de abſtinent. lib. iv. [i] STRAB. lib. xv. & lib. xvi. MEGASTHENES apud Strabon. ibid. PTOL. ubi ſup. PLIN. lib. vi. c. 17. ARRIAN. expedit. Alexand. lib. vi. c. 7. DIOD. SIC. lib. xvii. c. 102. PORPH. de abſtinent. lib. iv. c. 17. PLUT. in vit. Alexand. CIC. Tuſc. quæſt. lib. v. ARRIAN. ubi ſup. lib. vii. & in Indic. APULEIUS in florid. CLEM. ALEX. ſtrom. lib. iii. PHILOSTRAT. vit. Apollon. lib. iii. PALLAD. de gentib. Ind. & Bragman. p. 1—14. [k] Idem ibid. TH. SIG. BAYER. element. Brahmanic. Tangutan. Mungalic. in comment. acad. Petropolitan. tom. iv. p. 290, 291. Petropoli, 1735. D'HERBEL. biblioth. orient. p. 212. AL. SHAHRESTAN. in calce lib. de religion. Ind. Vide etiam THOM. HYDE hiſt. relig. vet. Perſar. p. 31, 32.

it farther appears from thoſe accounts, that ſome of them worſhiped this Supreme Being with great fervency and devotion, prayed conſtantly to him, and deſpiſed every thing in this world for his ſake. Be that as it will, they were celebrated all over the antient world for their wiſdom and auſterity of life, and propoſed as a pattern for imitation to nations of greater politeneſs than the *Indians*. *Pythagoras* ſtudied their doctrine and manners, and received his notion of the tranſmigration of ſouls, or metempſychoſis, from them. If what is here advanced be admitted, it will be an additional argument in favour of the migration of ſome of *Shem*'s deſcendents into *India*; and likewiſe prove, that the *Abrahamic* religion prevailed, at leaſt for many ages, in that remote country. A famous *Brahman*, named *Behergir*, communicated to the *Mohammedans*, whoſe religion he embraced, the *Amberthkend*, which contains the doctrines of the *Indians*. The modern *Brahmans* ſay, that *Brahma* left to the *Indians* the four books which they call *Beth*, or *Bed*, in which all the ſciences, and all the ceremonies of religion, are compriſed; and for this reaſon they repreſent that ſuppoſed deity with four heads. Some of the antients intimate, that they thought it highly criminal to deprive any, even the moſt inconſiderable, animal of life; in which they are followed by the modern *Brahmans*. They formerly aſſumed to themſelves the prerogative of teaching and inſtructing others; they differed from the *Gymnoſophiſts*, and particularly the *Samanæi*, in this, that they were all of the ſame family (a *Brahman* muſt have been born a *Brahman*), whereas the others might have belonged to any family, or *Indian* tribe. But, as this family ſtill exiſts, we ſhall expatiate more largely upon the preſent topic in the modern hiſtory of the *Indians* [1].

Cuſtoms. SOME of the moſt remarkable cuſtoms of the *Indians* will merit a place here; and ſuch were the following. 1. The *Indians*, and particularly the *Oxydracæ*, celebrated the feaſts of *Bacchus* in a pompous manner; and their princes imitated the order of that conqueror's march into *India*, till *Alexander*'s invaſion of that country. 2. According to *Diodorus Siculus*, the *Indians* had their firſt harveſt about the ſummer ſolſtice, and their ſecond a little before the beginning of the winter. 3. They extracted vaſt quantities of a ſweet ſubſtance from a cane, probably the ſame as the modern ſugar-cane, which *Arrian* calls *the honey of reeds*, and *ſugar*. 4. The *Catheans* always choſe the moſt handſome perſon among them for their king, according to *Oneſicritus* in *Strabo*. 5. Many of the *Indians* painted their beards with a variety of vivid colours, which they took to be very graceful and ornamental. 6. The *Muſicani*, in their frugality, manner of eating, and other points, reſembled the *Lacedæmonians*. 7. Many of the *Indians* made no uſe of gold and ſilver, though their country abounded with them. 8. They did not apply themſelves to the military art, which they conſidered as unlawful, as deſtructive of the repoſe and tranquillity of mankind. 9. The ſhepherds and hunters lived in tents, not approaching the cities and towns, and were maintained at the king's expence. 10. They had a particular method of hunting elephants, which has been deſcribed at large by *Strabo*. 11. Though ſome writers make the *Indian* kings the ſole proprietors of all the horſes and elephants in their dominions, yet others are of a different opinion, and aſſert the *Indians* to have yoked them as they did camels, and that a lover could not have made his miſtreſs a more acceptable preſent than an elephant. 12. The *Ephori*, or officers who inſpected the people's conduct, arrived at the knowlege of many ſecret tranſactions by the aſſiſtance of ſeveral ſtrumpets, whom they employed to get them intelligence, both in cities and camps. 13. They kept the highways in good repair, and at the end of every ten ſtadia erected a ſort of pillar, which pointed out to travelers the different roads, and the diſtances of places from one another. 14. They had officers, whoſe buſineſs it was to take care, that the rivers were kept clean, and confined within their banks; that the people were duly ſupplied with water, and had the lands properly divided among them, as in *Egypt*; that the hunters, farmers, and artificers, did their duty; and that the king's revenue was regularly collected. 15. They paid a great regard to ſtrangers, and had perſons whoſe ſole employment was to ſupply them with every thing they wanted, both in ſickneſs and in health. 16. The officers appointed to regulate every thing relating to the government of their cities, were divided into ſix claſſes, every one of which conſiſted of five members; as were alſo thoſe to whom was committed the ma-

[1] POSTELLUS in comment. ad Jezir. MEGASTHENES apud Strab. ubi ſup. ut & ipſe STRAB. ibid. DIOD. SIC. ARRIAN. PLUT. PORPH. CLEM. ALEXAND. APULEIUS, PHILOSTRATUS, & PALLADIUS, ubi ſup. D'HERBEL. biblioth. orient. p. 212.

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nagement and direction of military affairs. 17. They rode their elephants without bridles, and had their carts, waggons, &c. drawn by oxen. 18. As their country produced no grapes, except a few that were wild, and unfit for use, in the territories of the *Musicani*, they never drank any wine, except at their sacrifices, and that came from rice. 19. Many of them lived chiefly upon a sort of liquid food made of rice, and some of them upon the herbs of the field, and water only, particularly the *Gymnosophists*. 20. Some of the *Indians* did not dine and sup together, nor at any stated hour, which practice we find censured by *Strabo*. 21. They took great pleasure in rubbing their naked bodies with flesh-brushes; which likewise might probably be considered by them as a very salubrious exercise. 22. They had few pompous funerals, or splendid sepulcral monuments erected, among them. 23. Their attire was very rich, being adorned with gold, silver, and a great variety of precious stones. 24. They did not honour old men, except they were prudent and virtuous, thinking that such only ought to be treated with any marks of distinction. 25. Many of the *Indians* bought young women of their parents, for a pair of oxen apiece, in order to marry them, some for conveniency, and others for the sake of issue. 26. They did not cut the throats of their victims, but stifled or suffocated them, that they might be offered whole to the deity for whom they were intended. 27. When the king went a hunting, he was surrounded by a large body of women, some of whom were mounted on elephants, others on horses, and others rode in chariots. 28. Some of the *Indians* bordering on mount *Caucasus* are said to have used their women in the open streets without shame, and to have fed upon the flesh of their relations; but, that these were *Scythian* customs, we learn from *Herodotus*. 29. Several of the *Indians* hunted monkies, or marmosets, and drove them down precipices; but sometimes those animals made head against, and threw large stones at, their pursuers. 30. The poorer sort of people among the *Taxillæ*, or *Taxili*, an *Indian* tribe, exposed their daughters naked to public view, in order to get them husbands, according to *Strabo*. 31. In some parts of *India*, most of the women voluntarily burnt themselves with the bodies of their deceased husbands; and those who did not do so, intirely lost their reputation. 32. Several of the *Indians* had wives whom they lent to their neighbours, and suffered their dead to be devoured by vulturs. Besides these, other customs prevailed among the *Indians*, that coincided with some of those practised by the neighbouring nations, of which we have already given a full and ample account in other parts of this work [m].

Language.

If we admit the *Brahmans* to be descended from *Abraham*, we must allow their language, and that of *Abraham*, to have been originally the same. That the modern *Persic* tongue was also nearly related to the *Indian*, seems to be owned by some of the greatest men who have launched out of late into the vast ocean of antient literature, especially that branch of it relating to the old languages of *Asia*. The old *Indians* had a great variety of dialects, some of which differed much from others. M. *La Croze* discovered no small affinity between the old *Persic* and modern *Armenian* languages; both of which, probably, in many points, agreed with the antient *Indian*. But we shall not dwell upon this topic here, since almost every thing that has been said of the primitive language of the *Tartars*, or *Scythians*, is applicable to that of the *Indians* [n].

That the antient *Indians* had no letters, or alphabetic characters, seems to appear from *Strabo*, though that author is not quite consistent with himself in this particular. But, notwithstanding what he has alleged in favour of this notion, from the account he gives us of the *Indians*, it seems extremely probable, that, in the time of *Alexander the Great*, they were not void of letters, or at least of some sort of characters, which enabled them to communicate their ideas to one another with great facility. For he informs us, that some antient authors expressly allowed this; and that the *Indians* erected columns to point out to travelers the roads, and the distances of places from one another. But, to wave other arguments, the characters of the old *Persic* and *Median* coins amount to a pretty strong presumption, that such characters were not unknown to the *Indians* [o].

[m] Nearch. parapl. edit. Oxon. 1698. Megasthenes, Eratosthenes, Onesicritus, aliiq; apud Strab. l. xv. ut & ipse Strab. ibid. Herodot. lib. iv. Diod. Sic. lib. ii Pl. n. pass. Arrian. in expedit. Alexand. in Indic. & in peripl. Mar. Erythr. pass. Curt. Plut. in Alexand pass. Palladius, Philostrat. Clem. Alex. & Apuleius, ubi supra. [n] G. G. Leibnitius in syllab. dissertat. philologic. a Joan. Chamberlayn. edit. p. 23. Amst. 1715. Adrian. Reland. ibid [o] Strab. ubi sup. G. G. Leibnit. & Reland. ubi sup.

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Letters. THE learned and ingenious M. *Bayer*, whose premature death can never be too much regretted by the republic of letters, has observed, that the present *Brahmanic* characters were deduced from the *Estrangelo* (F) letters, introduced into *India* either by the *Jacobites* or *Nestorians*, in the time of *Jenghiz Khan*. As, therefore, the *Estrangelo* character was derived from the *Mendæans*, which is apparently deducible from the primigenial *Hebrew* alphabet, the *Indians* have still the issue of the first letters among them. Nay, the *Malabaric* characters themselves are the offspring of these primæval letters. From hence it seems to appear, that the *Square*, or *Assyrian*, letters were the true primigenial letters of the East [p].

Learning. WITH regard to the learning of the antient *Indians*, we have not much to say. Physic seems to have been their favourite art, if any credit is to be given to the authors, speaking of the *Indian* affairs, produced by *Strabo*. The *Indians* likewise were something versed in necromancy and incantations. Their physicians did not so much deal in pharmacy as in the dietetic part of physic. Unguents and cataplasms they frequently prescribed; but concerned themselves with few other medicines. Their notions of the cosmogony we have given a full and succinct account of in the beginning of this work, and therefore shall drop every thing relating to it here. Natural philosophy we must not suppose them to have been intirely unacquainted with, since this is so nearly related to physic; and since the *Indians* were no strangers to the salutary and noxious qualities of several herbs, as may be inferred from the antients. Nor is this to be wondered at, as their country abounded with medicinal plants, according to *Strabo*. That they were likewise capable of preparing poisons in the earlier ages, appears from the same author, when he informs us, that, in one part of *India*, a law was made, to deter women from poisoning their husbands. Some of the *Indians* cultivated the mathematical sciences; but at what degree of perfection they arrived in them, we cannot pretend to say. They agreed with the *Greeks* in their sentiments of the creation and dissolution of the world, the situation of the earth, the nature of the stars and heavens, the superintendency of the Supreme Being over every part of the creation, His pervasion and permeation of the universe, the immortality of the soul, a future state of rewards and punishments, and many other points. In fine, the most antient *Brahmans* seem to have had not only a good share of human learning, but likewise to have been well versed in the principles of natural religion; though, in process of time, their successors, by adopting the doctrine of the metempsychosis, and others equally absurd, greatly deviated from truth; and the nations to whom they belong are now totally immersed in a most gross and multifarious idolatry [q].

Disposition. THE genius and disposition of the antient *Indians* we shall describe in few words. That they were extremely ingenious, and capable of arriving at the last degree of perfection in the mechanical arts, appears from the authors cited by *Strabo*. They were great lovers and admirers of learning, as the marks of distinction with which they ho-

[p] HYDE hist. relig. veter. Persar. p. 523, 524. MATURINUS VEYSSIERE LA CROZE apud Chamberlayn. ubi supra, p. 127, 128, 130. TH. SIG. BAYER. in comment. acad. Petropolitan. tom. vi. p. 125-189. Petropoli, 1738. [q] MEGASTHENES, ONESICRITUS, aliiq; script. vetust. apud Strabon. lib. xv. ut & ipse STRAB. ibid. DIOD. SIC. lib. ii. ARRIAN. in expedit. Alexand. in Ind. & in peripl. Mar. Erythr. PLUT. in Alexand. PALLADIUS de gentib. Indic. & Bragman b. CLEM. ALEX. PORPHYR. PHILOSTRAT. APUL. ubi sup. HYDE histor. relig. veter. Persar. p. 31. ATHANAS. KIRCHER. Chin. illustrat. par. iii. BANIER's explicat. of the mythol. and fab. of the anc. b. ii. c. 8.

(F) That the *Arabs*, in the time of *Antigonus*, one of *Alexander*'s successors, used the *Syrian*, or *Assyrian*, letters, we learn from *Diodorus Siculus*. For they sent a letter to that prince written in the *Syrian* character, according to this author, as we have observed in the history of the *Arabs*. These letters we take to have been those now called the *Estrangelo*, or rather the *Mendæan*, from whence the others were derived, which still subsist in the East. That they were the *Assyrian* letters used by the *Persians* in the reign of *Darius Hystaspis*, and even before that reign, according to *Herodotus*, cannot, as we apprehend, be denied. From whence it will follow, that the old *Persian*, *Assyrian*, *Syrian*, *Arab*, *Mendæan*, or *Chaldean*, letters were the same. This hint may possibly contribute something towards decyphering the legends of several antient *Persian* or *Median* coins, to be met with in the cabinets of the curious, and throw some light upon the origin of alphabetic characters, which has not hitherto been perfectly discovered. It may likewise begin to pave the way to the lection, and consequently the explication, of the inscriptions exhibited by some *Phœnician* coins, especially those *Phœnician* inscriptions that have been lately copied by the learned and ingenious Dr. *Pocock* in the East, with which he has been pleased to oblige the learned world (6).

(6) *Diodor. Sic. biblioth. histor. lib.* xix. *Univers. hist. vol.* vii. *p.* 280. *Hyde relig. vet Persar. p.* 523, 524. *Herodot. lib.* iv. c. 87. *Pocock's descript. of the East, vol.* ii. *p.* 212.

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noured firſt their *Gymnoſophiſts*, and ſecondly their phyſicians, evidently prove. Their great hoſpitality, and love of truth, from what has been obſerved of them above, are abundantly conſpicuous; as are alſo their probity, temperance, and frugality. That the men and other animals of *India* were larger than thoſe to be met with in other regions, was an opinion which prevailed among the antients, though we dare not affirm, that it was built upon a ſolid foundation. It may not be improper to obſerve here, that many of the *Indians* were as black as the *Ethiopians*, though the hair, features, air, *&c.* of thoſe nations were not a little different. That they had a genius, as well as a taſte, for commerce, appears from *Arrian*, when he intimates, that they carried on a very conſiderable trade with the *Arabs*, and ſeveral other nations. From whence we may conclude, as well as from the expreſs teſtimonies of ſeveral antient writers, that, had the *Indians* been under the domination of one prince, they might have erected a moſt potent and formidable [r] empire.

[r] STRAB. DIOD. SIC. ARRIAN. CURT. PLUTARCH. CLEM. ALEXAND. aliiq; ſcriptor. antiq. paſſ.

SECT. III.

The Hiſtory of the Indians, *from the earlieſt Account of Time, to the Invaſion of their Country by* Mahmud Gazni.

NO part of ſo remote a country as *India* could have been tolerably peopled till ſeveral centuries after the diſperſion; ſo that little credit is due to the hiſtory of the war between *Semiramis* and *Stabrobates* king of *India*, tranſmitted to us by *Cteſias*. We ſhall here, therefore, only obſerve, eſpecially as a full and ample account of that war has been already given, that *Semiramis* was defeated by the *Indian* monarch, and, after having loſt above two millions of men, obliged to repaſs the *Indus*. That prince, according to *Cteſias*, conſtructed four thouſand veſſels, which appeared upon the *Indus*, to oppoſe *Semiramis*'s fleet, and brought into the field a more numerous army than that of the *Aſſyrians*. It is true, this fabulous author intimates, that *Stabrobates* defeated *Semiramis* by the vigorous efforts of his elephants, which ſeem to have had the principal ſhare in the laſt action; but, notwithſtanding this, he plainly aſſerts the *Indian* forces to have been ſtronger than thoſe of the *Aſſyrians*. From whence it will follow, that, about two or three hundred years after the flood, the remote nation of the *Indians* aſſembled an army of above three millions of men [a]. Cteſias, *a fabulous writer.*

THAT ſuch a ſtrange aſſertion as this ſhould be admitted by a deiſt, in order to diſcredit revealed religion, is not ſo difficult to be conceived, becauſe perſons of that complexion, to carry their point, will boggle at no abſurdity. But that Chriſtian writers, and thoſe too of the moſt profound erudition, ſhould implicitly aſſent to it, and even to the authority of *Herodotus* prefer that of *Cteſias*, is real matter of ſurprize. For *Herodotus* may juſtly be ſtiled the father of hiſtory, and agrees better with ſacred writ than any other profane hiſtorian; whereas it will be difficult to find a more romantic and fabulous author than *Cteſias*, in the whole circle of antiquity [b].

NOR is this a new notion, though it has been much inſiſted upon of late, eſpecially ſince the publication of Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s incomparable ſyſtem of chronology. The truth of it ſeems to have been known to, and even acknowleged by, *Strabo*. For *Megaſthenes*, of whoſe ſentiments in this point he intirely approves, ſays, that all the antient relations of expeditions into *India*, except thoſe of *Bacchus*, *Hercules*, and *Alexander the Great*, carry with them not the leaſt air of probability. And yet this *Megaſthenes* was credulous enough, and dealt pretty much in fiction, as appears from *Strabo*. But it ſeems, that the aforeſaid abſurdity of *Cteſias* was too large even for him to ſwallow [c].

WITH regard to *Bacchus*'s invaſion of *India*, that is not a little involved in fable. However, which cannot be ſaid of the other, it had doubtleſs a real and certain foundation. That *Bacchus*, or as Sir *Iſaac Newton* will have it, *Seſac*, was potent at ſea, advanced as far as the *Indus*, and conquered part of the tract about that river, is a fact

[a] CTESIAS apud Diod. Sic. biblioth. hiſt. lib. ii. p. 90—95. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. i. p. 871--883. [b] See Sir ISAAC NEWTON's chronology of antient nations amended. [c] MEGASTHENES apud Strab. lib. xv. ut & ipſe STRAB. ibid.

as well ſupported as any can be at ſuch a vaſt diſtance of time. But that he ſubdued all *India*, lived any conſiderable time there, and erected a powerful monarchy in that country, will not be ſo readily admitted by any one well verſed in antient hiſtory. But yet, improbable as this is, it ſeems to approach nearer the truth than the foregoing abſurd relation of *Cteſias*. For, according to *Pliny*, the *Indians* had a liſt of kings, who reigned in their country from the time of *Bacchus* to that of *Alexander the Great* [d].

The Indian Bacchus *not different from the* Egyptian.

MR. *Shuckford* ſays, that the *Indian Bacchus* was different from the *Bacchus* of *Egypt*, and of *Greece*; and that, from the hints given us of him by the antients, he was unqueſtionably *Noah*. But this opinion is too abſurd to merit any notice or regard; however, our readers will meet with a full and ample confutation of it in the hiſtory of the *Chineſe*. He affirms, that the *Indian Bacchus* was the firſt and moſt antient of all that bore that name; which does not appear from the antients. He alſo aſſerts, that the *Indian Bacchus* lived in *India* before there were any cities in that region; which probably he did; but it will not follow from thence, that he was *Noah*. From a fable to be met with in *Diodorus* relating to *Bacchus*, he infers, that the INDIAN *Bacchus* muſt have been *Noah*; which has met with ſuch a reception from the learned as it deſerves. And laſtly, he would have the *Indian Bacchus* to be *Noah*, becauſe *Bacchus* (not the INDIAN BACCHUS) was the firſt that preſſed the grape, and made wine; which, from *Moſes* we may infer, was true of *Noah*. Now here it unfortunately happens, that no wine was ever made in *India*, no grapes, except a few wild ones unfit for uſe in the country of the *Muſicani*, ever growing in that region. This we find expreſly aſſerted by *Strabo*. So that Mr. *Warburton* unluckily applauded Mr. *Shuckford*, eſpecially as it was the firſt time of his doing ſo, for diſembroiling, as he terms it, the exiſtence of *Bacchus*. But there are other points in theſe learned and ingenious authors, beſides the identity of *Noah* and the *Indian Bacchus*, that will not bear an examination [e].

Bacchus *founded a monarchy in* India.

BACCHUS, or rather *Seſac*, before he left *India*, is ſaid by *Arrian* to have ſettled *Spartembas*, one of his moſt intimate friends, on the throne. That prince reigned fifty-two years; but nothing remarkable of him has been tranſmitted down to us, except that he was extremely well verſed in the ſacred rites of *Bacchus*, who was deified before his departure out of *India*. *Budyas* the ſon of *Spartembas* ſucceeded him, and reigned twenty years; but we find nothing memorable related of him. *Cradeuas* aſcended the throne after his father *Budyas*, between whom and *Hercules* the *Indians*, according to *Arrian*, had a ſeries of kings, who reigned in continual ſucceſſion. It has been already obſerved from *Ariſtides*, that, in theſe early times, *India* made a ſurpriſing figure; though the deſcription he has given us of the *Indian* monarch's power, in ſuch remote ages, muſt undoubtedly be conſidered as hyperbolical [f].

The Indians *civilized by* Bacchus.

BEFORE the arrival of *Bacchus* among them, the *Indians* led a paſtoral life, being ſtrangers to agriculture, and the uſe of arms. But that prince is ſaid to have taught them theſe, and to have likewiſe introduced the worſhip of the gods, and particularly that of himſelf, among them. He made them acquainted alſo with drums and cymbals, which they uſed in their engagements, as well as the public worſhip of *Bacchus*, till the time of *Alexander the Great* [g].

THE *Indians* believed *Hercules* to have lived ſeveral ages after *Bacchus*; but that notion has been overthrown by Sir *Iſaac Newton*, and is moſt certainly repugnant to what we find advanced by the beſt profane authors. That he conquered *India*, and reigned there, may be inferred from *Megaſthenes*; though the exploits both of *Bacchus* and *Hercules* in this country were conſidered as fictions by *Eratoſthenes*, and other antient writers cited by *Strabo*. *Arrian* ſays, that *Hercules* had many ſons, and one daughter called *Pandæa*, who communicated her name to the province in which ſhe was born. The ſame author alſo informs us, that *Bacchus*, or *Dionyſus*, preceded *Hercules* fifteen ages, and *Sandrocottus* above ſix thouſand years. But in this, as well as other points relating to thoſe heroes, he merits not the leaſt attention [h].

[d] DIOD. Sic. lib. ii. STRAB. lib. xv. PLIN. nat. hiſt. lib. vi. c. 17. ARRIAN. in Indic. NEWT. ubi ſupra. [e] SHUCKFORD's connect. vol. ii. p. 49, 50. WARBURTON's divine legat. of Moſes demonſtrated, vol. ii. b. iv. ſect. 5. p. 241, 242. Gen. c. ix. ver. 20, 21. STRAB. lib. xv. [f] ARRIAN. in Indic. ARISTID. orat. in Bacch. dict. See before, p. 28. [g] STRAB. lib. xv. ARRIAN. in Indic. [h] NEWTON's chronol. c. 2. p. 191—265. MEGASTHENES, ERATOSTHENES, aliique ſcriptor. antiq. apud Strabon. lib. xv. et & ipſe STRAB. ibid. ARRIAN. ubi ſup.

THAT *Seſac*, or *Seſoſtris*, extended his conqueſts to the banks of the *Indus*, and even reduced part of the country to the eaſt of that river, is atteſted by ſome good authors. Nay, that he erected two pillars on the mountains near the mouths of the *Ganges*, with inſcriptions containing relations of his great atchievements, we find aſſerted by the antients. Having coaſted *Arabia Felix* in his father's life-time, he ſailed beyond the *Perſian* gulph, paſſed by all the ſouthern maritim provinces of *India intra Gangem*, and at laſt arrived near the mouths of the *Ganges*, which ſeem to have been the eaſtern limit of his naval expeditions. He, therefore, probably made himſelf maſter of, and planted colonies in, ſeveral of the ſouthern diſtricts (A) of *India intra Gangem*; which for ſome time might have remained in a ſtate of ſubjection to him. But that this was really the caſe, we muſt not preſume to affirm; though it by no means appears to us improbable. For, according to *Apollonius Rhodius* and his ſcholiaſt, *Seſonchoſis*, or *Seſac*, invaded all *Aſia*, as well as a great part of *Europe*, and PEOPLED MANY CITIES which he took. *Æa*, in particular, the metropolis of *Colchis*, received a colony of *Ægyptians* from him. So that ſome of the *Indians* may poſſibly have been deſcended from the antient *Egyptians*. *Joſephus* intimates, that *Joktan*'s deſcendents occupied the tract about the river *Cophen*. According to *Ahmed Ebn Yuſef*, *Joktan* the ſon of *Eber*, or, as the *Arabs* call him, *Kahtan*, had thirty-one ſons by the ſame wife, of whom all but two ſettled in *India*. But the *Arab* traditions, relating to events of ſo remote an antiquity, are not at all to be depended upon [i].

Seſac, Seſoſtris, *or* Bacchus, *penetrated to the* Ganges.

THAT the *Egyptian* empire was contiguous to *India*, if it did not comprehend ſome part of that country, in the days of *Memnon*, or *Amenophis*, about nine hundred years before the birth of Chriſt, we learn from *Strabo*. Nor can we doubt of the truth of this, when it is conſidered, that this author derived his intelligence from the fountain-head, that is, from the *Egyptian* inſcriptions on ſome obeliſks above the *Memnonium*. And *Tacitus* tells us, in ſupport of what has been advanced by *Strabo*, that ſuch an inſcription was ſeen at *Thebes* by *Cæſar Germanicus* [k].

The Egyptian *empire extended to* India.

WE are informed by *Zonaras*, that the king of *India*, or rather one of the kings of that country, ſent embaſſadors to *Cyaxares* king of the *Medes*, to offer his mediation, in order to accommodate the differences ſubſiſting between that prince and the *Aſſyrians*. The ſame author alſo relates, that an *Indian* monarch ſoon after diſpatched ſeveral deputies to *Cyrus*, with ſome money for his uſe, and an offer of what further ſums he ſhould want at that conjuncture. That monarch likewiſe ordered theſe em-

The king of India *ſends a ſolemn embaſſy to* Cyaxares *and* Cyrus.

[i] DIOD. SIC. biblioth. hiſtor. lib. i. c. 34, 35. DIONYS. CHARACEN. perieg. v. 623. NEWTON's chronol. p. 214, 215. APOLLON. RHOD. Argonaut. lib. iv. ver. 272. & ſcholiaſt. in loc. JOSEPH. antiquit. lib. i. c. 6. p. 25. edit. Havercamp. Amſt. 1726. AHMED EBN YUSEF apud Pocockium, in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 40. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vii. p. 265. [k] STRAB. geograph. lib. xvii. p. 817. TACIT. annal. lib. ii. c. 60.

(A) We are told by a modern traveler, that there are at preſent four thouſand *Jewiſh* families ſettled at *Cranganore* in the kingdom of *Couchin*, near the extremity of cape *Comorin*, whoſe anceſtors came thither before the diſſolution of the *Babylonian* empire. They give out, that in antient times this place bore the name of a kingdom, and contained above eighty thouſand *Jewiſh* families. They have a ſynagogue at *Couchin*, not far from the king's palace, in which are carefully kept their records, ingraven on copper-plates in *Hebrew* characters. And, when any of theſe characters are in danger of being defaced, they have them new cut; ſo that they can ſhew their own hiſtory from the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar* to the preſent time.

About the year 1695. Mynheer *Van Reede* had an abſtract of their hiſtory tranſlated from the original *Hebrew* into *Low Dutch*. They declare themſelves therein to be of the tribe of *Manaſſeh*, a part of which was tranſported by *Nebuchadnezzar* into the moſt eaſtern province of his vaſt empire, which, according to them, extended as far as cape *Comorin*. Twenty thouſand of theſe miſerable captives, continue they, ſpent three years in their journey to the *Malabar* coaſt from *Babylon*. Upon their arrival on that coaſt, they were treated with great humanity by the natives, who ſupplied them with all kinds of neceſſaries, and aſſociated with them. Here, therefore, they increaſed, and in proceſs of time grew ſo opulent, that they purchaſed the little kingdom of *Cranganore*. After this, their elders, or ſenators, elected two perſons of the family the moſt eſteemed among them for *Judges*, *Sophetim*, or *Suffetes*, to preſide over the commonwealth. But one of theſe killing the other, great diſcord and confuſion immediately enſued; ſo that a democratical form of government took place. This ſtill continues among them, though they have loſt for many ages the lands antiently purchaſed of the *Malabars*.

That this piece of hiſtory is not void of probability, appears from hence, that *Seſac* reduced the maritim diſtricts of *India*; and therefore his ſucceſſors might have preſerved theſe conqueſts, though they poſſeſſed nothing of the interior part of that region. This is very conſiſtent with what we have here advanced; but whether or no it be actually true, we ſhall not pretend to decide (1).

(1) *Hamilton's new account of the Eaſt Indies, vol.* i. *p.* 321, 322, 323. *Edinb.* 1727.

baſſadors

baſſadors to obey *Cyrus*'s commands in all points whatſoever. From whence we may infer, that neither *Cyrus* nor *Cyaxares* had got any conſiderable footing in *India*, about twenty years before the diſſolution of the *Babylonian* empire, notwithſtanding what has been inſinuated to the contrary by *Abu'l Farajius* [l].

Cyrus's dominions terminated on the Eaſt by the Indus.

FROM this time to the reduction of *Babylon* by *Cyrus*, the founder of the *Perſian* empire, we ſcarce find any mention made of *India* by the antients. That prince extended his frontiers as far as the *Indus*, and probably *India intra Gangem* might not have been intirely free from his excurſions. But that he never made any conſiderable impreſſion upon this country, may be reaſonably preſumed. For, that *India* was ſcarce known to, and conſequently not ſubjugated by, even his ſucceſſor *Cambyſes*, from what follows, will moſt clearly appear [*].

Part of India *conquered by* Darius Hyſtaſpis;

THE *Perſians* knew ſo little of *India* in the reign of *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, that they were not acquainted with the tract where the *Indus* diſcharges itſelf into the *Indian* ocean. *Darius*, therefore, employed the famous *Scylax* of *Caryanda* to diſcover the mouths of that river. This being effected, that prince ſubdued a conſiderable part of *India*, and ſoon became lord of the *Indian* ocean. However, that he did not ſubjugate the whole region, appears from hence, that only the northern *Indians*, reſembling the *Bactrians* in moſt particulars, and conſequently bordering upon them, were his ſubjects. Theſe, indeed, he reduced, annexed the territory they poſſeſſed to the *Perſian* empire, and exacted an exceeding large tribute from them. They were obliged to pay three hundred and ſixty talents of gold annually into *Darius*'s treaſury; which is attributed by *Herodotus* to their being more numerous than any other nation ſubject to the *Perſians*. But this, as we apprehend, ought rather to be aſcribed to the immenſe riches of their country. For, that the provinces of *India* ſubject to *Darius* were not ſo populous as ſome other nations that paid leſs tribute to him, is a truth that will be readily admitted by the learned [m].

and preſerved by Xerxes;

HIS ſucceſſor *Xerxes* had a body of *Indian* troops to attend him in his *Grecian* expedition. The infantry were covered with a ſort of wooden armour, carrying bows and arrows made of cane, and having the latter tipped with iron. The cavalry were armed in the ſame manner. They had alſo led horſes, and chariots drawn by horſes and wild aſſes. The foot were commanded by *Pharnazathres* the ſon of *Artabates*; but whoſe orders the horſe obeyed, we are not told. The *Indian* wild aſſes were creatures of vaſt ſtrength, and incredible ſwiftneſs (B). No mention of elephants is made by *Herodotus* on this occaſion, though they were military animals among the *Indians*, whoſe country produced vaſt numbers of them. As *Pharnazathres* and *Artabates* are apparently *Perſian* or *Median* names, it is plain, that the *Indian* troops acted under the conduct of a *Perſian* or *Median* general, and not one of their own countrymen; which renders it highly probable, that theſe laſt were then dependent upon the *Perſians* [n].

as alſo by Artaxerxes Longimanus;

THAT the *Perſian* empire was of the ſame extent after *Artaxerxes Longimanus* aſcended the throne as in the time of his father *Xerxes*, may be collected from Scripture. The *Ahaſuerus* of the book of *Eſther*, and the *Artaxerxes Longimanus* of profane authors, were undoubtedly the ſame prince. This has been moſt clearly evinced by the learned Dr. *Prideaux*. Now *Ahaſuerus*, and conſequently ARTAXERXES LONGIMANUS, *reigned from* India *even unto* Ethiopia, *over an hundred and ſeven-and-twenty provinces*, as we learn from the aforeſaid book of *Eſther*. So that, as the number of ſatrapies or provinces in the reigns of *Darius Hyſtaſpis* and *Xerxes* did not

[l] ZONAR. annal. lib. iii. p. 149. 158, 159. & lib. x. p. 535, 536. Pariſiis, 1686. GREG. ABU'L FARAJ. hiſt. dynaſt. dyn. v. p. 82. [*] PRID. connect. of the hiſt. of the Old and New Teſt. vol. i. p. 121. Lond. 1716. [m] HERODOT. lib. iii. & lib. iv. [n] Idem, lib. vii. CTESIAS CNIDIUS apud Photium, p. 153, 154. ÆLIAN. de animal. lib. iv. c. 52. STRAB. lib. XV. AGATHARCHIDES CNIDIUS apud Photium, p. 1331. Rothomagi, 1653.

(B) The *Indian* wild aſſes were as big as horſes, and ſometimes bigger, with white bodies, and heads of a purple colour, adorned with blue or azure eyes. They were vaſtly ſtrong, and ſo ſwift, that neither an horſe, nor any other animal, could overtake them, or keep up with them. In the beginning of a journey, their pace was ſlower; but increaſed in proportion to the length of the ground they traverſed; inſomuch that they were more vigorous at the end of a journey, than when they firſt ſet out. We meet with a very minute and particular deſcription of them in *Cteſias*, though interſperſed with ſome fabulous particulars, that exiſted only in the imagination of that author; which has been tranſcribed by *Ælian* (z).

(z) *Cteſias Cnidius apud Photium, p.* 153, 154. *Ælian. de animal. lib.* iv. *c.* 52.

exceed

exceed that here mentioned by the ſacred writer, the *Perſian* empire under *Artaxerxes Longimanus* was of the ſame extent with that under his two immediate predeceſſors. From whence it will follow, that ſeveral of the *Indian* cantons, even thoſe ſubdued by *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, remained in a ſtate of ſubjection to the *Perſians*, whilſt *Artaxerxes Longimanus* ſat upon the throne [o].

and by his two immediate ſucceſſors:

THOUGH we find little, if any thing, ſaid of the *Indians* during the reigns of *Darius Nothus* and *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, yet there is ſcarce any doubt to be made but that thoſe princes preſerved all the eaſtern part of their dominions, and conſequently thoſe provinces of *India* conquered by *Darius Hyſtaſpis*. That *Artaxerxes Mnemon* had ſome *Indian* curioſities preſented to him, probably by the natives of the country from whence they came, appears from *Cteſias*, if any credit is due to that fabulous hiſtorian. He tells us, that he received as preſents from *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, and his mother *Paryſatis*, two ſwords, made of iron, found at the bottom of a lake in *India*, which, being fixed in the ground, prevented, or drove away, all ſtorms, tempeſts, whirlwinds, *&c.* and that both he and his king had frequently ſeen this. He alſo relates, that the ſame lake, or fountain, produced liquid gold, of which a vaſt quantity was drawn out yearly for the uſe of *Artaxerxes*. Now though theſe relations muſt be looked upon as fabulous in the main, as has been owned by *Philoſtratus*, yet we may be allowed to infer from thence, that *Artaxerxes Mnemon* had preſents, and a quantity of gold, ſent him annually out of *India*; which amounts to a ſufficient proof, that part of this country was ſubject to him [p].

as alſo by Darius Codomannus.

THE *Perſians* kept poſſeſſion of the *Indian* provinces conquered by *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, during the reigns of *Ochus*, *Arſes*, and *Darius Codomannus*, as may be inferred from *Curtius*. For that author informs us, that, before the battle of the *Granicus*, *Darius* was joined by his troops drawn from the moſt eaſtern part of the empire, among which appeared a body of *Indians*. From hence it ſeems likewiſe to follow, that ſome at leaſt of the *Indian* princes and ſtates conquered by *Alexander* were under the protection, if not the dominion, of the *Perſian* monarch, even when the *Macedonian* puſhed his conqueſts almoſt as far as the banks of the *Ganges* [q].

Alexander *advances to the* Indus;

AFTER *Alexander the Great* had put a period to the *Perſian* empire, and made himſelf maſter of the greater part of *Aſia*, he meditated farther conqueſts. In order to which, having paſſed mount *Caucaſus*, as his ſoldiers called it, he advanced towards the *Indus*. Upon his arrival at *Alexandria*, a new city founded by himſelf, he ſent advice to *Taxiles*, and other princes on this ſide the *Indus*, of his approach. Thoſe princes, finding themſelves incapable of making head againſt ſo formidable a power, in obedience to his commands, met him upon their frontiers, where he gave them a moſt gracious reception. But *Aſtes*, a rajah or *Indian* prince, whoſe territory *Peucelaotis* lay between the *Cophen* and the *Indus*, endeavouring to obſtruct *Alexander*'s march, was ſlain by *Hephæſtion*, and his capital city *Peucela* taken, after a ſiege of thirty days. The government of the place was given to *Sangæus*, an *Indian* nobleman, who had refuſed to concur with *Aſtes*, and, to avoid his reſentment, had fled to *Taxiles* [r].

and is joined by Taxiles.

HOWEVER, *Alexander* did not enter *India* without oppoſition. He met with ſome obſtructions from the *Aſpii*, *Thyræi*, and *Araſaci*; and with no ſmall difficulty paſſed the *Choaſpes*. From thence he moved to the *Euaſpla*, gave the *Aſpii* a defeat, and paſſed that river. Afterwards he overthrew the *Aſſaceni*, paſſed the river *Guræus*, and obliged *Maſſaga*, the capital of the *Aſſaceni*, to ſurrender, after a vigorous defence. The *Indians* behaved with ſuch bravery, that the *Macedonian* found all his courage and military ſkill neceſſary, and was himſelf wounded in the ſiege. Then he reduced *Bazira*, *Orobatis*, *Peucelaotis*, *Embolima*, with the mountainous poſt *Aornus*, which was ſaid to have baffled the efforts even of *Hercules* himſelf. This opened him a paſſage through the territory of the *Aſſaceni*, to the weſtern bank of the *Indus*. Our readers will obſerve, that we have not here given them the particulars of *Alexander*'s march to the *Indus*, nor of the feats he performed in that march. For this would have been intirely ſuperfluous and unneceſſary, as they will meet with a full and ample deſcription of them in a former part of this work [s].

THE diſunion of the *Indian* princes, and their quarrels among themſelves, rendered the conqueſt of that country more eaſy to *Alexander* than he would otherwiſe have

[o] Eſth. c. i. ver. 1. PRID. connect. vol. i. p. 126. Lond. 1716. [p] CTESIAS CNIDIUS apud Photium, p. 144. PHILOSTRAT. vit. Apollon. lib. iii. [q] CURT. lib. iv. c. 9. [r] ARRIAN. lib. iv. c. 24, 25. STRAB. lib xv. [s] Idem ibid. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iii. p. 385.

found it. The true reaſon of *Taxiles*'s ſubmiſſion to *Alexander* ſeems to have been his enmity to *Porus*, a famous *Indian* prince, whoſe territories lay on the other ſide of the *Hydaſpes*. This paved the way to *Alexander*'s reduction of a conſiderable part of *India*. That prince paſſed the *Indus* over a bridge of boats prepared for him by *Hephæſtion* and *Perdiccas*, without oppoſition. Upon his arrival in *India*, *Taxiles* joined him with a body of ſeven hundred horſe, and five thouſand foot. *Abiſarus*, a very potent *Indian* prince, and *Doxoreas*, an *Indian* rajah, made their ſubmiſſion to him. The deputies ſent by the former of thoſe princes to *Alexander* informed him, that their maſter kept two dragons, one of eighty, and the other of an hundred and forty cubits long. But this article, tranſcribed from *Oneſicritus*, ſeems to have been exploded as fabulous by *Strabo* [t].

Porus *makes preparations to diſpute the paſſage of the* Indus.

TAXILES, or TAXILUS, as he is called by *Strabo*, with his troops, was of great ſervice to *Alexander*, after he had paſſed the *Indus*; and, perhaps, had it not been for his aſſiſtance, the *Macedonian* could not have penetrated farther into *India*. However, the army did not look with a favourable eye upon *Alexander*'s munificence to him. Among *Abiſarus*'s embaſſadors were his brother, and many perſons of the firſt diſtinction. Had he not ſubmitted, he might have not a little embaraſſed the *Macedonian* affairs, as his kingdom was a mountainous tract. Upon *Alexander*'s approach to the *Hydaſpes*, he received advice, that *Porus*, a very potent *Indian* prince, had aſſembled all his forces, with an intention to diſpute the paſſage of that river [u].

The war between Alexander *and* Porus.

PORUS's kingdom was terminated on the weſt by the *Hydaſpes*, and conſequently that river was contiguous to one part of his dominions. *Alexander*'s good fortune ſtill attending him, he happily paſſed the river, notwithſtanding the preparations made by *Porus* to oppoſe him. Soon after his arrival on the eaſtern bank, he gave a defeat to that prince's ſon, who was killed in the action; and, in a little time, overthrew *Porus* himſelf, who, however, behaved with great conduct and bravery. *Alexander* had before experienced the valour and intrepidity of the *Indian* troops at the battle of *Guagamela*, when the *Indian* cavalry penetrated through his centre, and fell in upon the *Macedonian* baggage. And he had now a freſh inſtance of their undaunted reſolution. They were, in ſtrength and bravery, much ſuperior to the *Perſians*; ſo that, had the rajahs united their forces to make head againſt the *Macedonian* conqueror, he would probably have ſoon been obliged to abandon all thoughts of making himſelf maſter of *India*. Nor would the paſſage of the *Hydaſpes* have been effected, at leaſt without a great effuſion of blood, had not *Alexander* been favoured by a ſtorm, which prevented the enemy from diſcovering his march. The *Macedonian* alſo impoſed upon *Porus* by a ſtratagem, which rendered that prince leſs attentive to his motions. But of theſe, and other tranſactions relative to *Alexander*'s war with *Porus* (C), our readers will find a full and particular account in the hiſtory of the *Macedonians* [w].

Porus *ſubmits to* Alexander.

THOUGH *Porus* ſuſtained a very conſiderable loſs in the late unfortunate action, he could not for ſome time be perſuaded to ſurrender himſelf to *Alexander*, but perſiſted in his reſolution to continue the war. However, he was at laſt prevailed upon by one *Meroe*, an *Indian* in *Alexander*'s ſervice, for whom he ſeems to have had a particular regard, to ſubmit himſelf to fortune, and to a generous victor, ſuch as *Alexander* was re-

[t] ARRIAN. ubi ſupra. ONESICRITUS apud Strabon. lib. xv. ut & ipſe STRAB. ibid. [u] ONESICRIT. STRAB. & ARRIAN. ubi ſupra. [w] ARRIAN. ubi ſupra. STRAB. lib. xv. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iii. p. 390---393.

(C) A *Seid*, who was a profeſſor of theology in the city of *Tatta*, and looked upon by the *Indians* as a good hiſtorian, aſked captain *Hamilton*, whether, in his country, he had ever heard of *Alexander the Great?* To which the captain anſwered in the affirmative, and mentioned the victory he gained over *Porus*, as a proof of it. The *Seid* then affirmed, that their hiſtories likewiſe took notice of the war between *Alexander* and *Porus*; but differed from thoſe he had ſeen, both with regard to *Alexander*'s name, and his paſſage over the *Indus*. He ſaid, that, according to their hiſtorians, *Shah Hajander* made war upon *Porus*; and that the former being a great magician, by his art, collected above a million of wild geeſe, that carried his army over the river. They alſo related, that *Porus*'s elephants could not be brought to turn their heads towards the place where *Alexander* was. From hence we may infer, that the *Indians* have ſome antient hiſtories among them, compoſed by their countrymen, though greatly diſguiſed by fabulous incidents, in the ſame manner as are thoſe of moſt other nations. This likewiſe farther appears from Mr. *Fraſer*'s catalogue of *Oriental* manuſcripts, ſubjoined to his hiſtory of *Thamas Kuli Khan* (3).

(3) *Hamilton's new account of the Eaſt Indies, vol. i. p. 127. Edinb. 1727. Fraſer's cat. of Orient. MSS. &c. Lond. 1742.*

preſented

preſented to him. Nor did he loſe any thing by this ſubmiſſion; but, on the contrary, was a conſiderable gainer by it. For *Alexander* immediately gave him his liberty, and reſtored him ſhortly after to his kingdom, to which he annexed other provinces almoſt equal to it in value. To perpetuate the memory of his victory, that prince ordered two cities to be erected. The firſt of theſe ſtood on the field of battle, and was named *Nicæa*, in alluſion to the aforeſaid glorious event: it ſeems to have been the ſame with that built by *Alexander* to the memory of his famous dog *Peritas* (D), according to *Plutarch*. The other was ſituated on this ſide of the *Hydaſpes*, and had the name *Bucephala* given it by him, in honour of his horſe *Bucephalus*, that, as *Arrian* ſays, died here of old age, being upon the verge of thirty. Some pretend, that the form of this creature's head reſembled that of an ox, from which circumſtance it received its name; others, that it was all over black, except a white ſpot on its forehead, like that ſometimes viſible on the forehead of an ox. Be that as it will, *Alexander* had an extravagant love for this horſe, on account of his ſingular properties (being of a larger ſize than other horſes, and not ſuffering any one to mount him but *Alexander* himſelf), and the long ſervice he had done him. The *Glauſæ*, according to *Ptolemy*, or, as *Ariſtobulus* will have it, the *Glaucanicæ*, whoſe country was repleniſhed with cities, towns, and populous villages, he obliged to acknowlege *Porus* for their king. He then accepted of a preſent from *Abiſſares*, a neighbouring *Indian* prince, whom he directed to repair to him in perſon. After this, he reduced the *Aſſaceni*, who were revolted from him, by one of his detachments, and advanced to the *Aceſines*. This river, being fifteen furlongs broad, extremely rapid, and having great rocks in the midſt of its chanel, he paſſed with much difficulty. *Porus*, another *Indian* king, whoſe territories lay on the other ſide of the river, receiving advice of *Alexander*'s arrival, abandoned his dominions, which the *Macedonian* took immediately poſſeſſion of; but, before this could be effectually done, he found himſelf obliged to paſs the *Hydraotes*, another *Indian* river to the eaſt of the *Aceſines*. This kingdom he gave alſo to the other *Porus*, his friend and ally. Nor could the *Cathei*, *Oxydracæ*, and *Malli*, the moſt warlike nations in *India*, who were confederated againſt him, and had aſſembled a numerous army, ſtop the progreſs of his arms. For he overthrew them in the field, put many of them to the ſword, and took the city of *Sangala*, the capital of the *Cathei*, by ſtorm. In this bloody action, ſeventeen thouſand *Indians* were killed, and ſeventy-five thouſand taken priſoners, together with three hundred chariots, and five hundred horſe. The neighbouring *Indian* cantons, being affrighted at what had happened, for the moſt part abandoned their cities, and fled into the mountains. Upon which, *Alexander* ſent detachments of horſe to ſcour the roads, who cut five hundred aged, infirm, and wounded people, they met with, to pieces. He alſo raſed *Sangala*, and gave the territory to the few *Indians* who before had ſubmitted to him [x].

Alexander cannot prevail upon his army to advance to the Ganges.

SUCH a torrent of ſucceſs inflamed this hero with a deſire of paſſing the *Hyphaſis*, and carrying his victorious arms even to the banks of the *Ganges*. To which he was likewiſe farther excited by the deſcription he had received from the *Indians* about him of the countries between thoſe two rivers. For he was told, that they were in themſelves extremely rich and fruitful; that their inhabitants were not only a very martial people, but alſo very civilized; that they were governed by the nobility, who were themſelves ſubject to the laws; and that therefore they would, in all probability, fight bravely to maintain their independency, and in defence of the bleſſings they enjoyed. But he did not find the ſame ardor in his own troops. On the contrary, they diſcovered an invincible averſion to ſuch an expedition. The battle with *Porus*, according to *Plutarch*, had taken off the edge of their courage, and made them unwilling to concern themſelves any farther with the *Indians*; eſpecially when they heard, that, beyond the *Ganges*, the kings of the *Gangarides* and *Præſians* had drawn together eighty thouſand horſe, two hundred thouſand foot, eight thouſand armed chariots, and ſix thouſand fighting elephants. And yet *Androcottus*, or *Sandrocottus*, who afterwards conquered all thoſe kings, often ſaid, that, if *Alexander* had purſued his deſign, he would in all

[x] PLUT. in vit. Alexand. ARRIAN. ubi ſupra. STRAB. lib. xv. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iii. p. 393---395.

(D) This dog was probably one of thoſe given to *Alexander* by *Sopithes*, of which we find a particular account in *Strabo* (4).

(4) *Strab. lib.* xv.

likelihood

likelihood have ſucceeded, the ſupreme monarch then reigning in the tract between the *Hyphaſis* and the *Ganges* being hated for his cruelty, and deſpiſed for the meanneſs of his birth. Be that, however, as it will, *Alexander*, not being able to prevail upon the army to obey his orders, dropped the enterprize he had formed, and came to a reſolution to make the *Hyphaſis* the boundary of his conqueſts. Having, therefore, erected twelve altars on the other ſide of that river, cauſed ſacrifices to be offered on them, and exhibited public ſhews after the *Greek* manner, he began his march for the *Hydraotes*. But, before this happened, he treated *Porus* with great marks of diſtinction, and added all the conquered countries to that prince's dominions [y].

He returns to the Hydaſpes.

IT has been already obſerved, that *Abiſſares*, whoſe territories bordered upon thoſe of *Porus*, received an order from *Alexander* to repair to the *Macedonian* camp. To which we muſt now add, that this prince ſent deputies to excuſe himſelf on account of ſickneſs; which excuſe *Alexander* was pleaſed to accept, as the *Indian* king had ſent the thirty elephants which he had promiſed, and offered to ſubmit to whatever terms ſhould be impoſed upon him. However, *Arſaces*, preſident of the province adjoining to his kingdom, had orders to inſpect his conduct; ſo that the *Macedonian* conqueror ſeemed to entertain ſome ſuſpicion of the ſincerity of his intentions. How *Porus* and *Abiſſares* were affected towards each other, we are not told; but it is probable, that the latter was tributary to the former, ſince *Alexander* ſettled the tribute that *Abiſſares* ſhould pay, before his departure out of *India*, and, as we apprehend, made *Porus* a preſent of the greateſt part at leaſt of his *Indian* conqueſts. Be that as it will, *Alexander* marched on to the *Hydaſpes*, where he formed the deſign of paſſing down the river *Indus* into the ocean [z].

He ſubdues the Oxydracæ, Malli, *&c.*

THOUGH the *Oxydracæ* and the *Malli* were ſubdued by the *Macedonians*, as has been already related, yet they afterwards revolted from them, and aſſembled a great army in order to oppoſe their king, and put a ſtop to his conqueſts. But *Alexander*, by marching through a deſert country with incredible celerity, ſurpriſed the *Malli*, and ſoon reduced them, though he was dreadfully wounded in an attack made upon one of their ſtrong fortreſſes, into which they had put their wives and children for ſecurity, and a good gariſon for their defence. This quite diſconcerted the meaſures of the *Oxydracæ*, and ſo intimidated them, that they ſent deputies to inform the king, that they were now ready to accept of ſuch terms as he ſhould pleaſe to give them. *Alexander* commanded them to ſend him a thouſand of their principal men to ſerve in his army, and to remain as hoſtages for the fidelity of the reſt; which they not only complied with, but likewiſe begged him to accept of five hundred chariots of war, properly harneſſed and equipped, as a free gift. This ſo pleaſed him, that he diſmiſſed the whole thouſand men he had before demanded of them. The territory of the *Malli* he annexed to *Philip*'s province; ſoon after which, *Muſicanus*, whoſe kingdom was one of the richeſt and moſt populous in *India*, delivered himſelf and his realms into his hands. Then he fell upon *Oxycanus*, another *Indian* prince, took two of his cities at the firſt aſſault, and gave them up to his ſoldiers to be plundered. This, together with the king's being taken priſoner, had ſuch an effect upon all the other cities in his dominions, that they opened their gates to the conqueror. *Sambus*, or *Sabus*, had been declared by *Alexander* governor of the *Indian* mountaineers; but he fled, when he heard, that the *Macedonian* monarch had vouchſafed *Muſicanus*, with whom he was at enmity, ſo gracious a reception. However, *Alexander* went to *Sindomana*, his capital city, where he received many valuable preſents from *Sabus*'s friends and domeſtics, who aſſured the king, that this prince's flight was owing to his fear of *Muſicanus*, and not to any apprehenſion of a benefactor's reſentment, againſt whom he was incapable of harbouring any ſiniſter deſigns [a].

and ſeveral other Indian *nations.*

SOON after, the king, receiving advice of *Muſicanus*'s revolt, diſpatched *Agenor*, one of his generals, with a body of troops, againſt him. That general ſubdued his kingdom effectually, and even brought with him, to the *Macedonian* camp, *Muſicanus* himſelf in chains. *Alexander* was extremely pleaſed at this, and commanded him to be crucified, together with all the *Brachmans* who had excited him to this revolt. He was greatly incenſed againſt thoſe ſages, by reaſon of their having inſpired ſeveral of

[y] ARRIAN. STRAB. & PLUT. ubi ſupra. DIOD. SIC. lib. xvii. JUSTIN. lib. xv. CURT. lib. viii. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iii. p. 392, 393. [z] ARRIAN. & STRAB. ubi ſupra. [a] ARRIAN. lib. v. c. 25. DIODOR. SIC. JUSTIN. ubi ſupra.

the

the *Indian* princes and ſtates with an averſion to the *Macedonians*; though, that he highly reverenced them afterwards, when he became acquainted with their wiſdom, and generous notions, we learn from *Plutarch*. As for their averſion to the *Macedonians*, the *Indians* had moſt certainly the greateſt reaſon for it; as *Alexander*, by the dreadful ravages he committed among them, the vaſt numbers he maſſacred of them, and the moſt barbarous treatment they in many places met with from him, diſcovered himſelf to be an enemy not only to them, but to the whole race of mankind. Nor could he have been conſidered by the *Indians* in any other light than as the chief of a body of plunderers and aſſaſſins, who made it their whole buſineſs to pillage and deſtroy, as far as in them lay, all other nations. For a farther account of *Muſicanus*, the prince ſo barbarouſly uſed, we muſt beg leave to refer our readers to *Strabo*. In the mean time it may not be improper to obſerve, that ſometimes we find *Muſicanus*'s ſubjects called *Muſicani*, or *Muſicanians*, and the country he governed the kingdom of *Muſicanus*. But this is not to be wondered at, it having been a common practice among the antient *Indians* to apply to themſelves, and the countries they inhabited, the names of their kings. *Porus* ſeems to have been an appellation common to the ſovereigns of *India*, as was *Pharaoh* to thoſe of *Egypt*, *Candace* to thoſe of *Meroe*, *Cæſar* to the *Roman* emperors, *&c.* or, at leaſt, a ſort of ſurname uſed by ſeveral neighbouring *Indian* princes at the ſame time [b].

ALEXANDER, arriving at *Pattala*, a noble iſland formed by the mouths of the *Indus*, found, that the commands he had iſſued, when he left that place, were, in a great meaſure, complied with. The king of this iſland had before paid homage to him, and had been reſtored by him to his dominions. Soon after, *Alexander*, ſailing through a branch of the *Indus*, found, that, at its mouth, it ſpread over the whole country, and formed a kind of lake, wherein a fleet might ride without any danger. Then, having made the proper diſpoſitions for the departure both of his fleet and land-forces, he quitted *India*, and, after having reduced the *Oritæ*, began his arduous march through *Gedroſia* [c]. *He leaves India.*

FROM what has been ſaid, it appears, that *Alexander* rather over-ran than conquered any conſiderable part of *India*. The progreſs of his arms in this country, it is true, was extremely rapid; but then we find, that many, if not moſt, of the princes he ſubdued, almoſt as ſoon as he had moved out of their territories, aſſerted their former independency. Several of theſe, indeed, he a ſecond time reduced; but there is good reaſon to believe, that even moſt of them, not to mention others, after his departure, reſumed their priſtine authority. Be that as it will, the *Macedonian* hero, or rather cut-throat, never ſaw, perhaps, the greateſt part of *India*; and that his ſucceſſors had little footing even in thoſe provinces of *India*, which he traverſed rather than ſubdued, will preſently appear. Nor is it probable, that a very conſiderable part of a tract containing an hundred and twenty nations, conſiſting of the ſtrongeſt men in the world (for as ſuch we find the *Indians* repreſented by the antients), ſhould be intirely reduced by *Alexander*'s army, whilſt he remained in *India*. The *Greek* writers themſelves, the moſt devoted to *Alexander*, and who have the moſt amplified his atchievements, do not give the leaſt countenance to ſuch a ſuppoſition [d].

WE are told by *Diodorus Siculus*, that, in the diviſion of *Alexander*'s empire, *Taxiles* and *Porus* had their own kingdoms aſſigned them, as reſtored and augmented by that conqueror, before he left *India*. This may be true, eſpecially as it is confirmed by *Arrian*, whom we have choſen principally to follow in our hiſtory of *Alexander the Great*, for the reaſons already given; but, admitting it, we have great reaſon to believe, that they enjoyed their ſovereignty in as ample a manner as ever before the commencement of that diviſion. And that there were other princes independent on them, appears from hence, that *Cleophes*, queen of part of *India*, had a ſon by *Alexander the Great*, who ſucceeded his mother in her kingdom. Nay, from what we have already related, it appears, that the *Macedonians* were only poſſeſſed of ſome of the maritim provinces of *India*, when they were driven from thence by *Sandrocottus*; which amounts to a plain proof, that they had then little power in the interior part of that vaſt region [e]. India *independent on the Macedonians at Alexander's death.*

[b] STRAB. ARRIAN. & PLUT. ubi ſupra. [c] ARRIAN. ubi ſupra. [d] STRAB. & ARRIAN ubi ſupra. [e] Diod. Sic. lib. xviii. ARRIAN. de reb. poſt Alexand. geſt. in excerpt. Photii, p. 610. Amſtel. 1668. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iii. p. 413.

Seleucus cedes India to Sandrocottus.

SANDROCOTTUS, or, as he is called by ſome, *Androcottus*, an *Indian* of mean extraction, was a youth when *Alexander* ſubjugated part of *India*. He had ſeen that monarch in his camp, and became very popular among his countrymen. Under the ſpecious pretext of enabling the *Indians* to ſhake off the yoke of foreigners, he aſſembled an army of ſix hundred thouſand men, and made himſelf maſter of *India*. To recover the *Macedonian* conqueſts, *Seleucus* marched over the *Indus*; but, finding *Sandrocottus* prepared to enter upon action with an army of ſix hundred thouſand men, and a prodigious number of elephants, having almoſt all *India* at his devotion, he did not judge it adviſeable to provoke ſo formidable a power. Wherefore he thought proper to renounce his pretenſions to *India*; for which renunciation *Sandrocottus* granted him a ſupply of five hundred elephants. This treaty *Seleucus* was induced to conclude with the king of *India*, that he might the more readily contribute to the reduction of the exorbitant power of *Antigonus*, and his ſon *Demetrius*, who had driven both *Caſſander* and *Ptolemy* out of all the ſtrong places they poſſeſſed in *Greece*. From this time the *Greeks* had no great intercourſe with *India*; ſo that we find little recorded by the antients of the *Indian* affairs, after that nation had abandoned almoſt all the provinces *Alexander* conquered to the eaſt of the *Indus* [f].

Amitrochates ſends to Antiochus.

How long *Sandrocottus* ſwayed the ſceptre of *India*, we are not informed, nor of what happened there during his reign. But that ſome ſort of a communication was afterwards kept open between *Syria* and *India*, may be inferred from *Athenæus*. That author informs us, that *Amitrochates* king of *India*, probably of the family of *Sandrocottus*, wrote to *Antiochus*, one of *Seleucus*'s deſcendents, to deſire that prince to ſend him a quantity of ſweet wine, dried figs, and a *Greek* ſophiſt, for which he offered to pay whatever ſhould be demanded of him. *Antiochus*, in anſwer to his letter, told him, that with figs and wine he would plentifully ſupply him; but that the laws of the *Greeks* did not permit him to ſell a *Greek* ſophiſt. What was the reſult of this epiſtolary correſpondence, or which of the ſucceſſors of *Seleucus* this *Antiochus* was, we cannot pretend to ſay [g].

Some Greek princes reigned at Barygaza.

THAT *Seleucus*, however, did not cede every diſtrict in *India*, conquered by *Alexander*, to *Sandrocottus*, is rendered probable by *Arrian*. This author relates, that even to his time ſeveral antient *Greek* drachms were found in the neighbourhood of *Barygaza*, with *Greek* inſcriptions, and the effigies, or, at leaſt, the *inſignia*, of *Apollodotus* and *Menander*, two *Greek* princes, upon them. He alſo ſays, that thoſe princes reigned there after *Alexander*'s deceaſe. From whence we may conclude, that this remote province of *India* was never ſubject to *Sandrocottus*; and that the *Greeks* kept their footing here a conſiderable time, poſſibly ſeveral generations, after the partition of the *Macedonian* empire [h] (F).

An Indian *king ſends an embaſſy to* Auguſtus.

FROM the reign of *Sandrocottus* to the time of *Auguſtus*, we find little ſaid of the *Indians*, by the *Greek* and *Roman* writers. But the *Roman* empire arriving at the zenith of its power whilſt that prince ſat upon the imperial throne, he was honoured and revered by the remoteſt nations. Among the reſt, the *Scythians*, *Seres*, and *Indians*, ſent embaſſadors to him. The *Indian* miniſters came from a prince called *Porus*, according to *Oroſius*, and found *Auguſtus* in *Spain*. The purport of their commiſſion was to enter into an alliance with him. But, as ſome time was ſpent before any conſiderable progreſs could be made in this affair, other embaſſadors were diſpatched by *Porus* to *Auguſtus* ſome years after, whom they met at *Samos*, in order to put the

[f] JUSTIN. lib. xv. c. 4. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 122, 123. STRAB. lib. xv. PLUT. in Alexand. Univ. hiſt. vol. iii. p. 513, 514. [g] ATHEN. deipnoſoph. lib. xiv. p. 652, 653. Lugd. 1657. [h] ARRIAN. peripl. Mar. Erythr. p. 27. Oxon. 1698.

(F) It is intimated by *Juſtin*, that, 182 years before the Chriſtian æra, *Eucratides* king of *Bactria* was invaded by *Demetrius* king of *India*, and beſieged by that prince, as it ſhould ſeem, in his capital city. However, according to the ſame author, *Eucratides*, with 60,000 men, ſo haraſſed the *Indian* army, though conſiſting of 300,000 men, that he drove them out of his dominions, and even conquered *India*. What degree of credit is due to this hiſtorical fragment, we ſhall not pretend to determine. However, ſuppoſing the paſſage here referred to intirely genuine and inviolate, which yet we will not venture to ſay, *Juſtin* can only be underſtood of that part of *India* in the neighbourhood of *Bactria*. But this writer's authority is in the main ſo doubtful and precarious, that we never chooſe to lay any great ſtreſs upon it; and, therefore, we muſt not adviſe our readers to depend upon what is here advanced for fact, eſpecially as it is not properly ſupported by other antient authors [i].

[i] *Juſtin. lib.* xli. c. 6.

finishing hand to the projected treaty. *Nicolas* of *Damascus* saw these embassadors, who were only three, the others dying by the fatigues they sustained in their long journey, at *Antioch*. They brought with them, according to him, a letter written upon parchment, or vellum, in *Greek*, intimating, that *Porus* presided over six hundred kings, that he set a high value upon *Cæsar*'s friendship, and that he was ready to serve him in every thing reasonable to the utmost of his power. Eight *Indian* servants, wearing only a sort of trowses or drawers, and having their bodies perfumed with aromatic unguents, after the *Indian* manner, carried the presents sent by *Porus* to *Augustus*. Among other curiosities, of which these consisted, Nicolas mentioned several vipers of an immense size, a serpent above fifteen foot long, a river-tortoise near five, and a partridge bigger than a vultur. The *Indian* embassadors had likewise in their train the *Brachman*, or sage, *Zarmanochagas*, who afterwards burnt himself at *Athens*, as *Calanus* had done before at *Pasargadæ*. The former of these philosophers is said to have destroyed himself in the height of his prosperity, that he might not meet with any future misfortunes. He approached the pile with a smiling countenance; and had upon his tomb, or sepulcral monument, the following inscription: *Here lies* ZARMANOCHAGAS *the* Indian *of* Bargosa, *who put himself out of life, in conformity to a custom prevailing among his countrymen* [i].

ANNIUS PLOCAMUS, a freedman, having farmed the customs of the *Red Sea*, and being sailing on the coast of *Arabia*, was driven by contrary winds into *Hippuri*, a port of *Taprobane*. The king of the country, having entertained him for six months with great hospitality, received from him, during that interval, a full and ample account of *Cæsar* and the *Romans*. That prince, viewing the money *Plocamus* brought with him, observed that the denarii, tho' coined in different places, and by different hands, were all of the same weight; which gave him a very advantageous idea of the *Roman* honesty, and induced him to send an embassy to *Rome*. This happened, according to *Pliny*, in the reign of the emperor *Claudius*. The *Taprobanian* embassy consisted of four persons, the principal of whom was one *Rachias*, a man of great consideration in the island. They came in order to solicit an alliance with *Claudius*; and informed the *Romans* of many particulars, which before they were strangers to. Among other things, they told them, that there were *five hundred towns in the* island; that *Palæsimundus*, the capital city, was so extremely populous, that one part of it only contained 200,000 souls; and that the lake *Megisba*, in the interior part of *Taprobane*, out of which issued two rivers, was 375 miles in circumference. They also related, that the *Seres* (G), in whose country *Rachias*'s father had been, were greatly addicted to commerce, of a larger size than other men, and had red hair, and blue eyes. The *Taprobanians* at this time abounded with gold, silver, pearls, and all kinds of jewels. They elected for their king a person who had no children, and, if afterwards he begot any, they certainly deposed him, lest the crown should become hereditary. Our readers will find several other particulars relating to the civil and religious constitution of *Taprobane* at this time in *Pliny*, to whom, for farther satisfaction, we beg leave to refer them [k].

A Taprobanian embassy to Claudius.

WE find an *Indian* king called *Phraotes*, or *Phraortes*, mentioned by *Philostratus*. That author likewise mentions this prince's son, who was a minor when his father died. The regents, during his minority, being tyrants, were cut off by the people; upon which, he retired for refuge to another *Indian* king, whose dominions bordered upon the *Hypanis*. Here he studied philosophy, married that prince's daughter, and succeeded him in his kingdom. But, finding his wife's brother more popular than himself, and apprehending his life in danger, he abdicated the throne, and ever afterwards lived a retired life. And indeed this was more agreeable to his natural disposition than the pomp and splendor of a court [l].

Phraotes.

[i] Sueton. in August. c. 21. Amst. 1650. STRAB. lib. xv. DIO, lib. liv. p. ---. EUTR. in chron. ad ann. Augusti 18. & ad A. U. C. 734. OROS. lib. vi. sub fin. [k] PLIN. lib. vi. c. 22. Vide etiam MARCIAN. HERACLEOT. peripl. SOLIN. p. 111-. SALMAS. in loc. HARDUIN. in Plin. lib. v. c. 22. & BOCH. Chan. lib. i. c. 40. [l] PHILOSTRAT. de vit. Apollon. Tyan. lib. ii.

(G) Some of the nations now living in *Russia* answer this description given of the *Seres*. Such are the *Bajkirs*, *Coibi Horda*, the *Obv-Ostiacks*, *Permecki*, *Sirani*, and *Wotiacks*. They have almost all red hair, and bluish eyes. But, for a farther account of them, we must beg leave to refer our readers to M. *Von Strahlenberg* (5).

(5) *Von Strahlenberg's historical geographical description of the North and Eastern parts of*

PHRAORTES,

Phraotes II.

PHRAOTES, or PHRAORTES II. had made a great progreſs in *Greek* literature, under his father's tuition, before he arrived at twelve years of age. He afterwards lived ſeven years with the philoſophers, or *Brahmans*; and, in that interval, loſt both his parents and his kingdom. The laſt he was deprived of by the villainy of his uncle; but, after ſome time, he was recalled by his ſubjects, who received him with open arms. He, at leiſure-hours, applied himſelf to the ſtudy of philoſophy. In his time, *Apollonius Tyaneus* viſited *India*, and met with a moſt gracious reception from him [m].

PHILOSTRATUS alſo informs us, that one *Mandrus*, who was cotemporary with *Phraates* II. ruled *Porus*'s kingdom. He likewiſe mentions another *Indian* prince, who was no great friend to literature [n].

SARGANUS, *Sandanes*, *Ceprobotus*, and *Pandion*, *Indian* kings, are remembred by *Arrian*. Perhaps the two laſt are the *Celebothra* and *Pandion* of *Pliny*, as is ſuſpected by *Reineccius*, though this is far from being clear [o].

Embaſſadors ſent from India to Trajan;

AFTER *Trajan* had intirely ſubdued the *Daci*, and reduced ſeveral nations in alliance with them, the fame of his conqueſts reached the moſt diſtant regions. Embaſſadors were even ſent from *India* to congratulate him upon the ſucceſs which had attended his arms. This prince, being upon the coaſt of *Arabia*, and diſcovering a ſhip bound to *India*, wiſhed he was young, that he might extend his conqueſts to that country, according to *Dio*. *Eutropius* tells us, that he fitted out a fleet in the *Red Sea*, with an intention to undertake an expedition againſt *India*; and that, in order to crown this with ſucceſs, he informed himſelf of the cuſtoms, ſtrength, and manner of fighting with the *Indians*. The *Romans*, as we have elſewhere obſerved, pretended, that they brought even *India* itſelf under ſubjection; which ought to be aſcribed to the ſame unaccountable vanity that prompted them to plume themſelves upon their imaginary conqueſt of *Arabia* [p].

THE fame of *Antoninus Pius*'s great wiſdom, juſtice, and moderation, reached the *Indians*, and induced them to ſend embaſſadors to him, as we learn from *Aurelius Victor*. But what was the purport of their commiſſion, or what buſineſs they tranſacted at *Rome*, after their arrival there, does not appear from any antient author [q].

IT is very well known, that the emperor *Aurelian* was feared by the remoteſt barbarous nations. Among the reſt, the *Indians* themſelves ſeem to have ſtood in awe of him. That he had gained ſome advantages over certain of their tribes, or cantons, may be concluded probable from hence, that ſeveral *Indians* graced his moſt remarkable triumph, as we find related by *Vopiſcus*. Unleſs it ſhould be ſaid, that the *Indians* there mentioned were *Ethiopians*; for, that this laſt nation went ſometimes under the denomination of *Indians*, has been already obſerved. But that the proper *Indians* may be here underſtood, is rendered probable by the ſame author, when, among the nations who ſent ſolemn embaſſies, and rich preſents, to gain the friendſhip of the conqueror of *Zenobia*, he mentions the *Arabians*, *Bactrians*, *Iberians*, *Albanians*, *Saracens*, *Armenians*, *Ethiopians*, *Indians*, *Perſians*, and even the *Seres* bordering upon the *Chineſe*. For here we find the *Indians* diſtinguiſhed from the *Ethiopians*, and attended by all their principal neighbours [r].

GENOBON and *Eſatech* were two *Indian* princes, who ſeem to have put themſelves under the protection of the emperors *Diocleſian* and *Maximian*; beſides which, we find nothing remarkable related of them [s].

and likewiſe to Conſtantine the Great.

ABOUT three hundred and thirty years after the commencement of the Chriſtian æra, embaſſadors arrived at *Conſtantinople* from the *Blemmyes*, the *Indians*, the *Ethiopians*, and the *Perſians*, with rich preſents for *Conſtantine*, whoſe friendſhip was at that time courted by their reſpective maſters. Nay, according to *Euſebius*, thoſe princes were then diſpoſed to acknowlege this emperor for their ſovereign; but that in fact they did ſo, we are not told by any author. Nor have we any particulars relating to the ſituation of affairs in *India*, when the *Indian* deputy, or deputies, here mentioned, left that country, handed down to us [t].

WE are told, however, by *Cedrenus*, that a king of *India* ſent moſt rich and magnificent preſents to *Conſtantine*, after, as it ſhould ſeem, the arrival at *Conſtantinople* of the former *Indian* embaſſadors. He committed theſe preſents to the care and cuſtody

[m] PHILOSTRAT. de vit. Apollon. Tyan. lib. ii. [n] Idem ibid. lib. iii. [o] ARRIAN. peripl. Mar. Erythr. PLIN. lib. vi. c. 23. REINEC. hiſt. Jul. par iii. p. 194, 195. Helm. 1597. [p] DIO, ubi ſupra. EUTROP. in Trajan. EUSEB. chron. p. 170. DIO, lib. liv. p. 784. [q] AUR. VICT. [r] FLAV. VOPISC. in vit. Aurelian. p. 218. [s] REINEC. hiſt Jul. par. iii p. 195. Helm. 1597. [t] EUSEB. vit. Conſt lib. i. c. 8 p. 409, 410.

of

of one *Metrodorus*, who had lived ſome time among the *Brahmans*. But for a farther and more particular account of this, we muſt beg leave to refer our readers to that author himſelf, if they think proper to conſult him [u].

An account of India, *and ſome of the neighbouring countries in the time of the emperor* Juſtinian.

FROM this time to the reign of *Juſtinian*, we find little mention made of the *Indians*, by the antients. But *Coſmas Ægyptius*, or, as he is ſometimes called, *Coſmas Indicopleuſtes*, who was cotemporary with *Juſtinian*, has tranſmitted down to us ſeveral particulars relating to that nation. He informs us, that the iſland of *Sieledіva*, or *Selediva*, the *Ceylon* of the moderns, was in his days divided into two kingdoms, of which one was called the kingdom of *Hyacinthus*. He intimates, that it lay almoſt at an equal diſtance from the head of the *Perſian* gulph, and the country of the *Sinæ*; that it was the antient *Taprobane*, and three hundred miles in circumference. The chief places between *Sieledіva* and the country of the *Sinæ* were, according to him, *Marallo*, abounding with cockles or periwinkles; *Caber*, and another maritim tract, that he has not named. Upon that which is now called the *Malabar* coaſt he has placed the following cities and empories: *Sindu*, *Orrhotha*, *Calliana* (the modern *Calecut*), *Sibor*, *Male*, a diſtrict containing five empories, *Parti*, *Mangaruth*, *Salopatana*, *Nalopatana*, and *Pudapatana*. The words *Male bar*, or *Malabar*, denote, in the *Indian* or *Malabar* language, *the country*, *tract*, or *diſtrict* of *Male*; and *Male dive*, or *Maldive*, *the iſlands of Male*, which are denominated by the preſent *Europeans*, *the Maldives*, and lie at a ſmall diſtance from this coaſt. That author ſometimes confounds the *Huns*, *Scythians*, or *Tartars*, with the *Indians*. For he tells us, that the moſt populous nation of the *Huns* inhabited the northern parts of *India*. He alſo relates, that, when he wrote, *Gollas* their king had 2000 elephants, and an exceeding formidable body of horſe. This prince, according to *Coſmas*, beſieged a city ſurrounded with water, which his elephants and horſes drank up; and then the place ſurrendred to him. Theſe were the progenitors of the preſent *Hungarians*, of whom we have given an hiſtory in the ſeventh volume of this work. They were ſituated near *Bactria*, and ſeem to have been the *Maſſagetæ* of *Herodotus*, though, in the days of *Coſmas*, they went under the names of *Magiares* and *Abares*. There were many Chriſtians (H) at this time in *India*, *Perſia*, and *Arabia Felix*, under the eccleſiaſtical government of the archbiſhop of *Perſia*, who ordained all the biſhops, preſbyters, and dea-

[u] CEDREN. p. 242.

(H) It is agreed on all hands, that St. *Thomas* planted the Chriſtian religion in *India*. He is ſaid firſt to have come to the iſland of *Socotra*, and then to *Cranganore*, where he made many converts. From thence he traveled farther into the Eaſt; and, having met with great ſucceſs there, he returned to *Malliapore*, at preſent known by the name of St. *Thomas*. This city, which has been greatly improved, if not intirely rebuilt, by the *Portugueſe*, ſtands three miles to the ſouth of *Fort St. George*. The *Portugueſe* pretend, that St. *Thomas* hid himſelf on a little dry rock within the town, called the *Little Mount*, for ſome days, when he was perſecuted by the *Brahmans*. They alſo relate, that he cleft this rock with his hand, and cauſed a ſtream of water to iſſue out of it; and that ever ſince there has been clear and ſweet water in it. Capt. *Hamilton*, ſome few years ſince, ſaw this cleft, and ſays, that there were then about three gallons of ſuch water in it. He alſo obſerves, with the *Portugueſe*, that when St. *Thomas* was purſued by the *Brahmans*, he left a print of his foot on a hard ſtone near the *Little Mount*, to ſerve for a perpetual memorial of his having been there. The print, which remains to this day, is ſixteen inches long, and, in proportion, narrower at the heel, and broader at the toes, than the impreſſion of a human foot would be at this time. From this place he retired to the top of an high mountain, two miles from *Malliapore*, where his enemies coming up with him, one of them pierced him through with a lance. We are told this happened in the days of *Sagamo*, who was then ſovereign of this part of *India*. That prince was induced to embrace the Chriſtian faith by ſome miracles wrought by St. *Thomas*, and thereupon gave him leave to build a church in *Malliapore*; which drew many of the *Indians* over to the Chriſtian religion. This ſo incenſed the *Brahmans*, that they reſolved upon his deſtruction, which they effected in the manner above related. When the *Portugueſe* firſt ſettled here, they erected a church over the cave and well on the *Little Mount*, and another on the ſpot where the apoſtle ſuffered martyrdom. The *Portugueſe* pretend to have now in their poſſeſſion the very lance that killed St. *Thomas*, as likewiſe the ſtone tinctured with the apoſtle's blood, that cannot be waſhed out. Capt. *Hamilton* declares, that he has often ſeen both the mounts, and the relics of antiquity, here mentioned. The town of St. *Thomas* was formerly one of the moſt flouriſhing marts on this coaſt; but it has fallen greatly to decay, ſince the *Engliſh* have been in poſſeſſion of *Fort St. George*. From the firſt plantation of Chriſtianity in *India* by St. *Thomas*, there has been a continued ſeries and ſucceſſion of Chriſtians in that country to this very day. They at preſent go under the denomination of Chriſtians of *St. Thomas*; but we ſhall reſerve an account of them for the modern hiſtory of the *Indians* (6).

(6) *Hamilton's new account of the Eaſt Indies, vol.* i. *p.* 356, 357, 358. *Edinb.* 1727. *Maff. hiſtor. Indic. lib.* ii. *p.* 85.

cons, reſiding in thoſe countries. The Chriſtian religion is ſuppoſed to have been planted in *Perſia* by *Thaddæus*. When *Coſmas* wrote, *Thomas Edeſſenus*, his friend, was promoted to the archbiſhoprick, or primacy, of *Perſia*. The archbiſhop of *Perſia* probably ſent a biſhop to *Calliana*, or *Calecut*, as well as preſbyters and deacons. Great numbers of Chriſtians lived in *Male*, *Sielediva*, and all over *Perſia*, as well as among the *Huns*, the people of *Socotra*, and the other *Indians*, in the time of the emperor *Juſtinian*. The iſland of *Socotra* is ſaid to have been peopled by the *Egyptians*, whilſt the *Ptolemies* ſat upon the throne of *Egypt*; and that the inhabitants of this iſland ſpoke *Greek* in the fixth century, we may infer from *Coſmas*. We muſt not forget to obſerve, that *Theodoſius*, *Heraclius*, and *Juſtinian*, had ſolemn embaſſies ſent them from *India*; nor that the *Perſian*, *Arab*, *Scythian* or *Tartar*, and *Indian* Chriſtians were, for the moſt part, *Neſtorians* [w].

THE *Indians*, at this time, were as much addicted to trade as their anceſtors in the days of *Strabo*. They imported vaſt quantities of ſilk into *Perſia*, and enjoyed a very extenſive commerce, according to *Procopius*. Their veſſels, in which they navigated to the *Perſian* ports, were very rude and ſimple, reſembling thoſe of the *Ethiopians*. This ſeems to have been chiefly owing to their want of iron, their laws not permitting them to purchaſe any of the *Romans*. The *Perſians* took care to keep the ſilk-manufacture for a long time wholly to themſelves, not permitting the ſilk-worms to be carried out of *Perſia*; inſomuch that it was for ſeveral ages extremely dear in theſe parts, being of equal value with gold. But at laſt *Juſtinian* ſent two monks into *Serinda*, probably either *Serica*, or a part of *India* contiguous to it, to learn how the ſilk trade was managed, and, on their return home, to bring with them a large quantity of ſilk-worms, that he might be thereby enabled to ſet up the manufactures in his own dominions. They accordingly informed themſelves of every particular relating to the manufacture; but found it impoſſible to bring the worms themſelves alive to *Conſtantinople*. However, they brought vaſt quantities of their eggs thither; and, by covering them with dung, after the *Indian* manner, and imparting to them a proper degree of heat, they eaſily hatched them. From theſe eggs have been propagated all the ſilk-worms ſince produced in *Europe*. We muſt not omit informing our readers, that the emperor *Juſtinian* died in the year after the birth of CHRIST 565 [x].

AFTER the death of *Juſtinian* we find nothing of moment related of the *Indians* till the time of *Walid* the ſixth khalif of the family of *Ommiyah*, who rendered part of *India* tributary to him. In the ſpace of nine years and an half he ſubjugated *Spain*, *Sardinia*, the iſlands of *Majorca* and *Minorca*, a part of *Gallia Narbonnenſis*, the vaſt province of *Maouarannahar*, *Turkeſtan*, and moſt of *India intra Gangem*. But of all his great atchievements our readers will find a minute and circumſtantial relation, in the hiſtory of the empire of the *Arabs*, under the firſt four khalifs, and thoſe of the families of *Ommiyah* and *Abbas*, to the taking of *Baghdad* by the *Tartars*.

THE hiſtory of *India*, from the khalifat of *Walid* to the conqueſt of that country by *Mahmud Gazni*, is ſo barren, that it contains no particulars meriting our attention, at leaſt none but ſuch as will be more properly inſerted in the modern hiſtory of the *Arabs*. *Mahmud Gazni* firſt entered *India* in the year of the *Hejra* 392. about A. D. 1002. and at laſt made himſelf maſter of that vaſt region. But we ſhall hereafter oblige our readers with the hiſtory of this prince, and his ſucceſſors of the families of *Gazni*, *Gaur*, and *Kurt*, till their conqueſt by *Timur Beg*, and the *Moguls*.

[w] COSM. ÆGYPT. topograph. Chriſtian. p. 2, 3. & alibi paſſ. Pariſiis, 1706. MATURIN. VEYSSIER. LA CROZE apud Joan. Chamberlayn. in diſſert. philolog. p. 130. Amſt. 1715. IS. CASAUB. animadverſ. in Sueton. lib. ii. p. 61. Pariſiis, 1610.

[x] PROCOP. de bell. Perſic. lib. i. p. 58, 59. & de bell. Gothic. lib. iv. c. 17. p. 613. Pariſiis, 1662.

The

* *The* HISTORY *of the* CHINESE.

* *See Vol.* XX. *p.* 109.

SECT. I.

The Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Cuſtoms, Language, Arts, Sciences, and Diſpoſition of the antient Chineſe.

The Chineſe *aſſume to themſelves too high an antiquity.*

THE *Chineſe*, like other nations, aſſume to themſelves too high an antiquity, as fixing the reign of their firſt emperor *Fo-hi* near three thouſand years before the birth of CHRIST. Their original, as well as that of the *Tartars*, favours ſtrongly of fable, as does alſo the hiſtory of ſeveral of the firſt emperors. Nor has Father *du Halde* offered any thing in defence of the *Chineſe* chronology, though he profeſſes himſelf a zealous admirer of it, that deſerves the leaſt attention, except an eclipſe of the ſun, which happened in the reign of *Chong-kang*, 2155 years before the commencement of the *Chriſtian æra*. This, indeed, he builds much upon, as does likewiſe Father *Premare*, who allows, that *China* was peopled above 2155 years before CHRIST, of which he reckons the aforeſaid ſolar eclipſe to be a full and perfect demonſtration [a].

Their chronology very uncertain.

M. MAIGROT, Biſhop of *Konon*, with great reaſon, believes the chronology of antient times among the *Chineſe* to be very uncertain and precarious; as alſo that the *Chineſe* annaliſt *Chubi* has adjuſted both the years and eclipſes ſolely according to his own fancy. Of this no one can doubt, who conſiders that the *Chineſe* were little verſed in aſtronomy, even when the *Jeſuits* firſt came among them; and that they were ſo far from being able to calculate an eclipſe, or even likely to make any celeſtial obſervations, 2155 years before the birth of CHRIST, that they probably knew as little then of any thing relating to eclipſes, and the other heavenly phænomena, as the bulk of mankind, or even the moſt illiterate nations, at preſent do. For a full demonſtration of this, we muſt beg leave to refer our readers to a curious and learned letter of Mr. *Coſtard*, Fellow of *Wadham College*, *Oxford*, publiſhed in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions* for the months of *March*, *April*, and *May*, 1747 [b].

China *not ſo early peopled as ſome imagine.*

THAT *China* could have been but thinly peopled ſo late as 1300 years before the *Chriſtian æra*, we have rendered probable in the hiſtory of the *Tartars*. Nay, that a conſiderable part of it muſt have been uncultivated, even in the year preceding CHRIST 637. when the *Scythians*, under the conduct of *Madyes*, firſt made an irruption into the *Upper Aſia*, has there likewiſe been clearly evinced. To which we may add, that had *China* then been a large and powerful empire, as it has been for many ages laſt paſt, notwithſtanding the reſerved temper of the *Chineſe*, and their great averſion to an intercourſe with foreigners, ſome knowlege of the riches, power, and genius of its ſubjects, muſt have tranſpired. The *Perſians* could not have been kept in profound ignorance of ſuch a ſtate till the decline of their empire, nor even the *Greeks* till the time of *Herodotus*, had the *Chineſe* made any conſiderable figure before that period. But we have not the leaſt intimation of ſuch a people as the *Chineſe* before *Alexander the Great* penetrated into *India*; and even then we find nothing of moment related of them [c].

[a] MART. MARTIN. Sinic. hiſt. lib. i. p. 21. DU HALDE in introduct. &c. in Fo-hi. FOURM. reflex. critiq. ſur hiſt. anc. peuples, tom. ii. P. COUPLET. præf. ad Sinic. chronol. p. 20. P. PREMARE in lettre edifiant. tom. xix. p. 457. [b] M. MAIOR. apud Du Halde in introduct. PHILOS. TRANSACT. N° 483. p. 476—492. [c] TH. SIG. BAYER. chronolog. Scythic. in comment. acad. Petropol. tom. iii. p. 302. Petropoli, 1732. STRAB. lib. xv. p. 699. QUINT. CURT. lib. ix. c. 1. M. VON STRAHLENBERG's introduct. p. 42. not. (34).

THAT

The deſcendents of Japhet *peopled* China.

THAT the deſcendents of *Japhet* (A) peopled *China* as well as *Tartary*, we ſee no reaſon to doubt, tho' when they firſt arrived in that country, we cannot pretend to ſay. It is true, this opinion has not been univerſally received, though the greateſt part of the learned have adhered to it; ſome affecting to deduce the *Chineſe* from *Noah*'s ſons born after the deluge. But ſuch a notion ſeems to run counter to Scripture, as well as reaſon, common ſenſe, and the nature of things. However, as it has been lately eſpouſed by a writer of credit, we ſhall here give it a full and diſtinct conſideration. It depends upon the ſuppoſition, that *Noah*'s ark reſted on an high mountain, or ridge of mountains, near *China*; which if we can overthrow, this hypotheſis muſt fall to the ground of courſe. Now, that the ark could not have reſted immediately after the deluge upon any high mountain near *China*, will, as we apprehend, moſt clearly appear from the following obſervations [d].

1. IF the ark reſted on any mountain near *China*, *Noah* probably lived three hundred and fifty years, and died, in that country. This ſeems agreeable to Scripture [e], which takes no notice of any migration of *Noah* after the deluge; and conſequently gives us reaſon to believe, that he lived and died at no great diſtance from the place where the ark reſted. Nay, this is expreſly aſſerted by the author now in view. But that *Noah* remained till his death in *China*, had a numerous iſſue there, and ſent his antediluvian ſons, with their families, after the deluge, to the weſtward as far as the banks of the *Euphrates*, where they arrived in eighty years after that moſt memorable event, as this gentleman ſuppoſes, will not eaſily be admitted by the learned. For this ſyſtem is clogged with inſurmountable difficulties, at leaſt with ſuch as it will be no eaſy matter to remove [f].

2. THAT the patriarchs *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, with their families, ſhould have traverſed the immenſe tract correſponding with part of *China*, the vaſt and almoſt impaſſable ſolitude of *Sha-mo*, *Great Bukharia*, *Perſia*, and the deſert of *Sinjar*, the *Singara* of *Ptolemy*, and *Shinar* of *Moſes*, eighty years, is utterly improbable. The courſe of nature, and the gradual plantation of the world by the deſcendents of thoſe patriarchs, will not admit of ſuch a ſuppoſition. How abſurd then muſt it be to ſuppoſe, with our author, that they marched from *China* to *Shinar* in ten or twelve years! For not only the length of the journey, but the face of the tract itſelf, compoſed at that time of woods, rivers, ſolitudes, and mountains, muſt render impoſſible ſuch an expeditious migration. We may therefore conclude, that *Noah* was ſo far from reſideing three hundred and fifty years in *China*, as Mr. *Shuckford* believes, that he never ſaw any part of that agreeable region [g].

3. CHINA was not peopled till after the diſperſion, and therefore *Noah* could not poſſibly have founded a monarchy there, ſo early as the aforeſaid author pretends. This ſeems abundantly clear from Scripture. *Moſes* expreſly affirms, that *the whole earth*, i. e. the whole race of mankind, *dwelt in the land of* Shinar, at the time of the diſperſion; and that all the members of this great community were then of *one language, and of one ſpeech*. Nor will it avail this writer to ſuppoſe, that *Moſes* is here to be underſtood of the deſcendents of *Noah*'s antediluvian ſons only, and conſequently not of his progeny in *China* after the deluge. For he had before aſſerted, that *of* SHEM, HAM, *and* JAPHET, *the whole earth was overſpread*; i. e. that all nations upon earth deduced their origin from them. And, after he had enumerated the generations of THEIR ſons, he alſo affirms, that *by them were the nations divided in the earth after the flood*; or, in other words, that every individual of the human ſpecies ought to be conſidered as ſpringing from them. In fine, nothing can be more full and explicit than the teſtimony of the ſacred hiſtorian on this head, inſomuch that there ſeems to be no poſſibility of evading the force of it [h].

[d] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. i. p. 117, 118. [e] Gen. c. ix. ver. 28, 29. [f] SHUCKFORD's connect. vol. i. p. 103---107. & p. 98---103. [g] Idem ibid. PTOL. apud Golium in not. ad Alfragan. p. 72. Gen. xi. 2. [h] Ibid. ix. 19. x. 32. xi. 1, 2.

(A) Some of *Shem*'s deſcendents alſo may be ſuppoſed to have ſettled in *Tartary*, *India*, and *China*; as *Elam*, one of his ſons, fixed himſelf in *Perſia*. *Couplet* deduces the *Chineſe* nation in general from *Shem*, becauſe *ſem*, in their language, ſignifies *life*. But neither this notion, nor the reaſon that is brought to ſupport it, will, as we apprehend, meet with the approbation of the learned (1).

(1) *Th. Sig. Bayer. comment. orig. Sinic. p.* 332. *Petropoli*, 1730.

4. No

4. No part of the earth was probably capable of cultivation immediately after the ark rested upon the mountains of *Ararat*. Several months, if not years, must be allowed for the perfect separation of the terrene from the aqueous parts. Some time, therefore, after that period must have elapsed, before *Noah* could have put in practice, had he before understood them, the first principles of agriculture; and more, before he could have brought a vineyard to such perfection as to produce even a moderate quantity of wine. But we find, that his three antediluvian sons, with their families, remained with him till after this happened. It cannot therefore, with any colour of reason, be supposed, that they began their migration from *China* to the *Euphrates*, till at least twenty years after *Noah*'s arrival on the mountains of *Ararat*. Nay, Mr. *Shuckford* believes them to have remained with their great ancestor in *China* seventy years, before they had any thoughts of advancing to the westward. This brings a fresh accession of strength to what has been already offered, in order to shew the absurdity of such a migration [i].

5. It does not appear from the *Chinese* history, nor indeed from any other, that wine was ever used, or even discovered, in *China* (A). But that it was made from remote antiquity, in the countries bordering on the mountains of *Ararat*, supposing them in *Armenia*, we have sufficient proof. This seems manifestly to imply, if the authority of *Moses* be of any weight, that the latter of those regions bids fairer for the land of *Ararat* than the former [k].

6. The word *Ararat* is manifestly of *Armenian* extraction (B): whereas no term, name, particle, or diction like it, is discoverable either in the language of the *Indians*, *Tartars*, or *Chinese*. The radix *arar*, in *Armenian*, signifies *he made*, or *he did*; and the substantive *ararads* denotes *work*, as likewise *the world*, *the earth*, &c. As the whole earth, therefore, or the whole race of mankind, arrived on the mountains of *Ararat*, after they had escaped the deluge, from this circumstance those mountains may naturally enough be imagined to have received their name. Nay, the *Armenians*, at this day, call the *Gordyæan* mountains *Ararat*, *Arasad*, *Arar*, &c. and *Onkelos*, *Jonathan*, the *Syriac* and *Arabic* versions, &c. render the original הרי אררט *the* Gordyæan *mountains*. All which observations amount to a strong presumption, that the land of *Ararat* is not to be sought for near *China*, but in *Armenia* [l].

7. That the land of *Ararat* was in the neighbourhood of *Assyria* and *Babylon*, may be clearly evinced from Scripture. 1. The prophet *Isaiah* tells us, that *Adramelech* and *Sharezer*, after they had slain their father *Sennacherib* at *Nineveh*, escaped into the land of *Ararat*. From whence we may infer, that this country was adjacent to *Assyria*; which will hold true of the *Greater Armenia*, but by no means of any region at such a distance from that antient kingdom as *China*. Nay, from this passage it may be farther inferred, that the land of *Ararat* or *Armenia*, in the reign of *Sennacherib*, was, in a great measure at least, independent on the *Assyrians*. For, had it been absolutely subject to them, it could not have served as a retreat or asylum to those princes, after they had embrued their hands in their father's blood; and therefore the prophet could not, with any manner of propriety, have affirmed, that they *escaped* into it. This may possibly throw some light upon the *Armenian* history, and contribute towards the support of *Moses Chorenensis*'s authority. 2. The prophet *Jeremiah* represents the kingdom of *Ararat* as part of the power which was to reduce *Babylon*, and at no great

[i] Gen. viii. & ix. 20—28. [k] Plut. in Alex. Arrian. lib. vii. Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. Strab. lib. xv. Ælian. hist. var. lib. ii. c. 41. Athen. deipnosoph. lib. x. c. 12. Gen. ix. 20, 21. [l] Th. Siegfrid. Bayer mus. Sinic. tom. ii. Petropoli, 1730. August. Pfeiffer. oper. philologic. tom. i. p. 37. Ultrajecti, 1704. Onkel. Jonath. Targ. Syr. Arab. Vers. in Gen. viii. 4. Hofman. lex. univ. p. i. p. 160.

(A) We are told, indeed, by *Du Halde*, that *I-tye* invented the *Chinese* wine, in the reign of the emperor *Yu*; and that this wine is still used in *China*. But then it ought to be considered, that this wine is improperly so called, as being made of a particular kind of rice, and not the juice of the grape; whereas *Noah*'s wine was the produce of the vineyard he himself had planted (3).

(B) That there was antiently a very large province in the *Greater Armenia* called *Ararat*, we are informed by *Moses Chorenensis*. This province, according to that historian, was divided into the following districts, or lesser provinces: *Basenia*, *Gabelenia*, *Abelenia*, *Vahagunia*, *Arsarunia*, *Bagrevanda*, *Zalcota*, *Siracia*, *Vanandia*, *Aragazotia*, *Zacatia*, *Mascotia*, *Cogovitia*, *Asosia*, *Niga*, *Cotæa*, *Malaza*, *Varaznunia*, *Devna*, and *Sarur*. Mount *Ararat* was in this province, as well as the royal city of *Valarsapata*, which at present goes under the name of *Erivan* (4).

(3) *Du Halde*, *p.* 146. 303. *Gen.* ix. 20, 21. (4) *Mos. Chorenens. geograph.*

diſtance from that city. Which repreſentation muſt be allowed incompatible with the remote ſituation of *China*, but perfectly agreeable to that of the *Greater Armenia*. He likewiſe ſeems here to ſuggeſt, that, when he penned this prophecy, *Ararat* was governed by a prince of its own, ſince it had then the title of kingdom. And, in conformity to this notion, it appears from profane hiſtory, that though the *Armenians* were at this juncture tributary to the *Medes*, yet they ſtill remained under the government of their own kings, one of whoſe ſucceſſors acted with *Cyrus* rather as a confederate than a vaſſal, at the reduction of *Babylon* [m].

8. The kingdoms of *Minni* and *Aſhkenaz* have been proved to be *Phrygia* and part of *Armenia* by the learned *Bochart*. Now theſe kingdoms, from the paſſage here cited, appear to have been in the vicinity of *Ararat*. As therefore one of them bordered upon *Armenia*, and the other may be conſidered as a part of that country, and were vaſtly diſtant from *China*, we may naturally ſuppoſe *Armenia*, but by no means *China*, or any neighbouring diſtrict, to have contained the Scripture *Ararat* [n].

9. The *Medes*, *Elamites*, and people of *Ararat*, were the three principal nations appointed by God, according to the prophets above-mentioned, to deſtroy *Babylon*. And, according to profane hiſtory, the ſubverſion of the *Babylonian* empire was effected chiefly by the *Medes*, *Perſians*, and *Armenians*. Now it is well known, that the *Elamites* of Scripture anſwered to the *Perſians* of profane authors. The *Medes* alſo of Scripture and profane authors appear to have been the ſame nation. The *Armenians*, therefore, of thoſe writers muſt have been the inhabitants of the kingdom of *Ararat* mentioned in Scripture; which ſeems to put the point we are now inſiſting upon beyond diſpute [o].

10. The kingdom of *Ararat*, if any regard is to be had to Scripture, could not have been far from the confines of *Elam* and *Media*. As therefore this circumſtance well enough tallies with the ſituation of the *Greater Armenia*, but is utterly repugnant to that of *China*, it muſt be acknowleged, that the former region has a much better claim to the Scripture land of *Ararat* than the latter [p].

11. The Septuagint verſion expreſly calls the land of *Ararat Armenia*. This teſtimony, eſpecially in conjunction with what has been offered, is of exceeding great weight, and even ſeems intirely to overturn Mr. *Shuckford*'s ſcheme. No wonder then, that the generality of learned men, who have been in any manner converſant with Scripture, ſhould place *Noah* and his family, immediately after the deluge, in *Armenia*. Nor can it be denied, that both ſacred and profane hiſtory, as well as the beſt interpreters of Scripture, have concurred to eſtabliſh ſuch an opinion [q].

12. The principal argument drawn from Scripture, in ſupport of Mr. *Shuckford*'s hypotheſis, is of very little force. It is deduced from theſe words of *Moſes*: *And it came to paſs, as they journeyed from the eaſt, that they found a plain in the land of* Shinar; *and they dwelt there.* From whence he infers, that the mountains, on which the ark reſted, were in an eaſtern direction from the land of *Shinar* and *Babylon*; which will hold true of thoſe near *China*, but cannot, with any manner of propriety, be ſaid of thoſe in *Armenia* [r].

But, whatever our author may think, theſe words will by no means amount to an implication, that *the whole earth*, to uſe the phraſe of the ſacred hiſtorian, or all *Noah*'s poſterity, muſt neceſſarily have migrated from *China* to the land of *Shinar*. They will by no means bear ſuch a ſuperſtructure erected upon them. For though the land of *Shinar* was in a ſouthern direction from *Armenia*, and in a weſtern one from *China*, yet we are under no neceſſity of ſuppoſing, that *Noah*'s family conſtantly moved from the Eaſt, after they had quitted the place where the ark reſted. On the contrary, that family not only might, but probably did, march from the mountains of *Ararat*, ſuppoſing them in *Armenia*, into that part of the tract afterwards called *Meſopotamia* to the eaſt of the plain they afterwards occupied in the land of *Shinar*. This has been moſt clearly evinced by M. *Baſnage*. In which caſe, they muſt be allowed to have *journeyed from the eaſt*, as *Moſes* is ſuppoſed by Mr. *Shuckford* to aſſert. But farther,

[m] Isa. xxxvii. 38. Mos. Chorenens. hiſtor. Armeniac lib. i. c. 22. p. 59, 60, 61. Londini, 1736. Jer. li. 27. Xenoph. Cyropæd lib. ii. iii. & vii. Herodot. lib. i. [n] Bochart. Phal. lib. i. c. 3. p. 22, 23. & lib. iii. c. 9. p. 196, 197, 198. Francofurti ad Mœnum, 1681. Jer. li. 27. [o] Isa. xiii. 17. xxi. 2. Jer. li. 11. 27, 28, 29, 30. Xenoph. & Herodot. ubi ſup. & alib. Prid. connect. of the Old and New Teſt. vol. i. p i. p. 116, 117. Lond. 1719. Jer. xlix. 39. [p] Isa. xiii. 17. xxi. 2. Jer. li. 11. 27, 28. [q] Septuag. in Iſa. xxxvii. 38. Vid. Vet. Teſt. ex verſ. LXX. interpret. ſecund. exempl. Vatican. Romæ, edit. Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1725. August. Pfeiffer. ubi ſup. tom. i. p. 37, 38. [r] Gen. xi. 2. Shuckford's connect. ubi ſup.

the word מקדם *mikkedim* signifies sometimes *versus orientem*, *towards the east*, as appears from another passage in the book of *Genesis*, not far from what we have in view, where it is obviously to be taken in this sense. We say, obviously to be taken in this sense, since the situation of *Bethel* and *Hai*, in respect of the plain of *Jordan*, will not admit of a different interpretation. So that we may suppose *Noah*'s family to have advanced to the land of *Shinar* immediately from a station to the west of that country, to which the members of this family had gradually directed their march from a more northerly quarter, without offering the least violence to Scripture [s].

It may not be improper here likewise, by way of digression, to observe, that our *English* translation ought to be emended in the first verse of the chapter just referred to. The word הנגבה which is there translated *into the south*, ought to be rendered *into the desert*. For *Abram* went up out of *Egypt*, not into the south, but into *Arabia Petræa*, or the tract including the solitudes of *Sur*, *Sinai*, *Paran*, &c. which was N. E. of *Egypt*. And that the word נגב in *Hebrew*, as well as in *Chaldee*, denoted a *wilderness*, *solitude*, *desert*, or *dry barren country*, is obvious to every one in the least acquainted with the *Oriental* languages. The Septuagint version likewise renders the word הנגבה here ἐς τὴν ἔρημον, *into the desert*; which, notwithstanding the authority of the *infallible* Vulgate, may be considered as an additional proof of the truth of our emendation [t].

13. The language of *China* is very different from the *Hebrew* of the *Old Testament*, though it must be owned, that an affinity between some of their roots or primitive words may be discerned. Now Mr. *Shuckford* intimates the *Chinese* to have retained the most obvious marks of the first language, and consequently (according to his principles) to be little or nothing different from that spoken by *Noah*. The same author also allows the antient *Hebrew* to have nearly approached the language of *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, and their immediate descendents, if it was not that very language. According to him, therefore, the tongue communicated by *Noah* to his postdiluvian descendents had no great affinity with that used by his antediluvian sons, which must likewise have come originally from him. An assertion this, savouring so strongly of absurdity, that it must greatly shake, if not utterly subvert, his whole scheme [u].

14. The *Hebrew*, and all the *Oriental* tongues that are dialects of it, must be allowed, if Mr. *Shuckford* deserves any credit in the point before us, to be more remote from the language of *Adam* and *Noah*, or the primitive language, than the present *Chinese*. Nay, the present *Chinese*, according to him, is almost intirely the same with that language (C). Which notion, as we apprehend, does not only run counter to the whole stream both of sacred and profane antiquity, but likewise to reason itself. For the language of *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, or that of *Adam* and *Noah*, was spoken by the whole race of mankind till the dispersion; and that this was either the *Hebrew*, or a tongue nearly related to it, seems to appear from the first proper names of places, planters, and nations, used by the *Greek*, *Latin*, and *Arabic* writers, in common with Scripture. Nor can any reasonable person believe the present *Chinese* to have agreed in most, if not all, points with the primitive language; since all languages are in a continual flux, and must necessarily undergo many alterations in the course of four thousand years [w].

[s] Basnag. in antiquit. Judaiques, ou remarques critiques sur la republique des Hebreux, &c. tom. ii. c. 2. p. 404--409. Amsterdam, 1713. Fuller. miscel. sacr. lib. i. c. 5. Walker upon the creation and providence, c. 14. Boch. geogr. sacr. lib. i. c. 7. Friedlibius sur Gen. xi. Louis de Wolzogue in diction. Hebraiq. p. 569 A Amsterdam, 1712. Gen. xiii. 11. Vide etiam Basnag. ubi sup. [t] Gen. xiii. 1. Louis de Wolz. ubi sup. p. 378, 379. Val. Schindl. lex. pentaglot. p. 1064, 1065. Septuag. in Gen. xiii 1. secund. exempl. Vatican. Romæ edit. Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1725. Bibl. sacr. ad vetustiss. exemplar. castigat Romæq; revis. p. 726. Lugduni, 1600. [u] Du Halde, Le Compte, &c. Vide etiam Th. Sig. Bayer. mus. Sinic. Petropoli, 1730. Shuckf. ubi sup. p. 112—124. Joan. Webber. apud August. Pfeiffer. ubi sup. p. 690. Basnag. ubi sup. p. 424—433. Sam. Bochart. in Phal. & Chan. pass. aliosq; scriptor. quam plurim. [w] Shuckf. ubi sup. Gen. xi. 1. Bochart. Sharif. al Edrisi, Abulfed. Pfeiffer. ubi sup. p. 545, 546, 547, 548. & 689--694. Buxtorf. differt de ling. Ebr. orig. sect 33. Mayer. phil. sacr. p. ii. p. 300. August. Pfeiffer. ubi sup. p 44. & p. 690.

(C) Mr. *Shuckford*, indeed, seems to intimate, that the present *Chinese* might have received some additions and improvements, as well as the most antient *Hebrew*; and even insinuates, that there might have been some agreement between them. But, as he immediately subjoins, that the present *Chinese* is only a first and uncultivated essay, insomuch that it is hardly possible to conceive any other tongue to have been prior to it, he makes it almost intirely the same with the primitive language (5).

(5) *Shuckf. ubi sup. p.* 122, 123, 124.

15. That

15. THAT *Fo-hi*, the founder of the *Chineſe* empire, and *Noah*, as this author ſuppoſes, were the ſame perſon, can never be proved. The account given us of that prince by the *Chineſe* hiſtorians, muſt be allowed to be little better than a fiction; and conſequently no great ſtreſs can be laid upon it. Nor, indeed, is either the *Chineſe* hiſtory, or chronology of the earlier ages of their monarchy, worthy the attention of the learned. Their ſkill in aſtronomy, for ſome thouſand years after the time of *Noah*, was ſo ſmall and imperfect, that it did not enable them to calculate an eclipſe, nor indeed prompt them to make any celeſtial obſervations, the ſureſt, if not only certain guides in chronological inquiries. And therefore the hiſtory of their firſt reigns can be conſidered only as a confuſed jumble of facts, or rather a narration of fabulous events, heaped together without any order or connection; ſo that we cannot expect to meet with much truth in it. But even admitting, that the fabulous *Chineſe* hiſtory of *Fo-hi* (for it deſerves no better an appellation) ſeems remotely to allude to ſome circumſtances of *Noah*'s life recorded in holy writ, what are we to infer from thence? Not that *Noah* was the firſt emperor or monarch of *China* (for this will by no means follow), but that he was the great anceſtor of the *Chineſe*, who retained ſome faint and obſcure notions of him. And did not the antient *Chaldæans*, *Greeks*, *Romans*, *Arabs*, *Etruſcans*, &c. do the ſame? Such a faint traditional knowlege of *Noah* and the deluge ſeems to have been common to all the politer nations, both of the antient and modern world; and, according to the excellent *Grotius* (D), amounts to no inconſiderable proof, that they were all originally deſcended from him [x].

16. AFTER *Moſes* had enumerated the generations of the ſons of *Noah*, *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, he adds, *Theſe are the families of the ſons of* Noah, *after their generations in their nations: and by theſe were the nations divided in the earth after the flood. And the* whole earth *was of one language, and of one ſpeech.* Which paſſage manifeſtly implies, that *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*'s families made up the whole race of mankind; and conſequently that what has been advanced concerning *Noah*'s poſtdiluvian progeny in *China*, is a downright fiction. Nor will the patriarch's advanced age, when he came out of the ark, permit us to believe, that he had a numerous iſſue, after the flood, either in *China*, or any other country. Whereas *Fo-hi*, if we will believe the *Chineſe* hiſtorians, governed ſome time a conſiderable, if not a powerful nation. The authority, therefore, of theſe very hiſtorians is ſo far from ſupporting Mr. *Shuckford* in the point before us, that it evidently tends to the ſubverſion of his hypotheſis [y].

17. IT ſeems more natural to ſuppoſe, that *Noah* and his ſons remained together, till they had overſtocked with inhabitants the ſpot on which they firſt ſettled, or were diſperſed by GOD HIMSELF, than that they ſeparated from one another, before either of thoſe events happened. We may, therefore, reaſonably preſume, that they all lived together till the diſperſion, after which they began to ſpread themſelves over the earth. But this has been ſet in ſo ſtrong and clear a light by the ſacred hiſtorian, that a bare peruſal of him is ſufficient to obviate every objection that has of late been offered to the common opinion [z].

China *ſcarce known to the antient* Greeks *and* Perſians.

CHINA therefore and *Tartary* were probably peopled by the deſcendents of *Magog*, *Meſhech*, and *Tubal*, as has been already obſerved; tho' when any of theſe firſt reached thoſe vaſt and remote regions, it is impoſſible to determine. The prodigious diſtance of *China* from *Shinar* and *Armenia*, more than inſinuates, that no powerful monarchy or empire could have been formed in the firſt of thoſe countries till many ages after the diſperſion, notwithſtanding what has been ſo poſitively advanced to the

[x] SHUCKF. ubi ſup. p. 102, 103. MART. MARTIN. Sinic. hiſt. p. 21---24. COUPLET. præf. ad Sinic. chronol. FOURM. reflex. crit. ſur hiſt. anc. peupl. vol. ii. LE COMPTE, DU HALDE, PFEIFFER. ubi ſup. p. 690. ANDR. MULLER. diſq. de Chataia, p. 39. HORN. arc. No. p. 3. CONFUCI. KIRCH. JOAN. GRAVII tabul. epochar. ſubjunct. Ulugh. Beigh. epoch. Philoſoph. Tranſact. N° 483. p. 476---492. STILLINGFL. orig. ſacr. BOCHART. HUG. GROT. de veritat. relig. Chriſtian. lib. i. ſect. 16. [y] Gen. x. 32. xi. 1. ix. 28, 29. MARTIN. Sinic. hiſt. KIRCH. Chin. illuſtrat. LE COMPTE, SHUCKFORD, &c. [z] Gen. ix. x. xi.

(D) *Grotius* is ſupported by the teſtimonies of *Beroſus*, *Abydenus*, *Philo*, *Alexander Polyhiſtor*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Plutarch*, *Lucian*, *Molo*, *Nicolaus Damaſcenus*, and ſeveral other antient authors (6).

(6) *Beroſ. apud Joſeph. cont. Ap. lib.* i. *Abydenus apud Euſeb. de præp. evang. lib.* ix. *c.* 12. *Philo de præm. & pœn. Alexand. Polyhiſt. apud Cyril. adv. Julian. lib.* i. *Diod. Sic. lib.* i. *Plutarch. de ſolert. animal. Lucian. de Dea Syr. Mol. apud Euſeb. de præp. evang. lib.* ix. *c.* 19. *Nic. Damaſc. apud Joſeph. ubi ſup. Franciſc Marian. Viterbienſ. de Etrur. metrop. p.* 152. *Romæ*, 1728.

contrary

contrary of late by some of the *Jesuits*. That neither *China* nor *Tartary* were known to the *Israelites*, or indeed any of the neighbouring nations, in the time of *Moses*, must be allowed probable, since he has passed over in silence the posterity of *Magog*, *Mesh*, and *Tubal*; from whence we may at least infer, that those regions then were very thin of inhabitants. Neither *Homer* nor *Herodotus* has dropped any thing which can induce us to believe, that either of them ever heard of the *Chinese*; nor do any of the antient *Persian* historians supply us with the least hint, relative to this nation, before the declension of the *Persian* empire. All which has no small tendency to overthrow the sentiments the *Chinese* have entertained of the high antiquity of their empire, as well as the indefatigable and utmost efforts of some of the *Jesuits* to support it [a].

China call'd Kathay by the Tartars.

It has been remarked by some authors, that the western *Tartars* call *China Kitay*, *Khathai*, *Kathai*, or *Kathay*. Now, that this name was in use among the *Asiatic Scythians* in the time of *Alexander the Great*, may be proved from *Curtius* and *Strabo*. For the *Sophitian* kingdom mentioned by *Curtius* is called *Cathea* by *Strabo*. It comprehended, according to *Von Strahlenberg*, *Tibet*, or *Thibet*, *Tangut*, and part of *China*. As the *Mungals* and *Kalmucks* pretend, that their *Delai Lama* had his residence some thousand years ago in the country of *Tangut*, one of his predecessors not improbably resided there in the time of *Alexander the Great*. The *Greeks*, according to the same author, called the *Lamas*, or priests, in *Tibet*, *Tangut*, &c. (E), *sophists*, because they were then greatly addicted to predictions, prophecies, and chiromancy, as they have all along been to this day. Indeed, properly speaking, the *Tartars* apply the name of *Kathay* only to the northern part of *China*, and the kingdoms of *Tibet* and *Chotena*. The little knowlege *Alexander* had of these regions he derived from the *Indians* [b].

Where the Seres were.

Some take the *Seres* of the antients to have been the *Chinese*, or at least a part (F) of that very remote nation; but others are of different opinions. *Cellarius*, who has given us the best system of the antient geography, does not bring this controversy to a decision. He only says, *Alii ut in Scythis, ita etiam in Seribus locandis mire variarunt.* Others have assigned the *Scythians*, as well as the *Seres*, very different situations. Dr. *Prideaux*, with the generality of learned men, believes the *Seres* to have been the same people with that remote eastern nation called at present the *Chinese*; and we have, in a former part of this work, declared our approbation of this opinion. On the contrary, M. *Von Strahlenberg* seems not disposed to admit the *Seres* to have had so remote an easterly situation as the *Chinese*. But in this we take that ingenious gentleman to be mistaken. For, according to *Florus*, the embassadors sent by the *Seres* with presents to *Augustus*, were four years on their journey, which is a full demonstration of the immense distance of their country from *Rome*; and, if *Pliny* may be credited, the river *Lanos*, the *Lena* of the moderns, to the east of some districts in *China*, ran through part of the territories of the *Seres*. It is probable, that the *Seres* possessed part of the tract comprehending the kingdoms of *Kashgar* and *Tibet*, the countries of the *Kalkas*, *Mungals*, &c. or *Chinese Tartary*, and even certain districts of *China* itself. Nor do we believe, that the word *Seres* (G) ought to be considered as the proper

[a] M. Martin. Couplet, Fourmont, Du Halde, &c. [b] Paul Venet. Du Halde, &c. Strab. lib. xv. p. 699. Quint. Curt. lib. ix. c. 1. Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. Berckel. in Steph. p. 435. n. 26, 27. Von Strahlenberg's introduct. p. 42. not. (34).

(E) Perhaps some of our readers will not so readily come into this notion of M. *Von Strahlenberg*, concerning the reason of the name *Sophitis*, or *Sophitian*. For we are told by *Strabo*, that *Sopithes* or *Sopithis*, from whom this tract was called the kingdom, or empire, of *Sopithis*, or *Sophitis*, was sovereign of the country when *Alexander* pushed on his conquests in *India* (7).

(F) *Ptolemy* connects *Serica*, or the country of the *Seres*, with *Scythia extra Imaum*, to which it was adjacent. According to him, and the author of the antient geographical table agreeing with him, it was bounded on the west by *Scythia extra Imaum*, on the north and east by the *Terra incognita*, and on the south by *India extra Gangem*. It therefore seems to have answered to part of the country called by the *Tartars Kathay*. *Ptolemy* mentions *Damna*, *Asmiraea*, *Ispedon Serica*, *Throana*, *Thogara*, *Daxata*, and other towns in *Serica*; but scarce any in *Scythia*. This seems to be an argument of the superior politeness of the *Seres*, in the time of that geographer. We shall say nothing farther of the situation of the *Seres*, since that cannot be determined from the antients; but at present content ourselves with observing, that they have been taken notice of by *Mela*, *Horace*, *Virgil*, and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, as well as the authors above-mentioned (8).

(G) This likewise most clearly appears from the words *Scythians*, *Ged-Hhad*, *Ma-Hhad*, *Jagougi*, *Ma-gougi*, the same as Gog and Magog, or

(7) *Strab. lib.* xv. *p.* 699. (8) *Ptol. lib.* i. *Plin. nat. hist. lib.* vi. *c.* 17, *& alibi. Hor. lib.* i. *od.* 12. *& alibi. Virg. Georg.* ii. *v.* 121. *Pomp. Mel. lib.* iii. *c.* 11. *Ammian. Marcellin lib.* xxiii. *c.* 28.

per name of any one particular nation. It seems to be a term of *Tartar* extraction; the *Usbecks* calling merchants living in cities *Ser*, or *Sert*, which others comprehend under the name of *Bukhars*. These *Sertes* or *Seres*, are now vassals, citizens, and merchants, settled in three different regions: first, without the *Chinese* wall, under the *Chinese* jurisdiction, where they are called *Koton*; secondly, amongst the *Usbecks*, who give them the denomination of *Sertes* or *Seres*; and thirdly in the kingdom of *Kashgar*, where they have the appellation of *Bukhars*. They carried on a trade with the *Scythians* from very remote ages, and consequently were in the earlier times greatly addicted to commerce; which perfectly answers the character given of them by *Pliny*. The *Seres* were antiently famous for their silken manufactures (H), they having first used the way of making silk from the web of the silk-worm. Hence *Serica* became the name of silk, and *Sericum* of a silken garment, both among the *Greeks* and *Romans* [c].

The Chinese not known to the Jews in the time of the prophet Isaiah.

Some authors have imagined, that the *Chinese* were known to the *Jews* in the time of the prophet *Isaiah*, above seven hundred years before the birth of Christ. They found their opinion upon the following words of that prophet. *Behold, these shall come from far: and lo, these from the north and from the west, and these from the land of* Sinim. But that *Sinim* here should denote the *Chinese*, can by no means be allowed. For, 1. *Bochart* renders it probable, that *Sinim*, in this passage, is to be understood of the inhabitants of *Pelusium*. 2. That these *Sinim* were not remote from *Phœnicia*, may be collected from St. *Jerom*, and the sacred historian. 3. The prophet here, having the conversion of the Gentiles in view, in order to express the universality of that conversion, mentions the four primary quarters of the world, east, west, north, and south; to the last of which answer the *Sinim*. Now *China* is not to the south, but to the east of *Judæa*. 4. The *Sinim*, or *Sinæi*, received their name from the *Sini* of *Moses*, descended from *Canaan*. From them the desert of *Sin*, and mount *Sinai*, were so called; they lying to the south of *Judæa*, near that desert and mountain, according to *Grotius*, with whom *Kimchi* and St. *Jerom* agree. So that all conclusions drawn from the identity of the Scripture *Sinim* and *Chinese* must be deemed frivolous and chimerical [d].

Government.

As for the form of government prevailing antiently in *China*, of this we have not much to say. Nothing material relating to it has been handed down to us by any of the *Greek* or *Roman* (I) authors. However, that it was monarchical, we have all the reason in

[c] Christoph. Cellar. geograph. antiq. lib. iii. c. 24. sub fin. Prid. connect. par. ii. lib. viii. sub fin. Universl. hist. vol. ii. p. 267. Von Strahlenberg's introduct. p. 9. L. Flor. lib. iv. c. 12. Plin. nat. hist. lib. vi. c. 17. Von Strahlenberg's map of Russ. and Gr. Tartar. and introduct. p. 111, 112 Plin. ubi sup. c. 22. Vide etiam Sueton. in Octav. c. 21. Oros. lib. vi. c. 21. Tacit. annal. lib. ii. c 33. Lamprid. in Elagab. Eutrop. lib. vii. Voss. in etymologic. sub voc. Sericum, & de idololatria, lib iv. c. 90. & Salmas. in not. ad Tertullian. de pal. ad Solin. & ad histor. August. [d] Isa. xlix. 12. Osor. Ar. Montan. Cornel. a Lap. Horn. arc. No. p. 53, 441. Andr. Muller. dissert. de Chataia, p. 94. Wagenseil. tel. ign. Sat. p. 573. Hieronym. Kimch. Vide etiam Forer. in loc. Drus. observ. lib. ii. c. 7. Grot. in loc. & August. Pfeiffer. oper. philologic. tom. i. p. 380. Ultraj. 1704.

Gojim and *Ma-Gojim*, all of which are appellatives, and seem never to have been applied to any one particular nation (9).

(H) From the *Seres* both silk and its name came to the *Greeks* and *Romans*. After *Alexander* had conquered *Persia*, silk was brought into *Greece*, and from thence into *Italy* in the flourishing times of the *Roman* empire. But, as the *Persians* took care to keep this manufacture a long while wholly to themselves, silk was sold for its weight in gold for many ages in all these western parts. But at last the emperor *Justinian* found means to have vast quantities of silk-worms eggs brought to *Constantinople* out of *Persia*, which enabled him to set up the manufacture in his own dominions. From these eggs have been propagated all the silk-worms and silk-trade, which have been ever since in several parts of *Europe*. The antients were so ignorant how silk was made, that they imagined it to grow on the tops of trees; but it has now been known for a great number of ages, that though cotton is produced from trees, silk is made only of the web of the silk-worm. The women only, among the *Romans*, for a long while, wore silk; and it was thought a great instance of luxury and effeminacy for a man to have any part of his garments made of it. Hence we find, that, in the beginning of *Tiberius*'s reign, a law was made, that no man should defile or dishonour himself by wearing silken garments. Afterwards the men made use of silk and linen, and sometimes woolen, intermixed; which they called *subsericum*; and, in process of time, some of them, all silk, going among the *Latin* writers by the name of *holosericum*.

(I) In general, we are told by *Diodorus Siculus* and *Quintus Curtius*, that the subjects of the *Sophitian* kingdom were a wise people, famous for the excellency and regularity of their government; and

(9) *M. Von Strahlenberg's introduct. p. 42—52.*

that

in the world to believe (K). The *Chinese* historians are unanimous in this point, and have given us a long series of their kings or emperors, from *Fo-hi* to the present time. Nor can any thing be more agreeable to reason than such a notion, this species of government having taken place in the east, from the earliest ages. Besides, as the *Chinese* have never permitted foreigners to settle amongst them, but constantly and perpetually kept themselves unmixed with other nations, we may reasonably suppose, that they have all along invariably retained this form of government. Now there is no monarchy at present upon earth more despotic than that of *China*. The emperor is vested with absolute authority, and to appearance is a kind of divinity; the respect which is paid him amounting to a sort of adoration. His words are like so many oracles, and the least of his commands as implicitly obeyed as if they came down from heaven. None are suffered to speak to him but on their knees, not even his eldest brother; or to appear before him with ceremony in any other posture, unless he gives orders to the contrary. Only the lords who accompany him are permitted to stand before him, and to bend one knee when they speak to him. We may therefore presume, that the mandarins and principal officers, with the utmost alacrity, ever since the time of *Shi-whang-ti*, have always given the same public marks of veneration for their emperors, in order to maintain that servile subordination, essential to every despotic government. From whence the absolute and unlimited authority of those monarchs may be as fairly deduced, as from the express testimony of any antient historian.

THAT the *Chinese* emperors for the most part ascended [c] the throne by hereditary right, appears from the nature of their government; tho' both those monarchs, and the dependent princes, sometimes broke in upon the succession. However, their first monarch *Fo-hi*, who was born in the province of *Shen-si*, was elected by his countrymen on account of his rare qualities, and superior merit. With regard to laws, as the will of the prince was the rule or measure of his subjects obedience and submission, our readers will not *Laws.*

[c] MAR. MARTIN. Sinic. hist. COUPLET, LE COMPTE, FOURMONT, DU HALDE, &c.

that their kings, at least for some time, were elective, may be inferred from *Onesicritus* in *Strabo*. For that author relates, that, upon the death of any of their princes, they chose the handsomest man among them for his successor. As for the situation of the *Sophitian* kingdom, or *Cathea*, it is a point in which the antients are not agreed; some placing it between the *Hydaspes* and the *Acesines*, and others to the east of the latter river. Be this as it will, it is certain, that neither the kingdom of *Sophites*, or *Sophitis*, a petty *Indian* prince, according to *Strabo*, nor the particular tract called by this last author *Cathea*, whether these were the same, or distant regions, could possibly have been *China*; as being both to the west of the *Ganges*. *Berckelius* therefore, and *Von Strahlenberg*, seem to have been mistaken, when they make the *Kathay* of the *Tartars* to be the same country with the *Cathea* of *Strabo*. This last kingdom, or province, belonged to *India intra Gangem*, and was traversed by *Alexander the Great*; whereas that prince never reached the borders of *Tangut* and *Tibet*. But, if we suppose, that *Kathay*, or *Cathea*, extended in the time of *Alexander the Great* as far as the *Hydaspes*, and that the *Sophitian* kingdom was a province of it, which may possibly have been the case, then we must allow the aforesaid gentlemen to have been in the right; tho' perhaps the reason assigned by the latter of them for the name *Sophitian* will not so readily gain the assent of some of our readers (1).

(K) *China* at first seems to have been a country of no larger an extent than the province of *Shen-si*; for *Fo hi* was born there, and elected king, or emperor, by the people of that province. Nay, in the days of *Confucius*, it was circumscribed by much narrower limits than at present. At first several petty princes, heads of tribes, or phylarchs, exercised a sovereign authority in this country, as well as others. But, when the people became very numerous, and their neighbours formidable, it was found expedient, and even necessary, for the public safety, to elect a person to preside over them, to whom they might have recourse on all extraordinary occasions. So we find *Chedorlaomer*, king of *Elam*, to have presided over several reguli, or phylarchs, who, notwithstanding this, exercised a sovereign authority in the district where they held their residence. In like manner, at the siege of *Troy*, all the petty *Greek* princes obeyed the orders of *Agamemnon*, whom *Homer* represents as king of kings; and that this form of government prevailed antiently in *Arabia*, *Numidia*, *Etruria*, *Tartary*, &c. has been already evinced. The first emperors of *China*, therefore, were not intirely despotic, except on some pressing emergencies, tho' they had the power of convening the feudatory princes, who might have been considered either as their parliament, or privy-council. They also sat at the head of that illustrious assembly, officiated solely in sacred matters, and were dignified with other marks of distinction, which engaged the people to pay an implicit obedience to them. This form of government continued several ages in *China*; but, at last, all the reguli, or phylarchs, were subdued by the emperor *Shi-whang-ti*, and totally stript of their authority. Nor could the primæval form of government, which, at first, likewise prevailed in all other countries, be ever afterwards restored in *China*; but the political system introduced by *Shi-whang ti* has continued without interruption to this very day (2).

(1) *Diod. Sic. lib.* xvii. *Quint. Curt. lib* ix. *c.* 1. *Strab. lib.* xv. *p.* 600. *Berckel. in Steph. p.* 435 *n.* 26, 27. *Von Strahlenb. Syst. Asiat. p.* 42 *not.* (31). (2) *Sig. Bayer. de Confucii libro Chuan-siu. in comment. acad. Petropolitan. tom.* vii *p.* 360—373. *Petropoli*, 1740.

expect

expect us to be prolix upon them. However, as the *Chineſe* have at preſent many ſalutary political maxims and inſtitutions, wearing the face of laws, we doubt not but ſomething of this kind was current amongſt them, even in the earlier ages. But we ſhall have an opportunity of diſcuſſing this point more fully, in the modern hiſtory of *China*, to which ſuch a diſcuſſion will more properly belong [f].

Religion. THE firſt planters of *China*, inſtructed by tradition, inſpired their children, and through them their numerous poſterity, at leaſt for ſeveral ages, with proper and becoming ſentiments of the Supreme Being. They taught them to fear and honour the Sovereign Lord of the Univerſe, to obſerve the fundamental precepts of the firſt deſcendents of *Noah*, and to live according to the principles of the law of nature ingraven in their hearts. Of this we find traces in thoſe antient and valuable books, which the *Chineſe* call, by way of eminence, *The Five Volumes*; being the canonical or claſſical books of the higheſt rank, which they look upon as the ſource of all their ſcience and morality [g].

THE chief object of their worſhip, then, at firſt was the Supreme Being, the LORD and Sovereign Principle of all things; whom they adored under the name either of *Shang-ti*, that is, *Supreme Emperor*, or *Tyen*, which with the *Chineſe* ſignifies the ſame thing. *Tyen*, ſay the interpreters of THE FIVE VOLUMES, *is the Spirit that preſides in heaven, becauſe heaven is the moſt excellent work produced by this Firſt Cauſe.* Sometimes the word is alſo taken for the material heaven, the ſenſe being to be determined by the ſubject to which it is applied. The Father the *Chineſe* called the *Tyen* of the family, the viceroy the *Tyen* of the province, and the emperor the *Tyen* of the kingdom. They alſo honoured, but with a ſubordinate worſhip, inferior ſpirits, depending on the Supreme Being; which, according to them, preſided over cities, rivers, mountains, kingdoms, provinces, particular perſons, *&c.* and nearly anſwered to the demons and genii of the antient *Greeks* and *Romans* [h].

BUT tho' *Shang-ti*, or *Tyen*, was at firſt the primary, if not ſole, object of their worſhip, yet in after-ages they ſeem to have addreſſed their vows and homage to the viſible material heaven; or, at leaſt, to the celeſtial *Virtue*, void of underſtanding, and inſeparable from heaven itſelf. Nor ought we to be ſurpriſed at ſuch a tranſition from the worſhip of the Creator to that of the moſt beautiful part of the material world in *China*; ſince the firſt ſpecies of idolatry that prevailed amongſt the *Egyptians*, *Aſſyrians*, *Babylonians*, *Phœnicians*, *Arabs*, &c. reſembled this of the *Chineſe*, as might be clearly evinced from a great variety of authors, would the limits we have here preſcribed ourſelves permit [i].

THAT the *Chineſe* had at firſt very rational notions of *Tyen*, or the Deity, appears from one of their canonical books, going under the appellation of *Shu-king*. He is therein ſtiled the father of the people, ſolely independent, almighty, a being who knows the moſt hidden things, even the ſecrets of the heart. He is alſo there repreſented as watching over the government of the Univerſe, ſo that no event can happen but by his orders; as holy without partiality, pleaſed with the virtue of mankind, ſuperlatively juſt, puniſhing wickedneſs in the moſt ſignal manner, even in kings, whom He depoſeth, ſetting up others in their room, according to his will and pleaſure. It is likewiſe there ſaid, that public calamities are the warnings which he gives for the reformation of manners; and that theſe calamities are followed by acts of mercy and goodneſs. The firſt ſages of the *Chineſe* nation did not only acknowlege a future day of puniſhment, but had alſo their minds influenced by the perſuaſion that *Tyen*, by prodigies, and extraordinary appearances, gives notice of approaching miſeries, wherewith the ſtate is threatened. His intention herein, according to them, is to excite men to a reformation of manners, as the ſureſt way to appeaſe the impending wrath of heaven [k].

THE *Shu-king* continually inculcates a juſt dread of the Supreme Being, as the moſt proper curb for the paſſions, and the moſt effectual remedy againſt vice. It likewiſe repreſents all pious ſuggeſtions, and holy thoughts, as inſpired by *Tyen*, the ſource of

[f] MAR. MARTIN. COUPLET, LE COMPTE, FOURMONT, DU HALDE, &c. [g] MAR. MARTIN. Sinic. hiſt. lib. i. c. 1. Vide etiam DU HALD. paſſ. [h] MAR. MARTIN. Sinic. hiſt. ubi ſup. Univerſ. hiſt vol. i. p. 34. [i] Lib. Sinenſ. dict. SHU-KING apud Du Hald. ut & ipſe DU HALD. ibid. Vide etiam POCOCKII not. in ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 138. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 251. MAIMONID. in moreh nevoch HOTTING. hiſt. oriental. lib. iv. c. 8. THO. HYDE relig. vet. Perſar. paſſ. aliosq; ſcript. quam plurim. [k] MAR. MARTIN. & Univer. hiſt. ubi ſup. Vide etiam SHU KING apud Du Hald. ut & ipſum DU HALD. ibid.

goodneſs,

goodneſs, order, and perfection According to the ſame book, *Tyen* has an abſolute dominion over the wills of mankind, in order to conduct them to his own wiſe and juſt ends; though he rewards and puniſhes men by means of one another, without any detriment of their liberty [l].

As the antient *Chineſe* aſcribed to *Tyen*, power, providence, knowlege, juſtice, goodneſs, and clemency, and acknowleged that the moſt wicked man, by making uſe of the aſſiſtance *Tyen* offers him, may attain to the moſt exalted pitch of virtue, they honoured him with worſhip and ſacrifices, and by the practice of every virtue. They likewiſe affirmed, that all external adoration is vain and inſignificant, if it does not proceed from the heart, and is not animated by the inward ſentiments [m].

The emperor was the only perſon to whom the function of offering ſacrifices to *Tyen* belonged. But as *Tyen*, according to the early *Chineſe*, views from heaven every thing done on earth, has given us a ſoul capable of reflection, and loves virtue, it was not thought ſufficient for the prieſthood to be joined to the royal dignity in the perſon of the emperor. But it was moreover judged neceſſary, that he ſhould be either upright or penitent; and that, preparatory to the exerciſe of his pontifical function, he ſhould expiate his faults with faſting and tears. The antient ſages believed, that mankind could not fathom *Tyen*'s councils and deſigns; but that even the minuteſt and moſt ſecret of their actions lay open to his all-ſeeing eye. They were alſo convinced, that he examines all our actions, and has erected a tribunal in our own conſciences, whereby we are judged [n].

The emperor was looked upon as the only proper perſon to obſerve the primitive rites, and render public ſolemn homage to *Shang-ti*, as being his adopted ſon, and the principal heir of his grandeur on earth. To ſacrifice to the firſt Being of the Univerſe, required, in the opinion of the antient *Chineſe*, no leſs than the moſt exalted perſon in the empire; to the end that, the emperor thus humbling himſelf in the preſence of his court, by the ſacrifices offered in the name of the empire to the maſter of the world, the ſovereign authority of the Supreme Being might ſtill ſhine more reſplendent, and appear exalted above any equal. Other antient kings, preſiding over countries nearer our part of the world, had the prieſthood annexed to the royal dignity in them, as has been obſerved by ſeveral eminent authors [o].

The *Chineſe* ſeem to have remained in the primitive religion, or the religion of *Fo-hi*, till the reign of *Shau-hau*; when nine *Chu-hew*, or fendatory princes, endeavoured to force their ſubjects to offer ſacrifices to evil ſpirits. They diſturbed houſes, according to ſome *Chineſe* writers, with theſe ſpirits, and greatly terrified the people with their deluſions. But *Chwen-hyo*, nephew of *Whang-ti*, who ſucceeded *Shau-hau*, extirpated the race of theſe nine enchanters, appeaſed the minds of the people, and reſtored order to the ſacrifices [p].

But tho' the canonical books above-mentioned, eſpecially the *Shu-king*, place the ſouls of virtuous men near *Shang-ti*, yet it does not appear, that they have ſpoken clearly of the puniſhments in the life to come. The *Chineſe* in the earlier ages, as well as at preſent, had a very confuſed and indiſtinct notion of the creation of the world. Nor had they any clear idea of the ſoul, and its operations, either in a conjunct or ſeparate ſtate. But that they believed it to exiſt after its ſeparation from the body, and were convinced of the certainty of apparitions, has been put by *Confucius* himſelf beyond all manner of doubt [q].

It is probable that, before the time of *Confucius*, idolatry had found its way into *China*; nay, *Confucius*'s revival of the antient doctrine ſuppoſes this. Several ages after his death, the idolatry of *Fo*, which had before ſprung up in *India*, was introduced into *China*. After the conqueſt of *Egypt* by *Cambyſes*, the *Egyptian* prieſts diſperſed themſelves over *India*, *Tartary*, and even *China* itſelf. To their hieroglyphical repreſentations of the *Egyptian* deities, are owing thoſe monſtrous idols, which from that time to this have been adored in *India*, *Tartary*, *China*, and other remote eaſtern nations. But we ſhall expatiate more largely on this head in a proper place [r].

[l] Shu-King, ibid. [m] Shu-King, & Du Halde, ubi ſup. [n] Iidem ibid. [o] Iidem ibid. Vide etiam Vatabl. & Grot. annot. ad Gen. c. xiv. ver. 18. [p] Mar. Martin. Sinic. hiſt. lib. i. p. 32, 33. Coupl. & Du Hald. paſſ. [q] Shu-King apud Du Hald Martin. Univer. hiſt. ubi ſup &c. Vide etiam Confucium apud Du Hald. p. 646, 647. [r] Confucius apud Du Hald ubi ſup. & ipſe Du Hald. ibid. Athan. Kircher. Chin. illuſtrat. p. 131---138.

Customs. THE *Chinese* have at present a great variety of customs (K) peculiar to themselves, many of which were undoubtedly the produce of the earlier ages; but few of these we can trace to their respective sources. However, the following we take to be as old as the first ages of the *Chinese* monarchy; and therefore shall beg leave to insert them here. 1. In the reign of *Fo-hi* the men and women began to go cloathed in a different manner. 2. A law or custom then commenced, by which no man could marry a woman of the same name, whether related or not; which custom is so strictly observed at this day, that no one can take a wife of the same name, altho' removed twenty generations, or of a different family. 3. The music invented by *Fo-hi* was performed on an instrument called *Kin*, the upper part of which was convex, to represent the heavens, and the under part flat, to represent the earth. 4. The *Chinese* sowed only five sorts of grain, during the reign of *Shin-nong* their second emperor. 5. The emperor, immediately after his elevation to the throne, humbled himself so far as to plow a few furrows, and offered the produce of his tillage to *Tyen*. This custom prevailed almost from the beginning of the *Chinese* monarchy. 6. In the time of *Fo-hi* the *Chinese* sacrificed six sorts of animals, some say seven, to *Tyen*, and solemnly offered those victims twice a year, at the two solstices, when all the tribunals as well as the shops were shut up. 7. The people on those days were not permitted to undertake any journeys, but obliged to spend them in joining with the prince to honour *Shang-ti*. 8. Besides the solstitial sacrifices, *Shin-nong*, who succeeded *Fo-hi*, added two others at the equinoxes. 9. The antient *Chinese* offered the first-fruits to *Shang-ti*, as early as the days of *Shin-nong*. 10. The *Chinese* took great delight in magic and inchantments, according to their own historians, towards the end of the reign of *Shau-hau*, as has been already observed. 11. The priesthood was united to the crown, that the emperor alone might be enabled to offer sacrifices to the LORD of heaven, by *Chwen-hyo*, the fifth monarch of *China*. 12. It was ordained by that emperor, that if the prince was hindered from exercising the function of pontif, by age or sickness, some mandarin or great man should perform that duty in his stead. 13. The *Chinese* allowed polygamy; but some confined themselves to the use of a few wives. This was introduced amongst them by *Ti-ko*, or *Kau-sin*, the sixth emperor of *China*. We might here mention an infinity of other antient customs, some of which had the appearance of laws, still in force among the *Chinese*. But as the time of the commencement, or institution, of these customs is not to be determined with any precision, and as they still prevail in the vast empire whose first state we are at present considering, it will be proper to defer taking notice of any of them till we come to the modern history of *China*[s].

Language. THAT the antient language of the *Chinese* was pretty nearly related to the *Hebrew*, and the other tongues which the learned consider as dialects of it, notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary, we own ourselves inclined to believe. *Ludovicus Thomassinus*, *Philippus Massonius*, *Olaus Rudbeckius*, and *Augustus Pfeifferus*, seem to have proved this almost to demonstration; tho' M. *Bayer* does not come so readily into their opinion. However, he does not deny either the truth or probability of that opinion, nor has he thought fit to urge any thing against the instances they have produced in favour of it. It is true, a great number of words in the present *Chinese* seem not deducible either from the *Hebrew*, or any other language; but then these may be considered as an accession to the primæval terms used in *China*, which were exceeding few, and undoubtedly savoured of the primitive tongue. But, to evince more clearly the point in view, we shall here beg leave to examine the first class of roots, or the primigenial roots of the *Chinese*, and shew them to be of *Hebrew* extraction. For, as the *Chinese* consider these as the first and most simple words of any in their language, the

[s] MAR. MARTIN. COUPLET, FOURMONT, DU HALDE, &c.

(K) The following customs prevailing antiently among the *Cathæans* are mentioned by *Strabo*. 1. Every male child was examined by a proper judge, at two months old; and, if found handsome, and of a form similar to that of the generality of its countrymen, it was brought up, otherwise immediately destroyed. 2. They painted their beards with a great variety of colours, looking upon this as a singular ornament. 3. The young people chose themselves husbands and wives, without the intervention of their parents. 4. When any woman survived her husband, she was reduced to ashes with his corpse. But this last custom, and perhaps the others too, rather belonged to the proper *Indians*, than any of the *Tartars* or *Chinese* (3).

(3) *Strab. lib.* xv. *p.* 699, 700.

characters

characters repreſenting them being the moſt ſimple of all, and making part of the compoſition of all the others, nothing can be more ſtrong and concluſive than the argument here drawn from them. Theſe primigenial roots we have been ſupplied with by M. *Bayer* himſelf in his curious *Lexicon Sinicum*; for which he has juſtly merited the thanks of the whole learned world [t].

1. YE denotes *one* or *unity*, and appears to have been derived from the *Hebrew* הוּא *hu* or *yu*, *he*, *this*, *that*, or *the ſame individual*; which afterwards might naturally enough come to ſignify *one thing*, or *one individual* [u].

2. KUEN or QUEN ſignifies *the relation between a ſuperior and an inferior*. It may be ſuppoſed to have been at firſt the ſame word with גּוּן *gun* or *cun*, equivalent to *likeneſs*, *relation*, *affinity*, &c [w].

3. KIVE, *crooked*, *a crooked hook*, *connection*, &c. This is at firſt ſight deducible from the *Hebrew* word כַּף *caf* or *cif*, *curvity*, *crookedneſs*, &c [x].

4. FOE, *the radical moiſture*, ſeems to anſwer pretty exactly to the *Hebrew* פֵּאָה *faa* or *fee*, which ſometimes correſponds in ſignification with קֵצֶב *ketſeb*, *bound*, *limit*, *end*, *extremity*, *root*, or *radix*, &c [y].

5. PIE, *the innate heat of animals*, may have been originally the ſame word with פִּיחַ *fiah*, or *pia*, *warm* or *hot embers*, which not a little reſemble the natural heat of animals [z].

6. CHU, *an enſign*, or *mark of honour*, *power*, *empire*, &c. may be conſidered as the ſame word with פִּיהּ or גּוּ *guh gu*, or *cuh cu*, denoting *eminence*, *excellence*, *pride*, *pomp*, &c. unleſs we would rather look upon it as agreeing with כִּיהּ *cuh* or *cu*, *ſtrength*, *power*, *riches*, *valour*, &c [a].

7. YE, *one thing*, has a *character* ſomething different from that repreſenting the firſt of theſe primigenial words; but that both of them were originally no other than the *Hebrew* הוּא above-mentioned, cannot well be denied [b].

HERE it is to be obſerved, that הוּא *hu* or *ye* ſeems more naturally to have been applied firſt to *this* or *that determinate individual*, than to *unity*, or *any one thing* or *individual*; that *cun*, *likeneſs*, *reſemblance*, *affinity*, &c. muſt have been prior to *kuen*, *one particular relation* founded upon likeneſs, affinity, *&c.* that *cif* or *caf*, *crookedneſs*, is more ſimple than *kive*, *a crooked hook*, *connection*, &c. that *faa* or *fee*, *a root* or *radix*, does not exhibit ſo complex an idea as *foe*, *radical moiſture*; that *pie*, *the innate heat of animals*, does not convey ſo obvious and rude an idea as *pia*, *hot embers*; and laſtly, that *chu*, *a mark* or *token of power*, muſt, in the nature of things, have been poſterior to *cu*, *ſtrength* or *power* itſelf. Which if our readers think proper to admit, they will likewiſe probably allow the affinity between theſe moſt primitive *Chineſe* roots and the *Hebrew* not only to be an irrefragable argument of the ſurpriſing agreement of the latter language with the moſt antient *Chineſe*, but likewiſe of its ſuperior antiquity, a point that has hitherto been pretty much controverted among the learned [c].

Writing. OF the *Chineſe* manner of writing we ſhall hereafter give our readers a full and ample account. However, at preſent it may not be improper to obſerve, that, as other nations had, almoſt from the beginning, alphabets conſiſting of a certain number of letters, which, by their various combinations, formed ſyllables and words, the people we are now conſidering had never any alphabetic characters. They at firſt, in the beginning of their monarchy, communicated their ideas by drawing on paper the natural images of the things they would expreſs; which anſwered to the rude picture-writing of the *Mexicans*. Afterwards they uſed ænigmatical figures and ſymbols, which correſponded with the hieroglyphical character of the *Egyptians*. As an infinite number of objects could not be repreſented by drawing (ſuch as the ſoul, the thoughts, the paſſions, beauty, virtues, vices, the actions of men and animals, *&c.*), they, by degrees, compoſed more ſimple figures, and invented many others to expreſs thoſe things that do not come within the verge of the ſenſes. The aforeſaid ſimple figures were formed from the hieroglyphical and ſymbolical characters. They were at firſt only the outlines

[t] LUDOVIC. THOMASSIN. gloſſar. univerſ. Hebr. PHILIP. MASSON. apud Th. Sig. Bayer. muſ. Sinic. in præfat. p. 30, 31. OLA. RUDBECK. de ave Selau. Upſalis, 1705. AUGUST. PFEIFFER. oper. philolog. tom. i. p. 44, 45. Ultrajecti, 1704. THEOPH. SIGFRID. BAYER. muſ. Sinic. tom. ii. Petropoli, 1730. Vide etiam tom. i. p. 103—107. [u] TH. SIG. BAYER. tom. ii. p. 89. VAL. SCHIND. lex. pentaglot. p. 427. Hanoviæ, 1612. [w] BAYER. ubi ſup. SCHIND. lex. pentaglot. p. 204. [x] BAYER ubi ſup. SCHIND. lex. pentaglot. p. 884, 885. [y] BAYER. ibid. SCHIND. ubi ſup. p. 1415, 1416. 1378. 1639. Vide etiam Jon. c. ii. ver. 7. & Targ. in loc. [z] BAYER. ibid. SCHIND. ubi ſupra, p. 1427. [a] BAYER. ubi ſup. SCHIND. lex. pentaglot. p. 289, 843. [b] BAYER ubi ſupra. SCHIND. p. 427. [c] Vide JOAN. WEBBER. SHUCKFORD, &c.

of

of those characters; but afterwards they received many considerable alterations. So the sun, which the *Chinese* called *Ge*, was at first represented by this figure ⊙, which in process of time became ☐, retaining still the appellation of *Ge*. The Fathers *Martini* and *Kircher* supply us with many more instances of this kind, which at present we are not willing to transcribe. We must therefore beg leave to refer our curious readers to those learned authors, for farther satisfaction in this particular [d].

M. Bayer, in some measure, opposes this notion, when he asserts the present *Chinese* characters to resemble the *Roman* marks published at the end of *Gruter*, said to be invented by *Ennius*, but finished by *Persannius Philosophus*, *Seneca*, and others, which contain nothing hieroglyphical or symbolical in them. But these have no connection or colligation among themselves, like the *Chinese* characters, whose most complex figures are composed of certain strokes that are visible throughout, as has been demonstrated by Father *Du Halde*. In the mean time, that the modern *Chinese* characters are truly hieroglyphical, notwithstanding what M. *Bayer* insinuates to the contrary, appears from hence, that they consist of simple letters, which retain the signification of the primitive characters; as also because human institution has affixed to the modern figures the same ideas that the first symbols naturally exhibited. To which we may add, that every *Chinese* letter has at present its natural signification, which it always preserves, tho' joined with others. We might dwell longer upon this topic, did we not think, that it ought to be resumed, and expatiated upon, in the modern history of *China*, to which it more properly belongs [e].

Arts and sciences.

If we will believe the *Chinese* themselves, they were, even from the remotest antiquity, the wisest and most learned people in the world. Their first princes, according to them, invented agriculture, music, physic, astronomy, and, in short, every art that tended either to improve the mind of man, or civilize him, and make him a fit member of society. They pretend also, that their ancestors cultivated, with great ardour, magic, natural philosophy, ethics, and theology. As for navigation, commerce, and the mechanic arts, they believe their progenitors to have been better versed in them than any other antient nation. But that these are all vain pretences, appears very plainly from their ignorance when the Jesuits first came among them, notwithstanding some of that society have transmitted to *Europe* very partial and fulsome accounts of them. It is also manifest from the fragments of their most antient classical canonical books, that have been communicated to us, and from the figure they at present make in the republic of letters. But this point we shall more fully discuss in a future part of this work [f].

Disposition.

The *Chinese* seem to have been antiently, as well as at present, of a mild, humane, and modest disposition, and greatly addicted to commerce; for, that this was the character of the *Seres*, we learn from *Pliny*. Nor, indeed, can we suppose, that the *Chinese* have much varied in their genius and disposition, since they have always industriously avoided intermixing themselves with foreigners, and have never suffered any considerable colonies from other nations to settle among them. That this has been one of their political maxims, ever since their acquaintance with the *Europeans* commenced, may be inferred from the accounts given us by the missionaries, the advices in our public prints, and many relations of modern travelers. The same dislike to foreigners discovered itself in the *Seres*, according to *Pliny*, who mentions it as an instance of their great inurbanity. Nor, indeed, can it be considered in a different light by the members of any polite and civilized nation [g].

[d] Mar. Martin. Sinic. hist. lib. i. c. 22, 23. Athanas. Kircher. Chin. illustrat. par. vi. c. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. p. 225—237. Vide etiam Coupl. Du Halde, &c. [e] Th. Sig. Bayer. grammat. Sinic. lib. ii. p. 89—98. Petropoli, 1730. Coupl. Du Halde, &c. [f] Mar. Martin. Le Compte, Coupl. Du Halde, &c. pass. [g] Plin. nat. hist. lib. vi. c. 17. Martin. Coupl. Du Halde, &c.

SECT.

SECT. II.

The History of the Chinese, *from their Origin to the Commencement of the first Dynasty, called* Hya.

State of China before Fo-hi

SOME of the *Chinese* philosophers maintain the eternity of the world, and others make it the mere effect of chance, or nothing more than the production of a fortuitous concourse of atoms. However, as we have already observed, their ancestors acknowleged a First Cause, and had some notion, though in the main it was very perplexed and confused, of a future state of rewards and punishments. They likewise believed the existence of good and evil spirits, as also of tutelary genii, or guardian angels, particularly those that presided over cities. Their historians make mention of a deluge as happening about three thousand years before the birth of Christ; but nothing can be collected from them relating either to the cause or extent of it. The sentiments many of them entertained about the cosmogony, or creation of the world, we have taken notice of in the first volume of this work; and therefore should be guilty of a repetition, did we insert them here. Some of their writers make *Puoncu* (A) the first man to have reigned in *China*. He was succeeded by *Tyen-hoang*, in whose time the heavenly spirit diffused itself over the world, and contributed greatly towards (B) inspiring mankind with a sense of humanity, and a disposition to the practice of all social virtues, after it had destroyed the great dragon, which had thrown both heaven and earth into confusion. This prince, according to the aforesaid writers, invented those two orders of letters, of which the *Chinese* afterwards framed their sexagenary cycle. A *Chinese* author tells us, that he had thirteen successors of one family; but these seem only to have been thirteen heads of families, or chiefs of tribes, that were cotemporary with him. *Ti-hoang* mounted the throne after the death of *Tyen-hoang*, who was famous for his astronomical observations, for his distinguishing the day and night by their respective names, and for his assigning thirty days to each month. Thirteen princes came after him, of whom nothing memorable is related; so that they were probably persons of the same rank and dignity with the chiefs of tribes above-mentioned. *Gin-hoang*, with nine princes of his family, was next advanced to the throne. He divided his dominions into nine parts, one of which he permitted his subjects to dwell upon, but assigned them the other eight solely for cultivation. He first formed the body of his subjects, who were before unconnected and dispersed, into a regular society, as *Phoroneus* did the people of *Argos*. His reign the *Chinese* consider as the golden age; and believe, that the aforesaid partition gave rise to geometry. *Yeu*, or *Yu*, who followed *Gin-hoang*, first taught his people to build huts or cottages of wood, to defend themselves from the inclemency of the weather, and the fury of wild beasts. He likewise improved their skill in agriculture; and, by shewing them the method of striking fire out of flint, taught them to dress their meat. *Suju*, his successor, is said to have been an excellent astronomer, and to have introduced the doctrine of the five elements first among the *Chinese*. He is likewise reported to have invented knotted cords, which served instead of characters, and taught his subjects the use of them. Though the *Chinese* were still ignorant of the use of money, he instituted fairs, for the propagation and augmentation of commerce. To this he was prompted by four of his great officers, men famous for their consummate abilities, whom he had appointed to preside over four of his principal provinces [a].

[a] Mar. Martin. Sinic. hist. lib. i. p. 11---21. Univ. hist. vol. i p. 34. Coupl. De Halde, &c.

(A) It appears from *Bayer* and *Menzelius*, two of the greatest critics in *Chinese* literature that have hitherto appeared in the world, that the word *Puoncu*, *Puon ku*, or rather *Puen ku*, is not the proper name of a man, but signifies *the highest antiquity*, or that immense duration which preceded the creation of the world. This will appear from what we shall observe towards the close of this history (1).

(B) This passage seems remotely to allude to the fall and recovery of man; as well as to the expulsion of the wicked angels out of heaven, and their seduction of our first parents, when in a state of innocence (2).

(1) *Menzelius apud Bayer comment. origin. Sinicar. p.* 267, 268, 269, 270, &c. *Petropoli*, 1730.
(2) *Historicus Sinensis apud Mar. Martin. Sin. hist lib.* i *p.* 16, 17.

THIS is the account given by the *Chinese* historians of the princes who lived in *China* before the foundation of their great monarchy by *Fo-hi*, whom all agree to have been at the head of their emperors. So that whatever has been advanced by some authors, in order to carry the origin of their monarchy up higher, is of no great weight, if it ought not to be considered as a manifest fiction. However, we judged it not improper to communicate to our readers what the *Chinese* say of themselves, even in the times preceding *Fo-hi*, since there is something entertaining, and probably some faint emanations of truth, in what even the most barbarous nations have by tradition received from their ancestors concerning their own original [b].

Fo-hi. 1. FO-HI was born in the province of *Shen-si*, or, as others write it, *Xen-si*. His mother, walking upon the bank of a lake near *Lan-tyen*, a city of *Shen-si*, saw a vast print of a man's foot upon the sand there; and, being surrounded by an *iris* or rainbow, she became impregnated, and in due time was brought to bed of *Fo-hi*. He was elected by his countrymen to govern them, on account of his superior merit, and called by them *Tyen-tse*, that is, *the son of heaven*. This name they gave him, not because they believed him to be of divine extraction, but to denote, that he was more favoured by heaven than the rest of mankind, since he had received from thence those exalted and transcendent qualities which raised him to the throne [c].

As the *Chinese* have placed this prince in *Shen-si*, one of the most western provinces of *China*, it seems from hence to follow, that, in the opinion of that nation, the first planters of *China* came thither from some western region; which very well accords with holy writ. We are told, that *Fo-hi* was a most profound mathematician, a famous legislator, and taught his subjects first to surround cities with walls. In order to distinguish families from one another, he first gave them names; and, perceiving that the knotted cords above-mentioned were unfit for publishing his laws, and transmitting his documents to posterity, he invented the eight *Qua*, to remedy that defect. *These consisted of three lines each, which, differently combined, make sixty-four,* and serve as symbols for expressing every thing that occurs [d].

THESE eight *Qua* or symbols, whose lines are either whole or broken, signify certain general things or elements, on which depend the generation and corruption of particular things. One represents heaven, another the earth, the third thunder and lightning, the fourth mountains, the fifth fire, the sixth the clouds, the seventh water, and the eighth the wind. He taught them how to make use of these famous symbols; and, to give the greater credit to his new laws, pretended, that he had seen them inscribed on the back of a dragon-horse, which rose from the bottom of a lake. He called it a dragon-horse, because it was shaped like an horse, with the scales and wings of a dragon. It is no wonder, that *Fo-hi*, on this occasion, should have recourse to a miraculous or extraordinary appearance, to give the greater weight and authority to his institutions, since other ancient legislators, the better to accommodate their laws to the taste of the vulgar, ascribed the political systems they had framed to some celebrated divinity. M. *Bayer* believes, that, of the lines of which the *Qua* consisted, the *Chinese* formed their most ancient simple characters, and of them the more complex. Thus, for example, of the lines representing *fire*, the character denoting that element was afterwards formed; from those pointing out the *waters of the mountains*, the character standing for those waters had its origin: and so of the rest. But this we take rather to be a fancy, than a notion built upon any solid foundation; nor indeed does the ingenious author himself consider it in a very different view. *Kircher* and *Martini*, when they look upon the ancient *Chinese* characters as either deduced from the natural images of things, or ænigmatical figures and symbols, in our opinion, approach nearer the truth; though here, as in all other dubious points, where something plausible may be said on each side, we leave our readers to determine for themselves [e].

FO-HI chose on this occasion a dragon, or dragon-horse, to be his assistant, because that animal was looked upon as fortunate, or a lucky omen, by the *Chinese*. From this prodigy having gained great reputation among the people, he is said to have created mandarins, or officers, under the name of *The Dragon*. He called one, whose

[b] MARTIN. COUPL. DU HALDE ubi supra. [c] Idem ibid. FOURM. refl. crit. sur hist. anc. peupl. vol. ii. [d] MARTIN. COUPL. DU HALDE in *Fo hi*. [e] Idem ibid. Vide etiam ATHANAS. KIRCH. Chin. illustrat. p. 225—228. TH. SIG. BAYER. ubi sup. p. 96, 97, 98.

employ-

employment was to compoſe books, *The Flying Dragon*; another, who was appointed to make the kalendar, *The Latent Dragon*; a third, who had the inſpection or buildings, *The Inhabiting Dragon*; a fourth, who had the charge of relieving the people, *The Dragon Protector*; a fifth, who had the care of the lands, *The Terreſtrial Dragon*; and a ſixth, who was to procure a communication between ſprings, was denominated *The Dragon of the Waters.* Hence we may aſſign a reaſon, why the emperors of *China* always carried a dragon in their banners. The imperial dragon was allowed five claws to each foot, but that uſed as a ſymbol by a private perſon only four. It was a capital crime for any ſubject to uſe the imperial dragon as a ſymbol on any occaſion [f].

Fo-hi alſo inſtituted marriage, and all the connubial laws. He likewiſe obliged the men and the women to wear different habits, and confined men to women of different names. He alſo invented muſic, as has been already obſerved, and had nothing more at heart than to give public marks of a religious veneration for the Supreme Being. He bred, in a domeſtic park, ſix ſorts of animals to ſerve as victims in his ſacrifices, which he offered twice a year, at the two ſolſtices, when the tribunals, as well as the ſhops, were ſhut up. Having eſtabliſhed a prime miniſter, he divided among four mandarins the government of his dominions. According to ſome, he ſat an hundred and fifteen years upon the throne, and, after his death, was buried at a place called *Chin*; but the moſt ſenſible of the *Chineſe* avow, that the length of his reign is unknown [g].

2. Shin-nong, the ſecond emperor, invented many implements proper for tillage, and taught his ſubjects to ſow five ſorts of grain. This great benefaction ſo endeared him to them, that they gave him the name of *Shin-nong*, or *Celeſtial Huſbandman*. He alſo communicated to them the art of making ſalt of ſea-water, diſcovered the ſalutary and noxious qualities of any medicinal plants, and is conſidered by the *Chineſe* as the author and prince of phyſic. He likewiſe introduced, or, at leaſt, extended, commerce, and appointed public markets. Whilſt this monarch was wholly employed in promoting the happineſs of his ſubjects, a tributary prince, named *So-ſha*, withdrew from him his allegiance. But he was ſoon diſpatched by his own people, who voluntarily ſubmitted to the mild and juſt government of *Shin-nong*. *Martini* tells us, that he reigned an hundred and forty years, which ſeems not to be confirmed by the generality of the *Chineſe* hiſtorians; and that he was at laſt cut off by a dependent prince, who refuſed to obey his orders. Be that as it will, he was looked upon by poſterity as a religious prince, ſince he appointed two additional ſacrifices at the equinoxes. By the firſt he intended to influence *Shang-ti* in favour of agriculture; and, by the other, to return thanks for the harveſt, the firſt-fruits being then offered to him. He likewiſe cultivated with his own hands the field which furniſhed him with corn and fruits for theſe ſacrifices. He is ſaid by ſome authors to have died at *Cha-hyang*, a place depending on *Chang-cha*, called at preſent *Cha-lin-chew*, and under the juriſdiction of *Chang-cha-fu*, the capital of the ſouthern part of the province of *Hu-quang* [h]. Shin-nong

3. Whang-ti is repreſented by Father *Martini* as a rebel, who, after he had ſlain his lawful ſovereign *Shin-nong*, aſcended the throne. Other hiſtorians place ſeven emperors between *Shin-nong* and *Whang-ti*, to wit, *Lin-que*, *Cheng*, *Ming*, *I*, *Lay*, *Li*, and *Yu-wang*. The laſt was depoſed, and perhaps the reſt were no more than tributary princes. Be that as it will, the beſt *Chineſe* hiſtorians place only *Fo-hi*, *Shin-nong*, and *Whang-ti*, among the firſt emperors to whom arts and ſciences owe their riſe and progreſs. A regulus dependent on *China*, named *Chi-yew*, upon the revolt of other tributary princes, appeared in arms againſt the emperor *Yu-wang*, depoſed him, and, in conjunction with the other princes, placed *Whang-ti*, then but twelve years of age, upon the throne. *Fu-pau*, the mother of *Whang-ti*, being frighted with a noiſe of thunder, brought him forth on a mountain called *Swen-ywen*. He ſpoke almoſt as ſoon as he was weaned from the breaſt. In his infancy he diſcovered a great deal of wit and addreſs; in his youth a ſweet and engaging diſpoſition; and, in his manhood, an uncommon depth of judgment and ſagacity. He fought three battles with *Chi-yew* above-mentioned, and defeated him; but was prevented from purſuing him by the thickneſs of the fogs. But, having contrived a card, which ſhewed his ſoldiers Whang-ti

[f] Martin. & Du Halde ubi ſup. Th. Sig. Bayer. comment. origin Sinic. p. 288---295 in muſ. Sinic. tom ii. [g] Martin. & Du Halde, ubi ſup. [h] Martin. Cetpl. Du Halde in *Sinic.* Th. Sig. Bayer. comment. orig. Sinic p. 298, 299.

the south and the other three cardinal points, after the last action, he came up with the rebels, and put their leader to death. Some say, that, on the card, were ingraven the characters of the *rat* and the *horse*, and underneath a needle to point out the four quarters of the world. Could this be depended upon, it would appear, that the *Chinese* had something like the use of the compass, from the remotest antiquity, provided this prince preceded Christ above two thousand six hundred years, as Father *Martini* seems to believe. But the fact, as related, has so much the air of a fiction (it being impossible for such a compass to direct a victorious army in pursuit of a flying enemy out of sight), and the high antiquity assigned *Whang-ti* by *Martini*, and others, has so small an appearance of truth, that no manner of stress is to be laid upon either of them. Besides, had so useful a secret as the compass been discovered in so early an age, we cannot bring ourselves to believe, that it would ever have been lost. But that it was lost for many ages, if *Whang-ti* invented it, can by no means be denied [i].

After this, *Whang-ti* leveled several mountains, cut through others, made great roads to facilitate commerce, and extended the limits of his empire. According to some authors, it was bounded on the east by the ocean, on the north by antient *Tartary*, on the south by the river *Kyang*, called among the *Chinese* the son of the sea, which served as a barrier to *Whang-ti*'s dominions. He created six *ko-lau*, or prime ministers, and made *Tsang-kyay*, one of them, his mandarin historiographer. *Tanau*, another, had the charge of composing the *kya tse*, or cycle of sixty years. It had on one side ten characters, named *Tyen-kan*, and on the other twelve, called *Ti-chi*. The former had the denomination of the ten roots; and the latter that of the twelve branches. Every year was marked by two of them, that is, one of each sort, which were so combined, that the same two signs never came together till the cycle was expired. The *Chinese* at present call this cycle *Lo-she-wha-kya*, that is, *the construction of sixty conversions* [k].

Yong-Cheng, another of the *ko-lau*, having discovered the pole-star, and others in its neighbourhood, received orders to form a sphere and kalendar; but the figure of this original sphere is not known. He also attained to great skill in foretelling the changes of the weather and air. *Li-chew*'s office being to regulate numbers and measures, he invented the following method to cast up any sum. He took a little box, divided into two parts, crossed with several iron wires, through which passed little balls. On every wire in the upper division he placed only two balls, each standing for five; but every wire of the lower division, being much larger, had five balls, each of which stood for one. When he reckoned from right to left, the numbers multiplied the same as in cyphering with us. This method of casting accounts, especially in the sexagenary calculus, Father *Martini* seems to prefer to any used in *Europe*. With regard to measures, the same *Li-chew* determined the dimension of a line by a grain of millet, and reckoned ten lines to an inch, ten inches to a foot, *&c.* The various ways of ranging these grains, which are of an oval figure, have occasioned a diversity in the measures under different dynasties. *Ling-lun*, the fifth prime minister, had the care of improving music, in consequence of which, he took upon him to explain the order and arrangement of the different tones; and lastly, *Yong-ywen*, the sixth, in pursuance of the orders he received, made twelve copper bells, which represented the twelve months of the year. A farther account of the sexagenary cycle and calculus here mentioned will come in more naturally, when we give a description of the present state of *China*; but, in the mean time, our learned and curious readers may consult the Fathers *Martini*, *Noel*, &c. who have been very minute and circumstantial on this head [l].

Whang-ti afterwards invented the cap or bonnet called *myen*; several habits and ornaments suitable to his high dignity; and a variety of useful instruments, such as machines to pound rice, kitchen-stoves, *&c.* He also found out the art of dying, having had this suggested to him by the feathers of the pheasants, as well as various colours of birds and flowers. His own robes were blue and yellow, to imitate the colours of the sky and earth; and, in allusion hereto, some pretend he had his name conferred upon him, *Whang-ti* signifying *the yellow emperor*. He caused bridges to be

[i] Mar. Martin. Sinic. hist. lib. i. p. 25---32. Du Halde in *Whang ti*. [k] Idem ibid. Coupl. præf. ibid. p. 14. Th. S. Bayer. ubi sup. p. 299---303 [l] Coupl. tab. chron. monar. Sinic. p. 1, 2. Martin. Du Halde, Bayer. ubi sup.

built

built over rivers, and coffins to be made for the dead. Barks also with oars he invented the construction of, and taught his subjects how to make bows and arrows, as well as flutes, fifes, organs, trumpets that imitated the voice of the dragon, and drums that resembled thunder. Waggons, with oxen and horses to draw them, before his time, were not known in *China*. He drew models for building, and caused a palace to be erected, named *Ho-kong*, where he sacrificed to the Sovereign Lord of heaven. In order to facilitate trade, he coined money, which, from the figure of a knife-blade upon it, he called *kin-tau*. Physic likewise, if he did not discover, he made a great progress in; his empress also communicated to the people the manner of rearing silk-worms, of spinning their webs, and of making cloaths thereof. He caused his country to be divided into *chew* (C); and erected several principalities, wherein he built cities. The empress, according to *Couplet*, taught the *Chinese* the art of dying. We are told by the same author, that his seat was at *Cho-chew*, in the province of *Pe-che-li*; and that he appropriated the yellow colour to the emperor. He is also said to have invented astronomy, music, and musical instruments; also arms, nets, chariots, architecture, the art of making earthen ware, measures, weights, &c. and to have written several books on the method of discovering diseases by the pulse. The *Chinese* tell us, that eighty-five emperors of three imperial families, which continued two thousand four hundred fifty-seven years, derive their pedigree from *Whang-ti*. This emperor shewed a greater zeal for *Shang-ti* than his predecessor. For, in order to prevent being hindered by bad weather, from making the usual sacrifices to him in the open field, he built a large temple, wherein they might be offered under shelter in all seasons, and the people instructed in their principal duties. Without the south gate of his metropolis was a vast inclosure of arable land, which furnished the corn, rice, and other fruits appointed for the sacrifices; and, without the north gate, was another great inclosure full of mulberry-trees, wherein were nourished abundance of silk-worms. The same day that the emperor went to till the ground with his principal courtiers, his empress *Lwi-tsu* repaired to her mulberry-grove with the ladies of her court, encouraging them, by her example, to make silks and embroidered works, which she set apart for religious uses. *Whang-ti* died on the mountain *King-shan*, and was interred in the province of *Shan-tong*, in the fortieth year of the second cycle, aged an hundred and eleven years, whereof he reigned an hundred. His memory is even to this day held in the highest veneration among the *Chinese* [m].

4. The empire becoming elective, the son of *Whang-ti* was, by election, raised to the throne. He performed the duties of religion with great fervour and devotion; which induced *Whang-ti* to consent, that he should succeed him, with the title of *Shau-hau*, that is to say, young *Fo-hi*. For, from his infancy, he had been a zealous imitator of the virtues of the first founder of the empire, *Tay-hau Fo-hi* [n]. Shau Hau

It is reported, that the *Fong-whang*, a very extraordinary bird resembling the phœnix, appeared at his coming to the crown. This was looked upon as an happy omen; because the *Chinese* say this bird never appears but when good kings are upon the throne. The *Fong-whang*, according to the *Chinese* way of painting it, is like an eagle; but differs from that bird in the wonderful variety of its colours [o].

Du Halde affirms, that, from the appearance of the *Fong-whang*, this emperor took the hint to distinguish his officers by the figures of divers birds, which they wore on their cloaths. This custom is still observed. Those of the *literary mandarins* were embroidered with birds in gold, as a mark of their dignity; those of the *mandarins of war* were adorned with such rapacious animals as dragons, tigers, lions, &c. which they considered as symbols of military fierceness. As the aforesaid bird had appeared in the reign of *Whang-ti*, the *Chinese* considered it as the forerunner of happiness; but, had it not been seen for a long time before, they would have looked upon

[m] Idem ibid. Abdallah Abu Said Beidauæus in hist. Sinic. lib. i. p. 32, 33. Du Halde in *Shau-hau*. Coupl. ubi sup. p. 1.

[n] Mar. Martin. Sinic. hist.

[o] Martin. & Du Halde ubi sup.

(C) Every one of these *chews* consisted of ten *sbe*, every *sbe* of ten *tu*, every *tu* of ten towns, every town of five streets, every street of three *bo-ki*, every *bo-ki* of three *tsing*, every *tsing* of nine *king*, and every *king* of an hundred *mu*. The *mu*, according to his appointment, was two hundred and forty paces in length, and one in breadth. The whole country he divided into an hundred principalities, to every one of which he allotted an hundred *li* [3].

(3) *Du Halde in Whang-ti.*

it as portending the extinction of the imperial family, and great commotions in the empire [p].

Some of the mandarins of the new creation, called *kyew*, were obliged to assemble the people; others governed the five sorts of artificers; and others presided over the tillage, as well as the manners of the people. This prince reformed the measures for grain, had a drum to beat the watches, cleared the chanels of rivers, and smoothed the roads over the mountains. He also invented a new sort of music, that, as the *Chinese* pretend, united spirits with mortals, and reconciled the high with the low; from whence he received the name of *Ta-ywen* [q].

The emperor *Shau-hau* increased the pomp and solemnity of the sacrifice offered to *Shang-ti* by harmonious concerts of music. The greatest part of his reign was peaceable and quiet; but the last years of it were disturbed by the conspiracy of nine *chuhew*, or feudatory princes, who endeavoured to overturn the established system of government. According to some authors, these nine reguli, whom some have called *kyew-li*, disturbed the order of sacrifices, terrifying the people with spectres and goblins; which gave rise to superstitions, and brought the empire into great danger. *Martini* makes *Kyew-li* to have been a single impostor, and to have frighted the people with his deluſions. The same author likewise insinuates, that he introduced idolatry and polytheism among the *Chinese*. *Shau-hau* died during the aforesaid troubles, after he had reigned eighty-four years, and gained the esteem and love of his subjects, by the mildness and goodness of his disposition. He was born, reigned, and was buried, at *Kyo-few* in the province of *Shan-tong*; and, though he left four sons, *Chwen-hyo*, either the nephew or grandson of *Whang-ti*, was chosen for his successor [r].

Chwen-hyo. 5. The people, towards the close of *Shau-hau*'s reign, began to intrude into the sacred ministry, each family affecting to have sacrifices among them; which abuse *Chwen-hyo* reformed, by annexing the priesthood to the crown, and ordaining, that none but the emperor should offer solemn sacrifices to the Lord of heaven. He extirpated the race of the nine inchanters, who were the principal authors of the late tumults. He appeased also the minds of the people, and restored order in the sacrifices. Having reflected on the inconvenience of assembling an active restless people in the same place where the emperor came to sacrifice, he separated the place of instruction from that of sacrifices, and established two mandarins, elected from among the sons of the deceased emperor, as presidents. One of these was charged with the whole ceremonial, and the other took care of the instruction of the people. He likewise settled rules for chooſing the victims, ordering that they should neither be lame nor defective, nor of any other animals but the six kinds appointed by *Fo-hi*. He moreover commanded them to be well fed, and of a colour agreeable to the four seasons wherein they were offered. The *Chinese* say, that this emperor was an excellent astronomer, and that he changed the method of calculating and observing the celestial motions. As these motions were to be viewed at a distance, he invented an instrument to give a more adequate idea of them; but the figure and construction of this we are ignorant of. We are told, that, in this emperor's reign, there happened a most remarkable conjunction of five planets in the constellation *She*; but a *Chinese* astronomer has remarked, that this was only an hypothetical conjunction [s].

Chwen-hyo regulated the kalendar also, ordering that the year should begin the first day of the month, wherein the conjunction of the sun and moon should fall nearest the 15th degree of *Aquarius*; whence he is called the father and author of the ephemerides. He pitched on the time when the sun was in the middle of that sign; because then the earth is adorned with flowers and plants, the trees resume their verdure, and nature seems to be in her bloom. He likewise appointed one mandarin to preside over the mines, another over the waters, forests, *&c.* and afterwards raised them to the most important posts in the empire. *Chwen-hyo* reigned seventy-eight years, died in a very advanced age, and was interred at *Pu-yang*. His seat was at the town of *Wha*, in the province of *Mallet*. *Ti-ko*, or *Kau sin*, the emperor *Shau-hau*'s grandson, succeeded *Chwen-hyo*, whose numerous descendents had afterwards several little provinces conferred upon them, whereof they were kings, or tributary princes [t].

Ti-ko. 6. Ti-ko was raised to the throne by the suffrages of all the orders of the state; and was addicted to the worship of *Shang-ti*, and the religious observation of the ceremonies,

[p] Du Halde ibid. Vide etiam Martin. ubi supra. [q] Idem ibid. [r] Martin. & Du Hald. ubi sup. [s] Mar. Martin. Sinic. hist. lib. i. p. 33. 34, 35. Du Halde in *Chwen-hyo*. [t] Idem ibid.

monies, as much as any of his predecessors. The great devotion of this prince, and his empress *Ywen Kiang*, was rewarded with a son called *Hew-tsye*, from whom sprang a glorious posterity, dignified with a great number of emperors [t].

TI-KO is greatly extolled by the *Chinese* writers, as a prince of a penetrating judgment, who examined all things himself, and entered into the minutest particulars. He was extremely popular, had a sincere affection for his subjects, and was a most bountiful and munificent prince. He established masters to teach the people virtue, and invented vocal music. *Hyen-ho* was the first who composed songs by his order. Flutes, both direct and transverse, drums, bells, and other musical instruments, were first made by his direction. He caused that music to be played, which he named *Lu-ing*, that is, *the beauty of heaven, earth, and the four seasons*. He took four wives, and introduced polygamy among the *Chinese*. By the first of these he had a son named *Ki*, whose descendents founded the dynasty of *Chew*; by the second *Sye*, whose posterity founded that of *Shang*; by the third *Yau*; and by the fourth *Chi*, who succeeded him in the government of the empire. He fixed his residence in the province of *Ho-nan*, upon the spot where the city of *Yen-su* stands. His brothers and their sons he created sovereign princes in the province of *Se-chwen*, and died in the thirty-second year of the sixth cycle, aged 105, after he had reigned seventy years [u].

7. CHI, who swayed the sceptre after the former emperor, was the son of *Ti-ko* by his fourth wife *Chang-i*, who seemed to possess no good qualities worthy of the throne. At first, however, the people conceived some opinion of his merit, and not without reason, according to Father *Martini* But afterwards he made his authority intirely subservient to his brutal pleasures. As he indulged himself in the use of women, and intoxicating liquors, without limitation, the tributary princes, who were accustomed to obey wise emperors, could not bear his licentious and dissolute conduct. Having, therefore, in vain admonished him to reform, they deposed and banished him, setting his brother *Yau* on the throne. He is said to have reigned eight years, having been dethroned in the fortieth year of the sixth cycle, and is not reckoned by Father *Martini* among the emperors [x]. Chi.

8. YAU is considered as the first legislator of the *Chinese*, and the model of their sovereigns. Virtue, according to the writers of his nation, was natural to him, and nothing was wanting in him to form a complete and perfect character. He not only became a pattern for all his successors, but brought the sciences to their utmost perfection; which, according to the *I-king*, he could never have done, and that within the first sixty years of his reign, if it had not been for the extraordinary assistance of *Tyen*. In fine, he was the delight of his subjects, his reign having been so amiable, that the *Chinese* philosophers usually inforced their maxims of morality from their uniformity with the conduct of this emperor, and his two successors; which conformity, once proved, gave them an indisputable authority [y]. Yau.

THIS emperor, taking great pleasure in observing the heavens, ordered *Hi* and *Ho*, two eminent mathematicians, to examine carefully the motions of the celestial bodies, and also to make proper instruments for such observations. By their assistance, he regulated the twelve lunar months, and re-established the intercalated ones, which returned seven times in nineteen years. He is said to have erected six supreme tribunals, which still subsist; and, by the reputation of his singular virtue, to have drawn several neighbouring nations into his dominions. In order to make room for these, he attempted to drain the plains which were overflowed, by opening a passage for the waters to the sea. After this, he associated with him in the empire one *Shun*, an husbandman, whose virtue, probity, and patience, under the severest trials, joined to the confidence which all good men reposed in him, and to an infinity of other excellent qualities, rendered him worthy of the throne. His empress had the care of breeding silkworms, and brought the silk manufactures to a surprising degree of perfection. We are told, that, in the reign of *Yau*, the sun did not set for ten days; and that the *Chinese* were then afraid of a general conflagration. Various serpents of a monstrous size are likewise said about the same time to have appeared. *Yau* lived twenty-eight years in perfect harmony with his new collegue, to whom he had given both his daughters in

[t] MAR. MARTIN. ubi sup. p. 35, 36. DU HALDE, in *Ti-ko*. [u] Idem ibid. Vide etiam COUPLET. ubi sup. p. 2. [x] MAR. MARTIN Sinic. hist. lib. 1. p. 36. DU HALDE in *Chi*. COUPL. ubi supra, p. 3. [y] CONFUCIUS apud Mar. Martin. ubi sup. p. 37. ut & ipse MARTIN. ibid. Lib. Sinic. dict. SHU-KING apud Du Halde, ut & ipse DU HALDE in *Yau*.

marriage,

marriage, and died in the hundred and eighteenth year of his age, after he had reigned ninety years, according to *Martini*, or an hundred, if we will follow *Du Halde*. The people, who had experienced in this truly amiable prince all the love and tenderness of a parent, mourned for him three whole years [z].

Shun. 9. SHUN, though of mean extraction, was appointed by the late emperor his sole heir, to the exclusion of all the princes of the blood, and even in opposition to all the remonstrances of the successor himself, who did not think himself qualified to be placed at the head of so great an empire. Immediately after his accession, he paid his solemn homage to *Shang ti*, and afterwards enacted those wise laws, whereon the government of the empire is founded. He created mandarins, and gave excellent precepts relating to the five principal duties, of the king and the subject, father and children, husband and wife, elder and younger brothers, and of friends among themselves. As his example gave great weight to those precepts, his subjects were intirely influenced by them. He was, therefore, justly reckoned one of the most excellent *Chinese* lawgivers, as well as his predecessor. Soon after *Yau*'s decease, *Shun* trusted the government to his ministers, and shut himself up three years in that prince's tomb, the more freely to vent his grief for the loss of a monarch whom he considered as his father. But, having discharged his duty of piety and gratitude towards *Yau*, he took possession of the imperial palace, and received the homage of all the tributary princes. Finding abundance of gold and jewels in the palace, he caused a sphere to be made, exhibiting the seven planets; each of which was represented by the precious stone most suitable to it. He always honoured philosophers and men of learning with his favour and protection. The provinces he visited every year; and, in his progress, rewarded or punished the reguli with so much justice, that he gained the esteem and admiration of all his people [a].

DURING his reign, agriculture flourished, and plenty every-where prevailed. For which end he forbad the governors, under severe penalties, to exact a day's work from any husbandman, as this must naturally tend to discourage industry, and obstruct the progress of tillage. He filled all the important posts in the state with none but persons of merit and capacity; nay, by one of his ordinances, he permitted any of his subjects to set forth on a table, exposed to public view, whatever could be found blameable in his own conduct. Lastly, in the choice of a successor, he consulted the good of his people, by giving them another prince like himself, in the person of *Yu*, though this was done to the exclusion of his own family [b].

WE are told by *Martini*, that the *Tartars*, for the first time, in this prince's reign, made an irruption into *China*; but that they were soon obliged to retire into their own territories. *Yu*, before he was adopted by *Shun*, had recovered the drowned lands above-mentioned; which his father had not been able to effect. After thirteen years indefatigable labour, he leveled mountains, turned the great rivers into their natural chanels, drained the lakes and marshes, confined several rapid torrents between banks, and divided the lesser rivers into different canals, which terminated in the sea. By this means he inlarged the provinces, and rendered them more fertile; which important piece of service greatly contributed to his adoption, as well as his singular merit [c].

SHUN lived seventeen years after he had raised *Yu* to the throne, which is said to have happened in the fifty-fourth year of the second cycle; and died in the tenth year of the following one, being an hundred and ten years old. He was buried in the province of *Shen-si*, and vastly regretted by all his Subjects. He has been greatly celebrated by the famous *Confucius*, and the *Li-ki*, as well as the best *Chinese* writers of all succeeding ages [d].

As the most authentic *Chinese* historians seem to agree, that their chronology, before the time of *Yau*, who associated *Shun* with him in the empire, is by no means to be depended upon, and as those historians seem not to have used the computation of cycles before the reign of that prince; we are hereby sufficiently authorized to conclude our history of the antient *Chinese* with the death of *Shun*. For this, another reason also, of no small weight, may be assigned: The crown of *China* became hereditary in the family of *Yu*, who succeeded *Shun*; and the *Chinese* dynasties, of which that called *Hya* was the first, immediately commenced upon that prince's accession. As those dynasties, therefore, still continue, the commencement of them, by an *European* historian, may be considered as a new æra, at which the modern history of *China* will

[z] MARTIN. COUPL. & DU HALDE, ubi sup. [a] MAR. MARTIN Sinic. hist. lib. i. p. 43---47. DU HALDE in *Shun*. [b] Idem ibid. [c] MAR. MARTIN. & DU HALDE, ubi sup. [d] CONFUC. apud Martin. in Yaus Sinic. hist. lib. i. p. 37. Lib. Sin. dict. *Li ki* apud Du Hald. ut & ipse DU HALD. ibid.

very naturally begin. In the mean time, to the preceding account of the antient *Chineſe*, we ſhall beg leave to ſubjoin the following reflections [e].

Much of the Chineſe hiſtory fabulous.

1. THE *Chineſe* hiſtory, from the time of *Fo-hi* to the death of *Shun*, has in the main manifeſtly the air of a fiction. The great progreſs thoſe two monarchs, as well as all the intermediate princes, made in ſome one at leaſt of the liberal arts, if we ſuppoſe them to be as antient as many of the miſſionaries, together with the *Chineſe*, pretend, is utterly improbable. The number of people there muſt have been in *China*, according to the aforeſaid hiſtory, during the reigns of all thoſe monarchs, will alſo, upon the above-mentioned ſuppoſition, as well as the ſuperior politeneſs of that people, to every ſober and intelligent perſon, appear abſolutely incredible. The fabulous incidents likewiſe, with which the hiſtory of thoſe reigns is interſperſed, and which are obvious to every one who peruſes the foregoing account, ſet this point beyond diſpute. So that, as the greateſt part of the *Chineſe* memoirs of all the emperors of *China*, preceding *Yu*, have the principal diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of a fiction, they cannot well be viewed in any other light than that in which we are here conſidering them.

Chineſe chronology to the reign of Yu falſe.

2. THAT the *Chineſe* chronology to the reign of *Yu* is very inaccurate, not to ſay falſe, moſt clearly appears from the foregoing hiſtory. Nor can all the efforts of ſome of the miſſionaries overturn this glaring truth. For, not to inſiſt upon the certainty of the *Hebrew* chronology, to which the generality of the learned ſeem willing to adhere; the hiſtory whoſe authority ſupports it favours greatly of fiction, as is allowed even by the moſt rational *Chineſe*, and miſſionaries themſelves. We ſay the hiſtory, whoſe authority ſupports it; ſince in reality the *Chineſe* chronology to the reign of *Yu* is void of every other ſupport. For nothing beſides that authority can be urged in favour of it, except the teſtimony of *Confucius*, and other antient writers, the opinion of the *Chineſe*, and their aſtronomical obſervations. Now the teſtimony of *Confucius*, and other authors who lived many ages after theſe early princes, that the hiſtory of them was extant in their time, and that it was then commonly believed they had exiſted, will by no means prove the reality of ſuch exiſtence, nor conſequently evince their high antiquity. The opinion of the *Chineſe* will indeed prove their zeal for their own antiquities, but by no means evince the genuineneſs of them. And as for aſtronomical obſervations, the *Chineſe* were incapable of making any, at leaſt with tolerable preciſion, till many ages after the death of *Shun*; and, even had not this been the caſe, they might have feigned ſolar and lunar eclipſes, planetary conjunctions, *&c.* in order to pleaſe, flatter, and amuſe their emperors. For ſuch falſe conjunctions often occur in the *Chineſe* hiſtory, eſpecially at the change of dynaſties; and, as for eclipſes, we find none mentioned by the *Chineſe* writers, before the ſecond year of the fourth cycle, in the reign of *Chong-kang*, about ſixty years after the death of *Shun*. So that the *Chineſe* chronology, for the period we have here conſidered, muſt be looked upon as indefenſible [f].

The celeſtial obſervations of the Chineſe frequently fictitious.

3. To confirm what is here ſubmitted to the judgment of the learned, we muſt beg leave farther to remark, that ſome of the earlieſt celeſtial obſervations of the *Chineſe* are full as romantic as any thing elſe that occurs in their hiſtory of the nine firſt emperors. Of this ſeveral inſtances might here be produced; but at preſent we ſhall confine ourſelves to one only. Father *Martini* informs us, that, according to the *Chineſe*, in the reign of *Yau*, the ſun was obſerved not to ſet for ten days; which rendered the people apprehenſive of a general conflagration. Now will any perſon be ſo ſanguinely diſpoſed in favour of *Chineſe* veracity, as to ſuppoſe this a real obſervation? And if not, will it not ſhake the authority of their other obſervations, eſpecially when they exceed all belief, or at leaſt are not founded upon a proper degree of probability? Nothing, therefore, can be more uncertain and chimerical than the concluſion drawn from the eclipſe that is ſaid to have happened in *China* 2155 years before the birth of Chriſt, in ſupport of a fabulous and romantic antiquity [g].

Chineſe hiſtorical period of time begins after Yu.

4. FROM what has been advanced it will follow, that the *Chineſe* hiſtorical period of time muſt have commenced at leaſt conſiderably later than the reign of *Yu*. Nay, Father *Fouquet*, Biſhop of *Eleutheropolis*, has obliged the learned world with a table, that fixes the æra of the *Chineſe* hiſtory, ſo far as it is genuine, about four hundred years before Chriſt; and he even affirms, that ſome, not without ſtrong reaſons, believe, that it might be brought lower ſtill. He allows, indeed, the *Chineſe* nation to be

[e] MAR. MARTIN. ubi ſup. p. 47. DU HALDE in introduct. & alibi. [f] Vid. not. ad DU HALD. in *Chaven kyo*. [g] MAR. MARTIN. ubi ſup. p. 37. P. PREMARE in letr. edifiant. tom. xiv. p. 403.

 almoſt

almoſt as old as the deluge; but denies, that their hiſtory deſerves much credit, if we aſcend higher than four hundred years before Chriſt. Nay, M. *Fourmont* obſerves, that this opinion pretty much prevails at preſent among the miſſionaries. The table above-mentioned was publiſhed at *Rome* in 1729. It contains three large ſheets, and is intituled *Tabula chronologica hiſtoriæ Sinicæ, connexa cum cyclo qui vulgo* Kia-tſe *dicitur*. The founders of the *Kang-mo*, or great *Chineſe* annals, who are the moſt eſteemed of all the *Chineſe* hiſtoriographers, are alſo of the ſame ſentiments [h].

China *not peopled ſo early as the* Chineſe *believe.*

5. This likewiſe, in ſome meaſure, appears from what we have advanced in the hiſtory of the *Tartars*. It has there been rendered probable, that a great part of *China* was very thinly peopled, if not quite void of inhabitants, ſo late as the year before Chriſt 637. when the *Scythians*, under the conduct of *Madyes*, made an irruption into the *Upper Aſia*. From whence it will follow, that little credit is due to thoſe annals which make *China* to have been a powerful empire above two thouſand years before. For, that it was then abſolutely uncultivated, upon the former ſuppoſition, there is not the leaſt reaſon to doubt. This argument might be puſhed farther, and inſiſted upon in a more copious matter, were there any need of it; but, as this is not the caſe, we think it ſufficient juſt to have hinted it to our readers here [i].

Shun *later than the* Chineſe *believe.*

6. We are informed by ſome *Chineſe* hiſtorians, followed by Father *Martini*, that the *Tartars* firſt made an irruption into *China*, in the reign of *Shun*. If this be admitted, it will abſolutely overturn the high antiquity of *Shun*, and his predeceſſors, as well as the authority of thoſe hiſtorians in the point before us. For the *Tartars* never committed any hoſtilities againſt the *Chineſe*, even according to their own hiſtorians themſelves, before the time of *Ogus Khan*. Now, from what has been already obſerved, no one can ſuppoſe that prince to have been prior to *Madyes*, and conſequently to have preceded Chriſt above ſix hundred and forty years. Nay, ſuppoſing the *Tartars* to have been the deſcendents of the proper *Scythians*, which we think cannot well be denied, they could not have penetrated into *China* till many ages after *Madyes*; ſince the *Scythians* themſelves only began to make a figure in the reign of that prince, having been before confined to a ſmall extent of territory near the eaſtern bank of the *Volga*. Nor can we think it probable, that the name of *Tartar*, or *Tatar*, was known even among the *Chineſe* till long after the *Scythians* made themſelves maſters of the *Upper Aſia*; which conqueſt their later poſterity have not ſcrupled to extend even to *China* itſelf. But ſuch a romantic turn as this is common to all the eaſtern writers, eſpecially thoſe of not a very antient date; and therefore no manner of ſtreſs is to be laid upon it. We might here expatiate more largely upon the point in view, did we not chooſe to reſerve a full and particular diſcuſſion of it for the modern hiſtory of *China* [k].

Something of truth in their antient hiſtory.

7. But though the greateſt part of the *Chineſe* hiſtory, to the commencement of the firſt dynaſty, is apparently fabulous, yet ſtill in this there may be diſcerned ſome faint glimmerings of truth. This has been clearly deduced by *Bayer* and *Menzelius*, two moſt eminent critics in *Chineſe* literature, from the beginning of the book intituled *Siao ul lun*, or, in *Latin*, *Origines Sinicæ*. Theſe learned men have found ſome affinity between the *Puen ku*, or *Puoncu*, i. e. *the firſt antiquity*, as alſo the *Tay ku*, i. e. *the higheſt antiquity* of that book, and the vaſt ocean of eternity that preceded the creation of the world. The former believes, that the WATER, or LIQUID MASS, of the *Siao ul lun*, terminating *the higheſt antiquity* (or eternity preceding the creation of the world), and ſeparating it from time, as well as the ſyſtem that followed, reſembles the *chaos* of *Ovid*, and the *tohu vabohu* of the ſacred hiſtorian. The *Tien hoam xi*, *Ty hoam xi*, and *Gin hoam xi*, i. e. *The auguſt family of heaven*, *the auguſt family of earth*, and the *auguſt family of men*, of the *Siao ul lun*, that immediately come after the LIQUID MASS, M. *Bayer* proves to denote the creation of the heavens, of the earth, and of man. Nor are we to be ſurpriſed at the expreſſion of *hoam xi*, *the auguſt family*, when it is applied to the heavens, and to the earth; ſince the greater part of the pagan world, in the earlier ages of idolatry, believed the heavens, the earth, and the celeſtial orbs, to be animated by ſpirits, or intelligences of a middle nature between men and the Su-

[h] Fourm. reſl. critiq. ſur hiſt. anc. peupl. tom. ii. p. 402. Vide etiam not. ad Du Hald. in introduct. ſub fin. [i] See the hiſtory of the *Turks*, *Tartars*, and *Moguls*, towards the beginning and the end.
[k] Mar. Martin. ubi ſup. p. 46. Herodot. lib. iv. Theoph. Sigefrid. Bayerus de origin. & priſc. ſedib. Scythar. Comment. acad. ſcient. imperial. Petropolit. tom. i. p. 385—424. Petropoli, 1728. & tom. iii. p. 295—350. Petropoli, 1732. Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan's genealogic. hiſt. of the *Tatars*, par. ii. c. 2. Mirkhond, & D'Herbel. biblioth. orient. p. 685.

preme Being. In like manner the *nieu gin*, or *nine men*, of *the auguſt family of men*, mentioned by the *Siao ul lun*, according to M. *Bayer*, point at the nine antediluvian generations preceding *Noah*, who may be conſidered as the ſecond father of mankind. In the aforeſaid book, *Fo-hi*, who is placed at the head of thoſe generations, is ſaid to have had for his wife one *Niu Kua*. Now *Kua*, or *Qua*, can by no means be deemed remote from חוה *Chava*, or *Chaua*, *Adam*'s conſort; which ſeems to imply, that *Adam* and *Fo-hi* were the ſame perſon. *Fo-hi* is repreſented as having the head of a man, but the body of a ſerpent. Now among the antients a ſerpent was the ſymbol of a man or people ſprung out of the earth. This repreſentation, therefore, intimates *Fo-hi* to have had ſuch an original; and conſequently ſeems to imply, that the earlieſt *Chineſe* were informed by tradition, that God *formed man of the duſt of the ground*. We are told, that *Whang-ti*, or *Hoam-ti*, appointed *Ta-nau*, or *Ta Nao*, to form the ſexagenary cycle; and that he was the inventor of barks, or ſmall veſſels. Now, as from the *Chineſe* ſeries of antediluvian generations above-mentioned it appears, that *Whang-ti*, or *Hoam-ti*, may be ſuppoſed to have anſwered to *Noah*, we may conſider the name *Ta Nao*, or *great Nao*, and the *invention of barks*, alluding to the conſtruction and uſe of the ark, as pointing at the ſame patriarch. In fine, theſe, as well as other inſtances that there occur, amount to a plain proof, that ſomething of truth may be extracted even from the fabulous hiſtory of the *Chineſe*; and that this nation had ſome obſcure traces of the coſmogony, the origin of man, the univerſal deluge, and other points handed down to us in the cleareſt light by the ſacred hiſtorian [1].

8. It appears from hence, that the *Chineſe* of later ages have greatly corrupted their own antiquities. The traditional notions they had received from their earlieſt anceſtors relating to the coſmogony, the creation of man, the deluge, and the antediluvian world, they have ridiculouſly applied to the antient ſtate and monarchy of *China*; by which they have brought the hiſtory of their nation, eſpecially the firſt part of it, into contempt, among the ſober and rational part of mankind. However, all other nations have, in ſome reſpects, done the ſame thing. The *Chineſe* have alſo reduced to their ſexagenary cycle many tranſactions, handed down to them by their firſt progenitors, which happened long before the invention of that cycle; and by this means introduced great confuſion into their chronology. Nor are we to be ſurpriſed at this, ſince they did not begin to compute their years according to that cycle, till long after the diſcovery of it; as the commencement of the *Olympic* games did not ſerve for an epoch to the *Greeks* till many years after that event happened; nor the reſtoration of *Rome* by *Romulus* to the *Romans* till the age of either *Fabius Pictor*, *Cato*, or *Varro*; nor, laſtly, the birth of Chriſt to the Chriſtians till the time of *Dionyſius Exiguus*. In fine, that the *Chineſe* annals cannot be depended upon, may be inferred even from *Confucius* himſelf, who more than hints the inaccuracy of them; nay, that many of the oldeſt materials for ſuch annals had been deſtroyed before he wrote. The preſent antient memoirs, therefore, that are obtruded upon us by the Jeſuits and the *Chineſe*, muſt be allowed modern (D) productions, in compariſon of the times to which they pretend to relate;

The Chineſe *have corrupted their own antiquities.*

[1] Th. Sig. Bayer. muſ. Sinic. tom. i. in præfat. p. 69. & tom. ii. Menzelius apud Bayer. comment. origin. Sinicar. p. 267, 268, 269, 270, &c. Petropoli, 1730. Abdallah Abu Seid. Bridau. hiſt. Sin. Lib. Sin. dict. Siao ul lun apud Bayer. ubi ſupra, p. 259---267. Pocock. not. in ſpecim. hiſt. Arab. p. 138. Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 251. Maimonid. in more nevochim. Hottinger. hiſt. oriental. lib. iv. c. 8. Hyde relig. vet. Perſar. hiſt. cap. i. p. 2, 3, & alibi. Univ. hiſt. vol. vii. p. 247, 248. Herodot. in Cli. Diod. Sic. & Lucius Ampelius apud Bayer. ubi ſup. p. 291. Gen. c. ii. ver. 7. Mar. Martin. hiſt. Sinic. lib. i. p. 29. Du Halde in *Whang-ti*.

(D) In confirmation of what is here advanced, it may be obſerved, that neither we nor the *Chineſe* have any thing more than fragments of the claſſical or canonical books, and thoſe, as it is natural to ſuppoſe, greatly corrupted. The emperor *Shi-achang-ti*, in the year before Chriſt 213. ordered all the copies of books in the empire, except thoſe written by lawyers and phyſicians, to be burnt; which was done accordingly. Nay, in order totally to deſtroy the memory of every thing contained in them, he commanded a great number of learned men, the next year, to be buried alive, that they might not find out a method of tranſmitting to poſterity the hiſtorical memoirs of the empire, which he was reſolved to annihilate. He was inſpired with this reſolution by a vanity peculiar to himſelf. For, being in reality the firſt abſolute emperor of *China*, he was deſirous of burying all the acts and exploits of his predeceſſors in oblivion, that his own atchievements might ſhine with the greater luſtre. This emperor alſo, in order to prevent the ſudden incurſions of the *Tartars*, as he gave out, but probably to indulge the ſame unaccountable vanity, built a wall from the ſea to the extremities of the province of *Shen ſi*, the reality of which ſtupendous work would be now diſbelieved, were it not ſtill in being. *Vu-ti*, ſeventy-three years after the death of *Shi-achang-ti*, having collected all the ſcattered fragments of hiſtorical memoirs that had, with the utmoſt difficulty, been preſerved, obliged his ſubjects with

relate; so that scarce any thing certain can be deduced from them, though some faint emanations of truth may now-and-then appear [m].

What we are to think of their most antient historical memoirs.

9. As the *Chinese* were almost totally ignorant of every branch of literature, when the Jesuits first came among them, what credit can be deemed due to their accounts of things preceding even the historical period of the *Greeks*, who were a learned, curious, and rational nation? Their great philosopher *Confucius* complains of a want of genuine historical memoirs in his time; and yet now the Jesuits, in conjunction with the modern *Chinese*, pretend to give a clear and authentic history of the monarchs of *China*, who lived two thousand years before that philosopher. Nothing certainly can be more absurd than such a pretension (E); and yet it would be unjust to deny every thing those Fathers have related of the antient *Chinese*, since *Abdallah Beidauæus*, a *Persian* author, who wrote the history of *China* in the beginning of the fourteenth century, confirms some articles to be met with in them[n]. We must, therefore, observe a medium between the two extremes which at present divide almost the whole literary world; and allow, that the most antient historical memoirs of the *Chinese* are not intirely void of truth, though in the main they scarce merit the attention of the learned [n].

[m] Th. Sig. Bayer. ubi sup. p. 324. Confucius apud Bayer. ubi sup. p. 328, 329. ut & ipse Bayer. ibid. [n] Th. Sig. Bayer. ubi supra, p. 29, 30, & alibi. Confucius ubi supra. Abdal. Abu Seid. Beidau. apud Bayer. pass. ut & ipse Bayer. ubi supra, p. 316.

with an edition of these fragments. But it is probable, that they met with the same fate on this occasion that happened to the fragments of the *Sibylline* verses burnt with the *Capitol*, in the civil war between the senate and *Marius*, at *Rome*. The latter, collected from various parts, were undoubtedly so corrupted; as to retain scarce any resemblance of the originals; and the former, as we have great reason to believe, have had so many interpolations and corruptions foisted into them, that they agree in few particulars with those antient productions whose names they bear (4).

(E) This most evidently appears from the translation M. *Bayer* has given us of the *Chun çieu* of *Confucius*. This contains a most rude, jejune, and imperfect account of the *Chinese* dynasties and reguli preceding the age in which he lived, that deserves not the name of an history. M. *Bayer*, therefore, very justly puts it upon a level with the rude memoirs of the better sort of farmers and citizens, which contain nothing more than a plain and simple account of the most obvious and common events. Nor were the earlier *Greek* and *Roman* annals a whit more perfect or entertaining, according to *Tully*, and *Sempronius Asellio* in *Gellius*. Now, supposing the *Chun çieu* to be really as old as *Confucius*, it was written about five hundred years before the birth of Christ. And, if the greatest and most learned man in *China* at that time was no better qualified to write history, or had then no better materials for one, what can we think of the *Chinese* historians, or historical memoirs, of the remotest ages? But there is the greatest reason to believe, that this book is far from being genuine, or coeval with *Confucius*. For the emperor *Shi-whang-ti* destroyed all the historical memoirs in *China* about 267 years after the death of *Confucius*; and therefore but little of his historical works is probably now remaining. This single observation is sufficient to overthrow the authority of those romantic accounts of the first emperors of *China*, which the modern *Chinese*, and their adherents, would impose upon the world (5).

(4) *Th. Sig. Bayer. de Confucii libro Chun çieu, in comment. acad. Petropolit. tom.* vii. *p.* 366, 367. *Petropoli*, 1740. *Du Halde in Shi-whang-ti, & in Vu-ti. Tacit. annal. lib.* vi. *c.* 12. (5) *Th. Sig. Bayer. ubi supra, vol.* vii. *p.* 399---402. *Petropoli*, 1740. *Cic. de orator. lib.* ii. *Sempronius Asellio apud Gell. noct. Attic. lib.* iv. *c.* 18.

The

* *A* DISSERTATION *upon the Peopling of* AMERICA.

* *See* Octavo Edition, *Vol.* XX. *p.* 157.

AMONG the moderns, the firſt effectual diſcoverers of *America* were (A) *Criſtoforo Colon*, or *Colombo*, and *Americo Veſpucci*. The firſt of theſe was a *Genoeſe*, and the other a native of *Florence*, who had the honour to communicate his name to the new world. But we muſt not imagine, that this vaſt tract was intirely unknown to the antients; though, that they had a very clear or diſtinct knowlege of it, from any of their writings, does not hitherto fully appear [a].

Criſtoforo Colombo *and* Americo Veſpucci *the firſt modern effectual diſcoverers of* America.

How the new world, or the immenſe continent called *America*, was firſt peopled, is a point that has, for above two centuries, exerciſed the wits and pens of the learned. Notwithſtanding which, it is not, even at this time [b], arrived at a deciſion. All, therefore, that we can at preſent do is, to oblige our readers with the moſt probable conjectures that have been hitherto offered on this head.

How America *was firſt peopled, not yet certainly known.*

THAT the antients had ſome faint notion of *America*, we have already obſerved; and, in ſupport of that obſervation, ſeveral reaſons might be offered, beſides thoſe already touched upon, were it in any manner neceſſary. But as this is not the caſe, we ſhall proceed directly to ſhew how *America* might at firſt have been peopled [c].

The antients had ſome obſcure knowlege of America.

As the new world is at ſuch a prodigious diſtance from the land of *Shinar*, from the principle we have all along gone upon, it follows, that this continent had no colonies ſettled in it till many ages after the diſperſion. When, therefore, the *Phœnicians* firſt came thither, which ſeems to have happened a conſiderable time before the days of *Plato*, they, in all likelihood, found but few inhabitants there. However, that they contributed towards the planting of it, we have pretty good reaſon to believe. For, that they actually ſailed to this country, appears probable from *Plato* himſelf, *Crantor* his firſt interpreter, and *Marcellus* an *Ethiopian* hiſtorian. Nor will this after what has been already obſerved, be diſputed by the learned [d].

The new world ſeems to have been known to the Pnœnicians.

ACCORDING to *Hornius*, the *Phœnicians* made three remarkable voyages to *America*. The firſt under the conduct of *Atlas*, whom *Plato* in his *Critias* calls the ſon of *Neptune*; the ſecond, when, ſailing along the coaſt of *Africa*, they were driven by a tempeſt to the remoteſt parts of the *Atlantic* ocean, and came at laſt to a vaſt iſland in a weſtern direction from *Libya*; and the third, when the *Tyrians*, in the days

They are ſaid to have made three voyages thither.

[a] FERD. COLON. vit. Chriſt. Colon. JOH. MARIAN. lib. xxvi. c. 3. JOSEPH. ACOSTA de natura novi orbis, lib. i. Jo. PET. MAFFÆUS in hiſt. Ind. lib. i. CASP. ENS in hiſt. Ind. lib. i. c. 2. Vide etiam decret. Pontif. apud Jo. Marian. ubi ſup. & GOTTLOB KRANZ. compend. hiſt. civil. ab orbe condito uſque ad ann. ſecul. xviii. vigeſim. p. 389, 390. Wratiſlaviæ, 1721. [b] GEOR. HORNIUS de origin. gent. American. lib. i. c. 2. p. 17. Hagæ Comit. 1652. LESCARBOTUS apud Hornium, ibid. PEREIR. Præadam. exercit. c. 8. WHISTON's ſupplement to the lit. accompliſhm. of Script. prophec. p. 130---133. FERD. COLUMB. ubi ſupra, p. 622. GULIELM. NICOLSONI epiſt. in diſſertat. philologic. a Joan. Chamberlayn. edit. p. 19. Amſtelædami, 1715. [c] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vii. p. 179. [d] PLAT. in Timæo & in Critia. THEOPOMP. apud Ælian. var. hiſt. lib. iii. c. 18. CRANTOR in Plat. ubi ſupra. MARCEL. apud Procl. AMMIAN. MARCEL. CHRIST. CELLAR. additament. de novo o b. p. 251, 252. Lipſiæ, 1706. Univ. hiſt. ubi ſup.

(A) He commonly goes under the name of *Chriſtopher Columbus*; but the place of his nativity is not perfectly known. Some ſay he was born at *Nervi*, others at *Cugurco*, and others at *Bugieſco*, all ſmall towns near the city of *Genoa*, and upon the *Genoeſe* coaſt. Others will have him a native of *Savona*, others of *Genoa* itſelf, and others of *Piacenza*. In this laſt city ſeveral of his anceſtors lay interred; notwithſtanding which, his ſon *Ferdinand Columbus*, who wrote his life, ſeems to take him to have been born in the territory of *Genoa*. But for a full and particular account of the firſt diſcoverer of the new world, we muſt refer our readers to the hiſtory of *America* (1).

(1) *Ferd. Columb. vit. Chriſt. Columb. c.* 1, 2.

of *Solomon*, went for gold to *Ophir*. But this laſt voyage, it muſt be owned, is not ſufficiently ſupported by antient hiſtory [e].

Some of the old Egyptians *and* Carthaginians *probably ſailed to* America.

HOWEVER, that colonies from other nations, beſides the *Phœnicians*, croſſed the *Atlantic* ocean, and landed in *America*, cannot well be denied. Such an opinion ſeems to have been countenanced by *Ariſtotle*, as well as thoſe authors whoſe teſtimonies have been already produced; tho' it muſt be confeſſed, that what has been hinted by them in the point before us, is ſo clouded and obſcured with fable, that it will afford us but little light in our preſent inquiry. And yet, as all fabulous relations contain ſomething of truth, both *Perizonius* and *Cellarius* ſeem to have inferred from thence, that the new world was not intirely unknown to the remoter ages of antiquity. Nay, the former of thoſe learned men was convinced, that neither the *Egyptians*, nor the *Carthaginians*, were void of ſome traditional knowlege of *America*; ſince he believed, that they communicated ſome ſuch knowlege to other nations. Which if we admit, it will from thence follow, that ſome of the antient *Egyptians* and *Carthaginians* had probably been there, and contributed towards the plantation of that prodigious continent, as well as the *Phœnicians*. Nay, the author of the book *de mirabilibus audit.* ſuppoſed to be *Ariſtotle*, expreſly aſſerts the *Carthaginians* to have diſcovered an iſland beyond *Hercules*'s pillars, abounding with all neceſſaries, to which they frequently ſailed, and there ſeveral of them even fixed their habitations. But the ſenate, adds he, would not permit their ſubjects to go thither any more, leſt this ſhould prove the depopulation of their own country [f].

Some of the Americans *deſcended from the* Egyptians *and* Phœnicians.

FARTHER, that ſome of the *Americans* were deſcended from the *Egyptians* and *Phœnicians*, may be rendered probable from ſeveral conſiderations. 1. The *Phœnicians* built cities beyond the ſtreights of *Hercules*, and had many great ſhips in the remoteſt ſeas, with which, being infeſted by wars at home, they ſought for new ſettlements in the *Atlantic* ocean. 2. The diſtance of *America* from the moſt weſtern coaſts of *Spain* and *Africa* cannot be urged, with any colour of reaſon, againſt the opinion of thoſe learned men, who ſuppoſe the *Phœnicians* to have had an early knowlege of the *Americans*. For, that the *Tyrians* and *Sidonians*, a branch of the *Phœnicians*, were celebrated in antient times for *paſſing over the ſeas*, and their ſkill in maritim affairs, we learn from Scripture. Theſe *Phœnicians*, therefore, at leaſt might have ſailed to *America* either in queſt of new diſcoveries, for which they were ſo famed, or for the ſake of a farther extenſion of commerce. Nay, they might have been joined by other *Canaanites*, or *Phœnicians*, ſince a body of thoſe who fled from *Joſhua* ſettled in the moſt weſtern part of *Africa*, upon the coaſt of the *Atlantic* ocean, as we learn from *Procopius*. 3. Some learned men believe, that the iſlands denominated *Caſſiterides* by the antients were thoſe called by the moderns the *Azores*. Now, that the *Phœnicians* were well acquainted with theſe iſlands, from whence they might eaſily ſail to *America*, we find aſſerted by *Strabo*. 4. Some of the *Americans*, when the *Spaniards* firſt arrived among them, had ſeveral civil and religious rites, cuſtoms, and inſtitutions, which were plainly of a *Phœnician* and (B) *Egyptian* original. Nor is this to be wondered at, ſince the *Egyptians* may very naturally be ſuppoſed to have gone thither with the *Phœnicians*. 5. That the *Phœnicians* had many ſettlements in *Spain*, is well known to every one moderately verſed in hiſtory. Now, the *Spaniards* antiently followed piracy in the *Atlantic* ocean, and conſequently traverſed that ſea, as we are informed by *Strabo*. 6. The *Hebrew* and *Phœnician* languages were almoſt intirely the ſame, nor were the *Egyptian* and *Arabic* very different from them. But it clearly appears, that ſeveral of the *American* primitive words are deducible from the *Hebrew* or *Phœnician*, and

[e] HORNIUS de origin. gent. American. lib. ii. c. 6, 7, 8. Vide etiam PLAT. in Crit. & DIOD. SIC. lib. v. c. 19. [f] ARISTOT. de mund. c 3. & de mirab. audit. CHRIST. CELLAR. ubi ſupra, p. 253. JACOB. PERIZON. in Ælian. var. hiſtor. lib. iii. c. 18.

(B) In confirmation of what is here advanced, we may obſerve, that in *America* there are found many proper names, as well as civil and religious inſtitutions, cuſtoms, *&c.* which ſeem plainly to be of a *Punic* or *Phœnician* original. Several odd *Egyptian* cuſtoms alſo prevailed in *Peru* and *Nicaragua*, when the *Spaniards* firſt came thither. All which may be conſidered as ample proofs of the conſanguinity of the *Phœnicians*, *Egyptians*, *Carthaginians*, and ſome of the *Americans*. But for an enumeration of thoſe proper names, cuſtoms, civil and religious inſtitutions, *&c.* our readers muſt have recourſe to *Hornius*, who has been very prolix on this head (2).

(2) *Hornius, ubi ſup. lib.* ii. *c.* 10. *p.* 105---118.

conſe-

conſequently not remote from the *Egyptian*. Of this the *Caraibic* terms *neketali*, *dead*, or *a dead man*, *hilaali*, *he is dead*, *kaniche*, *a ſugar-cane*, *eneka*, *a collar* or *chain*, from the *Hebrew* קטל, הלל, קנה, ענק, to omit others that occur, are a ſufficient proof. 7. Father *Lafitau* has endeavoured to ſhew, from an affinity, or rather an agreement of cuſtoms, that ſome of the *Americans* are deſcended from the *Pelaſgi*, or firſt planters of *Greece*, who were probably of *Phœnician* extraction. We might offer more arguments in ſupport of the point inſiſted upon; but, as they are intirely ſuperfluous, our readers will neither expect nor deſire them here [g].

The Iſraelites not the progenitors of the Americans.

THE *Mexicans*, and other *American* nations, we are told, *rent their garments*, in order the more effectually to expreſs their grief on any melancholy occaſion. The *Hebrews*, *Perſians*, *Greeks*, *Sabines*, and *Latins*, according to various authors, alſo did the ſame. From whence ſome perſons may poſſibly imagine, that the aforeſaid *Americans* deduced their origin from one or more of thoſe nations. But this is too ſlender a foundation to erect ſuch a ſuperſtructure upon. So that *Manaſſeh Ben Iſrael* has wrongly concluded from hence, that the *Iſraelites* were the progenitors of the *Americans*. But we ſhall not expatiate farther upon this chimerical notion here, ſince it has been fully and amply refuted by the learned *Theophilus Spizelius*, to whom, for farther ſatisfaction, we muſt beg leave to refer our curious and inquiſitive readers [h].

FATHER *Lafitau*, in the practice of the preſent *American* ſavages, has endeavoured to diſcover ſome veſtiges of the remoteſt antiquity. He doubts not, that *America* was known to the antients. A paſſage out of *Diodorus Siculus*, and another out of *Pauſanias*, have convinced him of it; tho' the latter, in our opinion, by no means comes up to the point. He believes, that moſt of the *American* nations derive their origin from thoſe barbarians who were poſſeſſed of *Greece*, and its iſlands; from whence having ſent many colonies abroad during a long ſeries of ages, they were at laſt obliged to go away, and diſperſe themſelves into ſeveral countries, being expelled by other nations. Now, admitting this notion to be true, which ſome of our readers perhaps will not ſo readily grant, it by no means interferes with what has been juſt advanced. For, that the *Pelaſgi*, who firſt peopled moſt parts of *Greece*, were of the ſame extraction with the *Phœnicians*, is probable enough; and that both the *Egyptians* and *Phœnicians* ſent colonies into that country, will not be denied by any perſon in the leaſt acquainted with antient hiſtory [i].

II. BUT though the *Phœnicians*, *Egyptians*, and *Carthaginians*, might have planted ſome colonies in this vaſt region, yet the bulk of the inhabitants muſt certainly have deduced their origin from another part of the world. Had the *Phœnicians* and *Egyptians* peopled even a conſiderable part of *America*, it could not poſſibly have been taken ſo little notice of by the antients, even though both thoſe nations had induſtriouſly endeavoured to conceal their weſtern diſcoveries. For, in that caſe, there muſt have been a conſtant and perpetual communication kept open between *America*, *Egypt*, and *Phœnicia*, and a very extenſive trade carried on between them; ſo that many particulars relating to the new world muſt neceſſarily have tranſpired. Nor could even the ſailors themſelves, who navigated the *Phœnician* ſhips, have omitted divulging many accounts of what they obſerved on this vaſt continent, ſome of which would undoubtedly have been tranſmitted down to us [k].

THAT, therefore, the *Americans* in general were deſcended from ſome people who inhabited a country not ſo far diſtant from them as *Egypt* and *Phœnicia*, our readers will, as we apprehend, readily admit. Now no country can be pitched upon ſo proper and convenient for this purpoſe as the north-eaſtern part of *Aſia*, particularly *Great Tartary*, *Siberia*, and more eſpecially the peninſula of *Kamtſchatka*. That probably was the tract through which many *Tartarian* colonies paſſed into *America*, and peopled the moſt conſiderable part of the new world. This at preſent is the moſt prevailing opi-

[g] HORNIUS ubi ſupra, & alibi. ISA. c. xxiii. ver. 2, 3, 4. 7, 8. STRAB. lib. i. & lib. iii. PROCOP. de bell. Vandal. lib. ii. c. 10. p. 257. ANTON. HERRER. & JOSEPH. ACOST. de natur. nov. orb. paſſ. BOCHART. Chan. lib. ii. c. 1. & alibi paſſ. AUGUST. PFEIFFER. opera philologica, tom. i. p. 44. Ultraject. 1704. GULIELM. NICOLSONUS ubi ſup. Mœurs des ſauvages Ameriquains comparées aux mœurs des premiers temps, par le P. LAFITAU, &c. A Paris, 1724. See before, p. 17. [h] MANASS. BEN ISRAEL. apud Auguſt. Pfeiffer. diſſert. philolog. tom. ii. p. 998. ut & ipſe AUGUST. PFEIFFER. ibid. CURT. de reb. geſt. Alexand. lib. iv. HERODOT. in Thal. & Uran. DIOD. SIC. lib. xvii. LUCIAN. dial. de luct. LIV. lib. i. VIRG. Æn. xii. DIONYS. HALICAR. antiquit. Roman. lib vii. THEOPHIL. SPIZEL. apud Pfeiffer. ubi ſup. [i] P. LAFITAU ubi ſupra. DIOD. SIC. lib. v. p. 208. PAUSAN. in Attic. p. 21. See before, ibid. [k] HORN. lib. i. c. 11. p. 58---61.

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nion among the learned; nor will any ſober intelligent perſon, we perſuade ourſelves, refuſe his aſſent to it, after he has maturely weighed the following obſervations [l].

1. THE genius, manners, and cuſtoms, of the *Americans*, have little affinity with thoſe of the *Europeans*, the more civilized *Aſiatics*, or any of the *African* nations. It is, therefore, reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that their progenitors were ſeated in ſome of the barbarous parts of *Aſia*. Now, as the north-eaſtern *Aſiatic Tartars*, *Siberians*, and the people of *Kamtſchatka*, had ſuch a ſituation; from them, as from their proper ſource, we muſt derive the greateſt part of the *American* tribes [m].

2. MANY of the *Americans*, in their idolatry, ſavage diſpoſition, barbarous qualities, and ſingular cuſtoms, vaſtly reſemble the north-eaſtern *Aſiatics*, particularly the *Tartars*, and natives of *Kamtſchatka*. The *Algonkins*, according to *La Hontan*, rove about from one ſpot of ground to another, like the *Scenite Arabs* and *Tartars*, having neither cities, towns, nor any fixed habitations. The *Peruvians* hang their dead on trees, as do the people of *Kamtſchatka*. The *Weſt-Indians* live in houſes, or huts, erected on four poſts, into which they aſcend by a ladder; and in ſuch cottages as theſe dwell the inhabitants of *Kamtſchatka*. The men of *California* go naked, are of a ſwarthy complexion, and live chiefly upon fiſh; all which holds true of the *Kamtſchatkians*. The *Tunguſi*, *Oſtiacks*, and other neighbouring nations, worſhip the devil with their inchanting drums; and that the antient inhabitants of *Virginia* paid divine honours to infernal ſpirits, and were addicted to inchantments and conjurations, we learn from ſome good authors. Other cuſtoms, wherein they agreed, might here be mentioned, were not the point inſiſted upon obvious to all, who have peruſed the beſt accounts hitherto publiſhed of thoſe remote nations [n].

3. THERE is great reaſon to believe, that ſome of the weſtern provinces of *North America* muſt either be continuous to, or at no great diſtance from, the north-eaſtern part of *Aſia*; though which of theſe is true, we are not at preſent informed. However, it is highly probable, that to the eaſt of *Kamtſchatka*, or, as the *Chineſe* call it, *Jeſſo*, and the *Germans Jedſo*, there is an immenſe tract approaching to *North America*; and that even to this day there remains at leaſt a kind of communication between them, by means of a chain of iſlands. It may alſo be ſuppoſed, that *Aſia* and *America* were formerly connected by an iſthmus, which might have been deſtroyed by an earthquake. Such a ſuppoſition will be ſupported by the authority of thoſe writers, who have rendered ſome parallel inſtances credible. The diſjunction of *Britain* from *Gaul*, and *Spain* from the continent of *Africa*, we have already touched upon. As for the communication between *Aſia* and *America*, this ſeems very agreeable to truth, not only from what has been advanced by *Reland*, but from the diſcoveries made by the *Ruſſians*, an account of which we find in the public prints towards the latter-end of the year 1737. According to thoſe prints, ſome of the *Czarina*'s ſubjects touched, a little before that time, at ſeveral iſlands which lay at a good diſtance in an eaſtern direction from *Japan* and *Kamtſchatka*, and conſequently between thoſe countries and *America*. The people of theſe iſlands, in ſome points, are ſaid to reſemble the *Japaneſe*, and to uſe pieces of money with characters not unlike thoſe of *Japan* upon them. The learned Mr. *Leonard Euler*, Profeſſor of mathematics, and Member of the Imperial Society at *Petersburgh*, ſeems to imagine, that the north-eaſtern cape of *Aſia* diſcovered by captain *Behring* is not thirty degrees off the laſt-known head-land of *California*; but the ingenious Mr. *Dobbs* places them at a much greater diſtance from each other. Be that, however, as it will, that the ſea between the moſt north-eaſtern coaſt of *Aſia*, and the moſt weſtern part of *California*, allowing ſuch a ſea to exiſt, is interſperſed with many iſlands at no great diſtance from each other, may be very naturally ſuppoſed. Nay, if any credit may be given to the advices received from *Petersburgh* the laſt year, the connection of *Aſia* and *America*, or at leaſt the communication between them by means of ſuch iſlands, is as good as diſcovered. We ſhall, therefore, drop this topic at preſent, and perhaps reſume it hereafter, if the *Ruſſians* ſhould think proper to impart to the world the diſcoveries they pretend to have made [o].

4. THAT

[l] M. VON STRAHLENBERG's introduct. p. 80. See likewiſe his hiſtori-geographic. deſcript. of the N. and E. parts of Europe and Aſia, p. 392. [m] GEORG. HORN. de orig. gent. American. lib. i. c. 4. p. 38--44. M. VON STRAHLENBERG ubi ſupra, & alibi. [n] HORN. de origin. gent. American. lib. iii. c. 3. p. 137--143. Vide etiam p. 216. HARRIS's introduct. p. 12. LA HONTAN. vol. i. p. 18. VON STRAHLENBERG's introduct. p. 80. HARRIS's collect. of voyages, vol. i. p. 842--848. ATL. geogr. vol. v. p. 710, 711. VON STRAHLENBERG's append. p. 463. (127) [o] M. VON STRAHLENBERG's hiſtori-geographic

4. THAT part of *America* next to *Aſia* is much more populous than the remoter eaſtern provinces, or kingdoms; which is a manifeſt indication, that this was firſt planted by colonies coming from the neareſt parts of *Aſia*, who ſettled here, and afterwards ſpread themſelves gradually over the new world. From whence we may conclude, that the bulk of the *Americans* are deſcended from the *Tartars*, *Siberians*, and people of *Kamtſchatka* [p].

5. WE are told, that though the *Spaniards* found the continent of *America* full of wild beaſts, yet none of them were to be met with in any of the iſlands which lay remote from that continent. This *Acoſta* aſſerts to be true, on ſtrict examination, of *Cuba*, *Hiſpaniola*, *Margarita*, *Dominica*, *Jamaica*, &c. And this has been obſerved in other iſlands diſcovered ſince *Acoſta*'s time. *J. de Laet* alſo ſays, that there were no ſuch birds in any of theſe iſlands as could not fly far, ſuch as partridges, *&c.* From whence it may be inferred, that *America* received many of its animals, and even men too, from ſome part of the world nearer to its continent than were *Cuba*, *Hiſpaniola*, *Jamaica*, &c. Now, as this muſt have been ſome of the north-eaſtern diſtricts or provinces of *Aſia*, it undoubtedly was, in a great meaſure, peopled, and ſtocked with animals, from thence. Nor can it be ſuppoſed, that the eaſtern extremity of *Aſia* is very remote from the weſtern one of *America*, if one of theſe be not continuous to the other [q].

6. THE people inhabiting the extreme north-eaſtern part of *Aſia* intirely want horſes, thoſe animals not being able to live in ſo cold a region. Now no horſes were found in *America*, at the firſt diſcovery of it by the *Spaniards*; ſo that, in ſeveral places, the natives uſed rein-deer, and large maſtiff-dogs, inſtead of them, as many of the poſterity of the antient moſt northern *Scythians* or *Tartars* did. This ſeems to ſupport what has been before advanced; and therefore we cannot concur with *Grotius*, when he urges the want of horſes in *America* as an argument againſt any plantation of *Scythian* or *Tartarian* colonies there [r].

7. THE *Chichimechæ*, a barbarous people, in their roving manner of life, and many of their cuſtoms, much reſembling the *Tartars*, came into *Mexico*, according to the *Americans* themſelves, about ſeven hundred years after the birth of Chriſt. As, therefore, about the year of Chriſt 400. the *Scythians* or *Tartars* ſo overſtocked their country, that they were obliged to diſperſe into various parts of the world, ſome of them at that time probably found their way into *America*, over a conſiderable part of which they might ſpread themſelves in 300 years. This they might do, either by advancing weſtward to the *Frozen Sea*, and *Nova Zemla*, from whence they might eaſily paſs over to *Groenland* (C), ſeparated from *North America* only by *Davis*'s *Streights*; or by moving in an eaſtern direction towards the peninſula of *Kamtſchatka*. But, for various reaſons that might be aſſigned, it is not likely, that any great number of people could attempt the former paſſage; and therefore it muſt be allowed, that the moſt conſiderable body of planters migrated out of the north-eaſtern part of *Aſia* into the new world [s].

geographic. deſcription of the N. and E. part of Europe and Aſia, p. 392. ADRIAN. RELAND. in diſſert de ling. American. Philoſ. Tranſact. for the months of *January* and *February*, 1747. p. 421---424. Philoſ. Tranſact. for the months of *March*, *April*, and *May*, 1747. p. 471---476. [p] HORN. ubi ſup. p. 137---143. HARRIS's introduct. p. 12, 14. Lond. 1705. BRERewood. enquir. c. 13. p. 95. GUL. NICOL. ubi ſup. p. 20. HEYLIN's coſmograph. p. 947. [q] JOSEPH. ACOSTA de natur. nov. orb. lib. i. J. DE LAET apud Georg. Horn. de orig. gent. American. p. 99. HARRIS ubi ſupra, p. 9. [r] HORNIUS ubi ſupra, p. 137---149. THUAN. lib. lxvii. Vide etiam HAR. ubi ſup. p. 12, 13. [s] HORNIUS de orig. gent. American. lib. iii. c. 4, 5. HARRIS ubi ſupra, p. 13, 14. [s] HORNIUS de orig. gent. American. lib. iii. c. 4, 5. HARRIS, ubi ſupra, p. 13, 14.

(C) This country is conſidered as a part of the *American* continent both by *Hornius* and *Grotius*. The latter of theſe authors believes, that ſome colonies from *Norway* found their way into *Groenland*, and afterwards into *Eſtotiland*, which he takes to be part of *America*. But this opinion is, for various reaſons by them aſſigned, rejected by *Laet* and *Hornius*. As, according to ſome authors, there is but a ſhort paſſage to *Groenland* from *Lapland* and *Nova Zemla*, and the ſea between thoſe countries is interſperſed with many iſlands; and as this ſea may be eaſily paſſed by ſmall boats, or canoes; a few *Scythians*, *Tartars*, or *Siberians*, might poſſibly reach *America* by the way of *Groenland*. The ſimilitude of perſon, diſpoſition, and manner of life, obſervable in ſome of the *Groenlanders*, *Samoeids*, *Tartars*, and *Americans*, renders probable enough ſuch a ſuppoſition. But the limits of this diſſertation will not permit us to expatiate farther upon this point here; ſo that we muſt refer the curious and inquiſitive part of our readers to *Hornius*, for a full and particular diſcuſſion of it (3).

(3) *Grotius apud Horn. de orig. gent. American. lib.* iii. *c.* 5, 6. *p.* 149---162. *ut & ipſe Horn ibid.*

8. It appears from *Solinus*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and *Paulus Venetus*, that *Scythia*, or *Tartary*, and *Hyrcania*, abounded with tigers, lions, bears, and deer. Nay, we learn from *Pliny*, that there was a vaſt variety, as well as multitude, of wild beaſts, in the great *Tartarian* ſolitudes; and that the country, in many places, was rendered a deſert by thoſe beaſts. As, therefore, theſe animals are found in *America*, we may reaſonably preſume, that they came from thence, though how this paſſage was effected, we cannot pretend to determine, till we ſee what relation the eaſtern extremity of *Aſia* bears to the weſtern one of *America*. Farther, in the immenſe ſolitudes and foreſts of *Ruſſia* and *Tartary*, there may be many ſtrange ſpecies of wild creatures unknown to us, eſpecially as new animals are frequently exhibited to our view: ſo that the multitude of ſtrange beaſts, as well as birds, to be met with in *America*, may be eaſily conceived to have got thither from *Tartary* by the eaſtern paſſage. This will amount to a reaſonable preſumption, that ſuch a paſſage was the moſt natural; and conſequently, that the largeſt number of planters came to the new world from *Tartary*, *Siberia*, *Kamtſchatka*, and the other moſt north-eaſtern regions of *Aſia* [t].

9. Nor can any objection to what has been advanced be drawn from the ſuppoſed impoſſibility of the *Scythians* or *Tartars* being ever induced to undertake ſo long and dangerous a migration. For we are informed by *Pliny* and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, that the *Scythian Cannibals*, or man-eaters, depopulated all the neighbouring country, obliging the inhabitants to fly to the remoteſt regions, in order to ſeek out new habitations. The names of theſe cannibal nations have long been, in a great meaſure, loſt; though there are the remains of two of them, according to *Hornius*, ſtill in *America*; which may poſſibly give ſome light into the origin of ſome of the *American* tribes. About *Florida* we meet with a people called *Apalatci* and *Apalcheni*, which appear, by the affinity of their names, to have been the *Apalæi* of *Solinus*. That author joins theſe *Apalæi* with the *Maſſagetæ*, ſome of whoſe deſcendents likewiſe probably migrated into the new world. For we find the *Mazatecæ*, or *Maſatecæ*, conſtituting one of the four nations of *New Spain*, and the *Maſſachaſetæ*, *Maſſachuſetæ*, or *Maſſagaſetæ* (which is ſtill nearer to *Maſſagetæ*), ſituated in *New England*. The *Tambi*, an antient people of *Peru*, according to *Hornius*, came from the *Tabieni* of *Ptolemy*, from whom the promontory of *Tabis*, or *Tabin*, received its name. Hence we may conclude, that theſe *Tabieni* pretty nearly correſponded with the preſent *Jukagri*, *Koræiki*, *Tſchucktſchi*, *Liutori*, *Kamtſchadali*, and *Kurili*, inhabiting the extremity of the north-eaſtern tract of *Aſia* towards the aforeſaid promontory; and conſequently, that the north-eaſtern *Aſiatic Tartars*, *Siberians*, and inhabitants of *Kamtſchatka*, not a little contributed towards peopling the new world [u].

10. That there was a ſecond migration of the *Hunns*, *Alans*, *Avares*, *Turks*, *Tartars*, *Moguls*, *Parians*, and other *Scythian* nations, into *America*, we learn from *Hornius*. The *Hunns*, or at leaſt a branch of that people placed in the fartheſt part of *Aſia*, had the appellation of *Cunadani*, or *Canadani*, from *Cunad*, a place not far from the ſea, where ſome of them had their ſituation. Hence we find a city in the *Upper Hungary*, built by their deſcendents, denominated *Chonad*, or *Chunad*; the inhabitants of which, and thoſe of the neighbouring diſtrict, ſtill retain the name of *Chonadi*, or *Cunadi*. From theſe *Hornius* believes the natives of *Canada* to have deduced both their origin and denomination. And, as an author of good credit aſſigns the *Huyrones* habitations in the neighbourhood of the *Moguls*, he thinks, that theſe *Huyrones* were the progenitors of the *Hurons*, ſeated not far from *Canada*; and that the *Hunni*, or *Chuni*, in conjunction with the *Alani*, to whom they were neighbours, were likewiſe the anceſtors of the *Chonſuli*, a people about *Nicaragua*. The ſame writer alſo ſuppoſes the *Parii*, an antient *Scythian* nation, to have ſpread themſelves over the region of *Paria* in *America*. Farther, as *Herodotus* mentions a *Scythian* or *Tartar* people called *Napæ*, and another denominated *Pali*, he conjectures, that the *Nepi*, in the iſland of *Trinidada*, came from the former, and the *Otapali* in *Florida* from the latter. The *Turks* ſeem to have been called *Iyrcæ* by *Herodotus*, and were, according to *Hornius*, the fathers of the *Iroquoi*, or *Iroquois*; nay, as the *Hyrcanians* were deſcended from the *Iyrcæ*, and in their own language had the name of *Tzuruki*, he takes the *Souriquoi*

[t] Plin. Solin. Ammian. Marcel. Paul. Venet. apud Georg. Hornium & Har. ubi ſup. Von Strahlenberg's introd. ct. p. 80.

[u] Plin. Ammian. Marcel. apud Hornium & Har. ubi ſup. Horn. de origin. gent. American. lib. iii. c. 4, 5. Harris's introduct. p. 14, 15. Von Strahlenberg's introduct p. 55.

to have been alſo their poſterity. The *Mexican* words *Teu* and *Tepec*, importing *God*, and *a mountain*, had likewiſe the ſame ſignification in the antient *Turkiſh*; which he conſiders as a confirmation of the truth of his opinion. Some traces of the *Moguls* may be obſerved in the *Tamogali*, and the *Mogoles* about the *Rio de la Plata*. *Choten*, or *Chotena*, *Baita*, and *Tangur*, or *Tanguth*, are local proper names in *Great Tartary*; and with theſe *Coton* in *Chili*, *Paita* in *Peru*, and *Tangora* in the ſame country, very well correſpond. The *Mexican* local proper names generally end in *an*, as *Teutitlan*, *Coatlan*, *Hazatlan*, *Quezatlan*, *Petutlan*, &c. as do alſo thoſe of the *Tartars*, *Indians*, and other eaſtern nations. Many of the *Scythian*, or *Hunnian*, &c. proper names, had the particle *Al* prefixed to them; which frequently happened to thoſe of *Jucatan*, and the adjacent parts of *North America*. An *American* king named *Tatarax* reigned formerly in *Quivira*, who ſeems to have been of *Tartar* extraction: for the antient *Turks* and *Tartars* frequently annexed the particle *ax* to the proper names of their princes, and the word *Tatar* or *Tartar* occurs in that of this monarch. Nay, that the *Americans* imitated the *Turks* and *Tartars* in the aforeſaid particular, appears from thoſe *American* kings called *Stalderax*, *Almorax*, *Merebax*, and *Naguatax*; as alſo from *Atzlan*, an antient name in the kingdom of *Mexico*, anſwering exactly to that of *Atzlan Beg*, a *Turkiſh* prince in *Natolia*, about the year of Chriſt 1300. From all which we may infer, to omit other inſtances of this kind, which might be produced, that the greateſt part of the antient inhabitants of the new world deduced their original from the above-mentioned north-eaſtern *Aſiatic* nations [w].

11. The *Epicerini*, a people of *Canada*, when the *Europeans* firſt came among them, aſſerted, that, very far from them, in a weſtern direction, there lived a nation who affirmed, that foreign merchants, without beards, in great ſhips, frequently viſited their coaſts. We are alſo told, that in *Quivira* ſeveral ſhips have been found, whoſe ſterns were adorned with ſilver and gold; which was a diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of the *Chineſe* and *Japaneſe* ſhips, according to ſome good authors. That ſome *Chineſe* veſſels of conſiderable force were found wrecked in the *Mare del Nord* above *Florida*, which might have been the ſame with thoſe ſeen at *Quivira*, we learn from *Acoſta*. In *Quatulca* too a tradition prevailed, intimating, that foreign merchants, after a long journey from the weſtward, arrived there; and that theſe merchants were cloathed in ſilk. From whence we may collect, that the *Chineſe* viſited *America*, and communicated ſome of their cuſtoms to the people of that country, eſpecially as the *Chineſe* manner of writing ſufficiently agrees with that of the *Americans*. But we are not inclined to believe, that any conſiderable number of the native *Chineſe* ever ſettled in the new world, that nation being ſo paſſionately fond of their own country, as has been already obſerved. From what has been juſt advanced, as well as from what follows, it appears, that the *Japaneſe* had alſo an intercourſe with the *Americans*. The *Chiapanecæ*, a nation in this vaſt region that came from *Nicaragua*, but originally from *Mexico* and *California*, by their name appear to be deſcended from ſome people left in *America* by the *Japaneſe*. The river, province, and lake of *Chiapa*, in the kingdom of *Mexico*, as well as *Ker-Japan* in the iſland of *Trinidada*, afford ſome traces of the *Japaneſe*. To which we may add, that, in the language of *Japan*, *Tonus* ſignifies the ſun, moon, or ſtars; and alſo governors, kings, or princes: in agreement with which the *Mexicans* call the ſun *Tanaticus*, and the moon *Tona*. In *Hiſpaniola*, *Taino* likewiſe ſignifies nobles or princes. The *Tartars* antiently called the *Japaneſe Zipangri*; and, when *Columbus* arrived at *Hiſpaniola*, and heard that part of this place was called *Zipangi* by the natives, he imagined himſelf to have come to the proper *Japan*. The word *Montezuma*, or *Motezume*, the uſual title of the emperors of *Mexico*, is plainly of *Japaneſe* extraction, *Motazaiuma*, according to *Hornius*, being the common appellation of the *Japaneſe* monarchs. But though, from what is here obſerved, it ſeems probable, that the *Japaneſe* left ſome people on this vaſt continent, yet we are apt to believe, that not many natives of *Japan* remained here. For that nation, being originally *Chineſe*, undoubtedly retained the cuſtoms and political maxims prevailing in *China*. However, as, under the name of *Chineſe*, ſeveral *Oriental* writers comprehended the *Manchew Tartars*, who were quite of a different political conſtitution from the true *Chineſe*, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that the former attended the latter, as

[w] Horn. ubi ſupra. Har. introduct. p. 14, 15. Vincent. ſpecul. hiſtoric. Herodot. lib. iv. Joseph. Acosta de natur. nov. orb. paſſ. M. Von Strahlenberg's introduct. and hiſtor geographic. deſcript. of the N. and E. par. of Europe and Aſia, paſſ.

well

well as the *Japaneſe*, to *America*, and made ſeveral ſettlements there. From whence we may collect, that the new world was principally ſupplied with inhabitants by the eaſtern and north-eaſtern *Aſiatic Tartary* [x].

12. THIS will likewiſe appear from another conſideration. The founder of the *Peruvian* empire was one *Manco*, or *Mancu*, if we will believe the *Americans* themſelves, who certainly muſt have been the beſt acquainted with the traditional knowlege of their own antiquities. Now *Manco*, or *Mancu*, evidently alludes to *Manchew*, or rather is the ſame word with it. This is an additional proof, that ſome *Manchew* colonies ſettled in *America*, and particularly *Peru*; ſo that, as this was the politeſt part of the new world, together with *Mexico*, we may naturally ſuppoſe the *Chineſe* to have been the moſt converſant with the inhabitants of it, and, if any-where, to have planted colonies in it. But, from what is here obſerved, it is likely enough, that the *Manchew Tartars*, who probably were introduced by the *Chineſe*, founded the *Peruvian* empire; as thoſe of the ſame nation who attended the *Japaneſe* did that of *Mexico*. So that the *Chineſe* and *Japaneſe* ſeem only to have traded with the *Americans*, tranſported in their ſhips the *Manchew Tartars* hither, and communicated ſome of their names, cuſtoms, manners, *&c.* to them. The north-eaſtern and eaſtern *Tartars*, therefore, of which the *Manchews* were a branch, muſt greatly, if not above all other nations, have contributed towards the peopling at leaſt of a conſiderable part of the new world [y].

13. FATHER *Jartoux* has obliged the learned world with a moſt accurate deſcription of the celebrated plant *Gin-ſeng*, which he firſt committed to writing in the year 1709. at the time it was gathered, when he had it exhibited to his view in the utmoſt perfection. This plant is a native of *Manchew Tartary*; and then it was not known, that any other part of the world produced it. However, Father *Jartoux* imagined, that there was ſome probability of its growing in *Canada*, and in that country only. Father *Lafitau*, a miſſionary Jeſuit in *Canada*, being hereby excited to an inquiry after the *Gin-ſeng*, after three months ſearch, found it there. The *Americans* had, for a long time, been acquainted with its virtues; and, among them, it all along went under the name of *Garent-oguen*, which ſignified *the thighs of a man*. The *Tartar* or *Chineſe* name *Gin-ſeng* had the ſame ſignification, which was to Father *Lafitau* matter of great ſurprize. However, he inferred from hence, and in our opinion very juſtly, that *North America* was joined to *Tartary*, or at leaſt to ſome tract continuous to it; ſince it is almoſt impoſſible, that the *Tartars* and *Americans* ſhould both have hit upon thoſe names without a communication of ideas. Nor do we doubt, but many ſimilar arguments, in favour of a connection of *Aſia* and *America*, would be ſuggeſted to us, by a nice inſpection into, and examination of, the plants and animals, as well as cuſtoms, religions, languages, *&c.* of thoſe two immenſe continents, which, with the ſeas appertaining to them, form the moſt conſiderable part of the [z] terraqueous globe.

14. No ſmall acceſſion of ſtrength will be brought to the opinion here eſpouſed, by one particular incident mentioned in the ſhort narratives we have received of the late diſcoveries of the *Ruſſians*. They found peopled, as ſhould ſeem, Captain *Behring*'s new land above fifty *German* miles to the eaſt of *Kamtſchatka*. For, coming to the entrance of a great river there, he ſent his boats and men aſhore; but they never returned, being probably either killed, or detained by the natives. Nay, the public prints that appeared in *October* 1737. mention ſome particulars relating to the inhabitants of certain iſlands between *Kamtſchatka*, *Japan*, and *America*, which ſeem to carry with them an air of authority, though the *Ruſſians*, in all likelihood, will never give us a minute and circumſtantial relation of their diſcoveries. This will amount to a pretty ſtrong preſumption, that the iſlands, or continent, between *Kamtſchatka*, *Japan*, and *California*, ſtill unknown to the *Europeans*, are likewiſe inhabited; and if ſo, that thoſe inhabitants muſt have advanced gradually from *Tartary*, *Japan*, and *Kamtſchatka*, to the places wherein they are fixed. From whence we may infer, that even the natives

[x] JOSEPH. ACOSTA, HORNIUS, ubi ſupra, & alibi. HARRIS's introduct. p. 16, 17. VASQUEZ DE CORONADO apud Horn. FERD. COLUMB. in vit. Chriſt. Columb. P. DU HALD. in *Shi-whong-ti*. See alſo his general deſcription of Eaſtern *Tartary*, and particularly of the territory of the *Manchew Tartars*.
[y] HORNIUS de orig. gent. American. HARRIS's introduct. p. 16, 17. GARCILAS. DE LA VEG. P. VERET. GONSALO DE MENDOZA in annal. JOSEPH. ACOST. aliique de reb. American. ſcriptor. [z] P. DU HALDE's deſcript. of the territory of the *Manchew Tart.* Memoire preſenté à S. A. R. Monſeigneur le duc d'Orleans, Regent du royaume de *France*, concernant la prétieuſe plante de *Gin-ſeng*. Par P. JOS. FRAN. LAFITAU, &c. A Paris, 1718. Vide etiam Act. Eruditor. Lipſ. an. 1718. p. 284—287. Lipſiæ, 1718.

of

of *California*, and the adjacent parts of *America*, took originally the ſame route. For, that *Tartary* and *Japan* muſt have been peopled before *America*, as lying nearer to the land of *Shinar*, where the whole race of mankind was aſſembled before the diſperſion, will admit of no diſpute; and that *America* ſhould have received many colonies from ſuch neighbouring countries as *Tartary*, *Japan*, and *Kamtſchatka*, whether they are continuous or contiguous to it, or connected with it by ſome intermediate continent, chain of iſlands, *&c.* is very natural to ſuppoſe. So that, from the tract lately diſcovered, to the eaſt of *Japan* and *Kamtſchatka*, and the people ſettled there, we may infer the probability of *America*'s being planted in part by colonies drawn from the north-eaſtern regions of *Aſia*. For, by ſuch diſcovery, a nearer approach is made from *Japan* and *Kamtſchatka* to the coaſt of *California*; and, from this approach, a preſumptive argument is drawn in favour of our opinion; according to which, all the iſlands and continents between *Japan*, *Kamtſchatka*, and *California*, as well as a conſiderable part of *America*, at leaſt, were peopled from *Siberia* and *Tartary*. Nor can this well be denied, even though, with Mr. *Dobbs*, we ſhould allow the fartheſt extremity of Captain *Behring*'s new-diſcovered land to be ſeven or eight hundred leagues diſtant from the laſt-known head-land of *California* [a].

15. That ſome of the *Tartars* went to *America*, has, from a particular obſervation, been judged extremely probable by an ingenious modern traveler. He obſerves, that the ſhips going yearly from the *Philippine* iſlands to *Mexico* are obliged to ſteer their courſe a vaſt way to the north, in order to meet with a proſperous wind, thoſe blowing between the tropics being always againſt them. He alſo obſerves, that, after they arrive in 42° N. lat. they frequently find ſhallow places in the ocean, which ought to be conſidered as indications of a neighbouring coaſt. This, he ſuppoſes, may not improbably belong to ſome continent unknown to the *Europeans*, uniting *Japan* and *California*. In this, however, we cannot intirely agree with him, ſince the land here mentioned ſeems to be either the coaſt of *Kamtſchatka*, or the new tract to the eaſt of that peninſula diſcovered by captain *Behring*. Be that as it will, the obſervation may ſerve for an additional proof of the truth of what has been here advanced, that is, the probability of a connection of *America* and the north-eaſtern part of *Aſia*; and conſequently of *America*'s being chiefly peopled by north-eaſtern *Aſiatics* [b].

We might here offer other (D) arguments in ſupport of the point under conſideration, did we not think thoſe already produced abundantly ſufficient. Beſides, this is allowed

[a] Philoſoph. Tranſact. for the months of *March*, *April*, and *May*, 1747. p. 472, 473, 474. [b] Capt. W. Rogers's voyage round the world, &c. Vide etiam Act. Eruditor. Lipſ. an. 1717. p. 133, 134.

(D) In farther proof of a communication betwixt *Aſia* and *America* by land, we may add what has been inſerted in one of the *French Mercures Galant's* for 1711. M. *Du Freſnoy* there informs us, on the credit of a manuſcript he found in *Canada*, that ten men, going from thence on diſcoveries, ſailed ſome time, in three canoes of barks of trees, up the great river *Miſſiſippi*, where they found another, which ran ſouth-ſouth-weſt. This they entered, and carried their three canoes from one river to another, till they arrived in a country poſſeſſed by a nation called *Eſcaaniba*, of an extent of at leaſt two hundred leagues. The *Eſcaaniba* abounded with gold, had a king who pretended to be deſcended from *Montezuma*, and carried on a great trade with a nation ſeated in a region at ſo vaſt a diſtance from them, that they told the *French* adventurers, that they ſpent ſix months in their journey to that nation. Theſe adventurers were preſent at the ſetting out of one of their caravans, which conſiſted of three hundred oxen laden with gold, and guarded by the like number of men armed with lances and arrows, with a kind of poniard. They bartered their gold for iron, ſteel, lances, *&c.* and their king, who had the appellation of *Agauzan*, in time of peace, kept on foot an army of an hundred thouſand men. Their women were handſome, and as white as in *Europe*. They had, as well as the men, large ears, which they accounted a great beauty, and adorned them with gold rings. They let their nails grow as long as they could; and this was among them a mark of diſtinction. They uſed polygamy, and were under little concern for the conduct of their daughters. Tobacco, palm-wine, and other ſorts of liquors, they had in great abundance; as alſo all kinds of fruits both of the *Indies* and *Europe*. Their rivers were full of fiſh, and their woods of birds, eſpecially parrots. They had monkies, and animals peculiar to that country. Their capital city ſtood about ſix leagues from the river *Miſſi*, which ſignifies *the river of gold*. They valued gold ſo little, that the king bid the *French* adventurers take as much as they pleaſed; which they did, and brought away each ſixty bars, weighing about two hundred and forty pounds. Their mines were within the hollow parts of the mountains, from which the gold was carried away by rivers, and found on the banks of them. Thoſe rivers were almoſt quite dried up for four months in the year. We ſhall forbear mentioning any other particulars relating to this nation, as being incongruous with our preſent deſign. But it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that the remote country viſited by the caravans was believed by the *French* adventurers to be *Japan*. Which if we admit, a communication betwixt *Aſia* and *America*, if not a connection of thoſe two continents, muſt be allowed. And this ſeems to be confirmed by Father *Hennepin*, when he ſays, that he ſaw on the north ſide of the *Miſſiſippi* ſavages, that came more than five hundred leagues from the weſt; which he judged muſt

allowed by all, who either pay any regard to Scripture, or the reaſon and nature of things, which here mutually ſtrengthen and ſupport one another. It muſt be owned, indeed, that our modern infidels, whether out of ignorance, an incapacity of reaſoning, or a ſupercilious contempt of the means of better information, run themſelves into great difficulties, and even errors ſubverſive of the principles they pretend to profeſs, on this head, in order to attack the authority of Scripture. But none of their crude and indigeſted, not to ſay abſurd and ridiculous, notions, relating to the preſent ſubject, can, as we apprehend, have the leaſt weight with the moſt ſenſible part of even deiſts themſelves; and much leſs with Chriſtians of any denomination. Nay, it is impoſſible they ſhould be liſtened to by any but ſuch as are ſunk into abſolute infidelity, and are as great apoſtates from the dictates of reaſon and common ſenſe, as they are from the truths of revealed religion.

But we are not to be ſo much ſurpriſed, that ſuch men as theſe ſhould make their utmoſt efforts to invalidate the teſtimony of the ſacred hiſtorian, as that they ſhould be ſupplied with objections for this purpoſe by Chriſtian writers themſelves. Though it muſt be owned, that, notwithſtanding thoſe authors call themſelves Chriſtians, they deny ſome of the fundamental articles of Chriſtianity, and ſo diſguiſe ſeveral paſſages of holy writ, by their abſurd interpretations, that they make it appear to be nothing leſs than what it really is. Theſe are the *Chriſtians*, who, by abſolutely denying ſome revealed truths, and raiſing cavils againſt others, excite ſceptics and unbelievers of all denominations to level their attacks againſt Scripture. In fine, by rendering the ſacred writings inconſiſtent with themſelves, and advancing notions plainly repugnant to thoſe writings, whatever they may profeſs themſelves to be, they prove one of the greateſt and moſt effectual ſupports of infidelity [c].

III. Having thus evinced, by as good arguments as the ſubject will admit, conſidering that we do not find this directly aſſerted by any antient author, that *America* was at firſt peopled by colonies drawn out of *Aſia*; we ſhall now beg leave to examine in few words the ſcheme of a modern *Chriſtian* writer, which runs counter to our opinion. And, that he may have no reaſon to complain of miſrepreſentation, we ſhall give our readers this *moſt acute* and *ingenious* ſcheme in the author's own words [d].

" It is true, that either by accidental ſhips driven to *America*, or other remote " parts, in old time; or by colonies traveling from *Eaſt Tartary* by land; if that land " be continued and join to *America*, as it is poſſible to ſuppoſe; that continent may " poſſibly have been thence repeopled after the flood: and the like *poſſible* ſuppoſi- " tions may be made, as to the repeopling of other remote regions alſo. But then, " that the *European* or *Aſiatic* Whites ſhould, without a miracle, repeople them with " colonies of *African* Blacks, or copper-coloured *Indians*, does not appear *poſſible*. " And, for the repeopling thoſe countries themſelves, in the circumſtances we cer- " tainly find them peopled at this day, we ſeem to have but a *bare poſſibility*, without " the *leaſt evidence* or *probability* in the world. If ſhips went by ſea to ſuch remote " countries, they muſt have been guided by white mariners; for the antient Blacks " of *Africa*, ſince the deluge, have had no ſkill in navigation; whence the inhabit- " ants, at leaſt in great part, muſt have been whites, whereas they are olive-coloured. " If they went hence either by ſhips or by land, who would carry lions, bears, tigers, " rattle-ſnakes, *&c.* ſuch a long journey to their own miſery and deſtruction? How " could they carry creatures from *Europe* or *Aſia*, which were never ſeen either in " *Europe* or *Aſia?* but are peculiar to the *Eaſt* or *Weſt Indies*, or other remote " regions: of which yet there are not a few mentioned by the curious, that have " been in thoſe countries. Who would go three or four thouſand miles from *Tartary* " to *America*, through the cold regions of the *North?* When neither any over- " numerous ſtock at home required, nor any tempting country in *North America* in- " vited them to ſuch a tedious and unprofitable journey? What reaſon is there to " think, that the inhabitants of the vaſt hot countries of *South America* ſhould all

[c] Lescarbotus apud Hornium de origin. gent. American. lib. i. c. 2. p. 17. Pereir. Prædam. exercit. c. 8. Whiston's expoſit. of the curſe upon *Cain* and *Lamech*: ſhewing that the preſent *Africans* and *Indians* are their poſterity. Lond. 1725. [d] Whist. ubi ſup.

be from *Japan*. But the name of ſavage is not ſo compatible to the *Japaneſe*; and therefore we are rather inclined to ſuppoſe them natives of *Kamtſchatka*, or ſome other iſland or continent to the eaſt of that peninſula (4).

(4. *Merc. Gal. pour Nov.* 1711. *Hennep. Atl. geogr. vol.* v. *p.* 27.

" come along ſuch a cold northern neck of land, as we muſt ſuppoſe to join the two " continents? Muſt *ſuppoſe* only, I ſay, and that without the *leaſt evidence* or *proba-* " *bility* in the world; the ſituation of the other parts ſeeming rather to perſuade us, " that thoſe continents are there, as well as we know they are every-where elſe, " divided from ours, ſince the deluge, by a part of the main ocean. Neither is " there ſuch an agreement either in the languages or cuſtoms of the ſeveral people of " *America*, as ſhould induce us to believe, that they ſprang either from the *Tartars*, " or from any other particular nation, either of *Europe* or *Aſia*, ſince the deluge. " Such conſiderations as theſe do utterly forbid us to depend upon this hypotheſis, " That *America*, and ſuch other remote countries, were intirely repeopled from this " continent, after the flood, as has been hitherto ſuppoſed. While the ſolution here " given is ſo eaſy, to wit, that they are the remains of the poſterity of *Lamech* the *Cainite*, " whoſe offspring was preſerved through the flood, and had been doomed by GOD " himſelf to continue monuments of his judgments on wilful ſinners, and of the truth " of his threatenings denounced before the flood, and that to no fewer than ſeventy- " ſeven generations, or till the birth of our Saviour Chriſt, for their deliverance " therefrom [e]."

IN anſwer to theſe bold aſſertions, ſupported by no manner of proof, we ſhall beg leave to offer the following conſiderations, which we intirely ſubmit to the judgment of our learned and impartial readers.

1. THIS author deſerves little or no attention, when he affirms, that there is not the leaſt probability in the world of *America*'s being peopled after the flood. For, that a migration of ſome *Aſiatics* into *America* after that memorable event is not void of a tolerable degree of probability, has been already, we flatter ourſelves, very clearly evinced. It will not be neceſſary, therefore, to prove it again here, nor to repeat what has been already offered on this head [f].

2. THAT any conſiderable part of *America* was peopled with colonies of *African* blacks, and that by *European* or *Aſiatic* whites, has never been ſuppoſed by any good author; nor is ſuch a ſuppoſition at all neceſſary to enable us to account for the peopling of *America* after the deluge. On the contrary, it is expreſly allowed by thoſe who contend for a poſtdiluvian plantation of *America*, that there are no *African* blacks found in the new world, except a few about *Careta*, who might have been either driven over by a ſtorm, or deſignedly tranſported themſelves thither, from *Congo* in *Africa*. Nor is the laſt notion ſo improbable, ſince the people there, as *Lopez* tells us, had antiently ſhips carrying two hundred oars. All his fine reaſoning, therefore, from the abſurdity of the foregoing ſuppoſition, in favour of his own more abſurd hypotheſis, upon a due attention to what is here remarked, muſt neceſſarily fall to the ground [g].

3. THAT the *Americans* are all either black, copper-coloured, or olive-coloured, as he ſuppoſes, does by no means appear. On the contrary, they have a great variety of complexions, and many of them have fair and clear ſkins, of a colour little inclining to blackneſs, though the country ſome of theſe inhabit is in the ſame parallel with *Nigritia*, *Libya*, and *Ethiopia*. As, therefore, his ſuppoſition is falſe, the ſuperſtructure he erects upon it can never ſtand. In fine, the *Americans* differ as much from one another in ſhape, complexion, languages, cuſtoms, *&c.* as they do from the inhabitants of the old world. This obſervation ſtrikes at the very foundation of his ſcheme; ſince it amounts to the ſtrongeſt preſumption, that the colour of the *Americans* does not prove them to be the poſterity of *Lamech*, and that it was not the effect of a curſe operating upon their anceſtors for ſeventy-ſeven generations [h].

4. WE are under no neceſſity to ſuppoſe, that the lions, tigers, bears, *&c.* of *America* were brought thither by ſea, as having already proved, that theſe animals were produced in *Scythia*, *Hyrcania*, and *Tartary*, and that, in all probability, they paſſed from thence into *America*. Nor is this difficult to be conceived, if we believe the continents of *Aſia* and *America* either to be united, or ſeparated by a narrow ſtreight, or, laſtly, that there is a communication kept open between the extremities of theſe two continents, by a chain of iſlands lying near thoſe extremities and one an-

[e] Idem ibid. [f] ANTON. HERR. JOSEPH. ACOST. HORN. HAR. aliique rer. American. ſcriptor. ſupra laudat. [g] Idem ibid. LOPEZ apud Hornium, HEYLIN's coſmograph p. 947. Lond. 1703. Vid. etiam HORN. de orig. gent. American. lib. ii. c. 1. p. 61——68. [h] HEYLIN, ubi ſup. HORN. &c.

other.

other. And, that one of theſe is the caſe, we have the greateſt reaſon to believe; nay, we queſtion whether any learned man, except this author, will at preſent diſpute ſo clear a point. As for thoſe animals that ſeem peculiar to *America*, nothing certain in ſupport of his hypotheſis can be inferred from them. For, that they are really peculiar to this country, we muſt not preſume to aſſert, ſince there are many new creatures diſcovered every year in the remoteſt parts of *Aſia*, and particularly *Tartary*, of which vaſt region we have even at this day but a very moderate knowlege. But, even granting, that *America* produces ſeveral animals which differ in ſome particulars from thoſe to be met with in other parts of the world, yet there is nothing wonderful in this. Is it not apparent, that the animals of the northern, north-eaſtern, and ſouthern parts of *Aſia* differ vaſtly from thoſe of *Europe*; and the monſters of *Africa* from the creatures of both the other great continents? Nay, is it not evident beyond all poſſibility of contradiction, that almoſt each of the kingdoms, or provinces of *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*, has animals in ſome ſort or other peculiar to itſelf? But this may be eaſily accounted for from the difference of climate, ſoil, air, and degree of heat, as well as feeding, which will very much change the ſhape and appearance of animals: to which we may add the accidental impulſes on the imagination of the females of the brute creation, the prodigious force of which is not only atteſted by experience, but likewiſe by *Moſes* himſelf. Nor are the creatures peculiar to *America* near ſo numerous as ſome freethinkers, and even our author here, would inſinuate them to be. But, ſuppoſing the contrary to this true, it will not affect the point we are at preſent upon; ſince it would be as prepoſterous to affirm, that the *Europeans* and *Americans* had not one common anceſtor, becauſe each of their reſpective continents produced ſeveral creatures peculiar to itſelf, as it would be to maintain, that the *Perſians* and *Engliſh* were not both deſcended from *Noah*, for the ſame reaſon. If, therefore, the argument couched in the objection we are conſidering be of any weight, it will extend to the *Europeans*, *Africans*, and *Aſiatics*, as well as to the people of *America*; which our author, if he is conſiſtent with himſelf, muſt not allow it to do. As, therefore, it proves too much, it in reality proves nothing at all, and conſequently ought to be rejected, according to the known rules of reaſoning [i].

5. What has been here laid down is, with the ſtricteſt propriety, applicable to the peculiarity of ſhape, make, complexion, languages, cuſtoms, manners, *&c.* of the men and women in *America*; and conſequently will help us to an eaſy ſolution of all the difficulties propoſed on that head by the writer, whoſe ſcheme we are conſidering. For the *Americans* do not differ more from the inhabitants of the old world, in all the above-mentioned particulars, than they do from one another. Nor is ſuch a difference leſs viſible in that great variety of nations ſettled in *Europe*, *Africa*, and *Aſia*, which probably proceeds from the different climates, humours, and faſhions of mankind; as well as the power of the mother's imagination operating upon the *fœtus*, and other concurring cauſes. Be that, however, as it will, if there be any ſtrength in the argument ſuggeſted by the aforeſaid difference, it will exclude the natives of the three continents forming the antient world from the houſe of *Noah*, as well as the *Americans*. It will prove every region and province in thoſe continents to have eſcaped the deluge, as well as ſome parts of *America*. But this our ſchemiſt muſt not aſſert, if he intends to preſerve an uniformity and conſiſtence of ſentiments; and therefore he cannot in reaſon inſiſt upon the truth of a point from whence it is immediately deduced [k].

6. This writer aſks us, Who would go three or four thouſand miles from *Tartary* to *America*, through the cold regions of the north? and what reaſon there is to think, that the inhabitants of the vaſt hot countries of *South America* ſhould all come along ſuch a cold northern neck of land, as we muſt here ſuppoſe to join the two continents? By which queſtions he plainly intimates, that no colonies did paſs from *Tartary* to *America*, on account of the cold intermediate regions they were to traverſe; and that it was impoſſible for the inhabitants of ſuch hot countries as thoſe of *South America* ever to have traveled over the cold northern iſthmus ſuppoſed to connect the two continents. But theſe intimations, or rather aſſertions, however plauſible they may at firſt appear, will not bear an examination. For, as the *Tartarian* colonies mi-

[i] Joseph. Acost. Anton. Herrer. Georg. Horn. Phil. Jo. Von Strahlenberg, Har. paſſ.
[k] Horn. Har. & Whist. ubi ſup.
Gen. xxx. 37, 38, 39.

grating into *America* had been probably born in, and long accuſtomed to, a cold region, why could they not gradually, and in ſeveral ages, paſs through other cold regions, though even three or four thouſand miles in length? And ſince theſe colonies advanced gradually likewiſe, and (as there is reaſon to believe they did) in a long ſpace of time, from *North* to *South America*, why might they not by little and little be inured to heat, and have their bodies at laſt accommodated to the climate in which they ultimately ſettled? That there is nothing unnatural or difficult to be conceived in ſuch a ſuppoſition, appears from hence, that what is here ſuppoſed to have happened to the firſt inhabitants of *America*, did actually happen to thoſe of the old world. For otherwiſe how could ſo cold and frozen a country as *Scythia*, or *Tartary*, have been peopled from *Babylonia* and *Aſſyria*; and how could colonies have paſſed from thence to the peninſula of *Kamtſchatka* and *Behring*'s new-diſcovered land to the eaſt of that peninſula? In fine, how could *Noah*'s ſons have ſpread themſelves over that part of the earth, which even our author himſelf allows to have been peopled by them [l]?

7. He affirms, that the ſituation of the other parts of *America* ſeems to perſuade us, that this vaſt continent is divided from our world, on the ſide of *Tartary*, and has been ſo ever ſince the deluge, by a part of the main ocean. Now, if by this he would inſinuate, that there is a large branch of the main ocean between *America* and the north-eaſtern part of *Aſia*, intirely void of iſlands, to keep up a communication between the two continents, we muſt beg leave to differ from him; if he does not intend ſuch an inſinuation, what he here ſo confidently affirms, is altogether impertinent, as bearing no manner of relation to the point in queſtion. But be this as it will, that there is no ſuch branch of the ocean, as he here ſeems to ſuppoſe, between *America* and *Japan*, or the peninſula of *Kamtſchatka*, is now generally believed; and the diſcoveries made of late by the *Ruſſians*, render ſuch a notion extremely probable. As, therefore, he has not offered the leaſt argument in favour of what he would here appear to advance, it ought to be conſidered only as a bare and unſupported aſſertion, running counter to the ſentiments of the learned world in general; and therefore we may be excuſed from paying any great regard to it [m].

8. He likewiſe aſſerts, that there is no ſuch agreement either in the languages or cuſtoms of the people of *America*, as ſhould induce us to believe they ſprang either from the *Tartars*, or from any other particular nation, either of *Europe* or *Aſia*, ſince the deluge. From whence he would undoubtedly infer, that *America* received no colonies either from *Europe* or *Aſia*. But how inconcluſive and precarious ſuch reaſoning as this is, will appear from one or two parallel inſtances. There is no ſuch agreement either in the languages or cuſtoms of the *Engliſh* and *Tartars*, as ſhould engage our belief, that the former were deſcended from the latter. And yet, that our anceſtors the *Angles* were of *Scythian* or *Tartar* extraction, may be pretty clearly proved. In like manner it may be ſaid, that there is not a ſufficient affinity of language and manners between the *French* and the antient *Celtes*, to induce us to ſuppoſe, that the former were the progeny of the latter; and yet nothing can be more certain, than that hiſtory evinces the truth of ſuch a ſuppoſition. In fine, nothing can be more weak and inconcluſive than ſuch arguments as theſe, which, by proving too much, in reality prove nothing at all.

But farther, we can by no means allow him the point taken for granted in this objection, upon which the whole force of it depends. For, that the manners, cuſtoms, and diſpoſition of the antient *Americans* reſembled thoſe of the *Tartars* and *Chineſe*, not to ſay the *Phœnicians* and the *Egyptians*, has been clearly evinced by *Hornius*, and even ſufficiently appears from what has been here advanced. That the *Chineſe* and *Tartarian* proper names have alſo a conſiderable affinity with thoſe of the *Americans*, has been fully proved; and that even in other particulars the languages of thoſe nations ſeem tolerably well to agree, may be inferred from *Hornius*. Nor was there, as we have good reaſon to believe, a total diſagreement between the moſt antient *American* languages, or dialects, and the *Hebrew*, *Phœnician*, &c. This, in ſome meaſure, appears from what we have already obſerved on that head, and the authors there cited in ſupport of our opinion. So that neither the fact here inſiſted on is true, nor the

[l] Whiſt. ubi ſup. [m] Phil. Jo. Von Strahlenberg's introduct. p. 80. See alſo his hiſtor. geographic. deſcript. of the N. and E. par. of Eur. and As p. 392. Adr Reland de ling. Amaican. differt.

The argument

argument founded upon the ſuppoſition of its truth adequate to the end it is intended to ſerve [n].

9. THIS author has not ſcrupled to ſuggeſt, that other remote countries beſides *America*, by which he muſt mean ſome parts of the old world, were planted by the deſcendents of *Cain*; and this he inſinuates, in oppoſition to the ſentiments of all the learned, and without the leaſt ſhadow of rational proof. So that ſuch an inſinuation can tend to nothing more than to expoſe the author of it, and heighten the abſurdity of the ſcheme it is brought to ſupport [o].

BUT this is advanced not only without rational proof, but likewiſe in direct contradiction to Scripture. For, according to *Moſes*, none of *Cain*'s poſterity ſurvived the deluge; *Noah*, whoſe family only eſcaped the common deſtruction, in order to repeople the world, being deſcended from *Seth*. Notwithſtanding which, our author calls the repeopling of the world by *Noah*'s ſons an hypotheſis; and even treats it as a chimerical notion that is altogether indefenſible. But our readers will not wonder at this, when they have conſidered what immediately follows [p].

10. IN order to ſupport his prepoſterous ſcheme, this writer ſuppoſes, that the offſpring of *Lamech* the *Cainite* was preſerved through the flood; and conſequently denies the univerſality of the deluge. But nothing can be more incompatible with Scripture than ſuch a ſuppoſition. GOD declared to *Noah*, that he was reſolved to deſtroy every thing that had breath under heaven, or had life on earth, by a flood of waters. Such was the menace, uttered without any limitation or reſtriction. And, in conſequence of this menace, *Moſes* aſſures us, that the waters covered the whole earth, buried all the mountains, and were no leſs than fifteen cubits above the higheſt of them. Every thing, according to the ſame ſacred hiſtorian, periſhed therein, birds, beaſts, men, and all that had life, except *Noah*, and thoſe with him in the ark. Is it poſſible for language to expreſs more fully and clearly an univerſal deluge? Beſides, had the waters only overflowed thoſe particular countries intimated by our author, they could not have been fifteen cubits above the higheſt mountains; there was no riſing to that height but they muſt have ſpread themſelves, by the laws of gravity, over the reſt of the earth, unleſs they had been retained there by a miracle. But, had that been the caſe, *Moſes* would have related the miracle, as he did that of the waters of the *Red Sea*, and the river *Jordan*, which were ſuſtained in an heap, to give paſſage to the *Iſraelites*. Beſides, we are told by *Moſes*, that *of the ſons of* Noah *was the whole earth overſpread*; *that by them were the nations divided in the earth after the flood*; and that *they repleniſhed the earth*: all which paſſages, and others that might be produced, manifeſtly import, that the whole race of mankind, excluſive of *Noah* and his ſons, periſhed in the deluge; and conſequently that this deluge extended to every part of the old habitable world [q].

THIS is likewiſe evinced, by a vaſt number of petrified animal bodies (E), parts of animals, bones, teeth, *ſhells*, vegetables, trees, ſhrubs, herbs, *&c.* found repoſited not only in the more lax *ſtrata* of chalk, clay, and marle, but alſo in the moſt ſolid ſtone, with the ſand conſtituting which theſe marine bodies frequently appear incorporated. Nay, intire fiſhes and ſea-ſhells are frequently found petrified in coun-

[n] See the pref. to Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan's genealogic. hiſt. of the Tat. VON STRAHLENBERG. paſſ. WHIST. ubi ſup. HORN. ubi ſup. lib. ii. c. 10, 11, 12. lib. iii. c. 4, 5. & alib. HAR. introduct. p. 16, 17, 18. [o] WHIST. ubi ſup. [p] Idem ibid. Gen. vii. & viii. [q] WHIST. ubi ſup. Gen. vi. vii. viii. ix. x. xi.

(E) It is certain, that the ſubterranean petrified animal bodies and vegetables found in the bowels of *America*, and particularly the *Andes* of *Peru*, are a very ſtrong argument in favour of our opinion. For they clearly prove that part of the globe formed by the continent of *America* to have been totally diſſolved at the time of the deluge, and conſequently that none of its antediluvian animals, if any ſuch there were, ſurvived that terrible cataſtrophe. And if this be allowed, it evidently follows, that the preſent *Americans* muſt have been deſcended from thoſe men who eſcaped the flood, that is, the ſons of *Noah*. As *the waters decreaſed*, and the earth reſumed its priſtine conſiſtence, thoſe excreſcences called mountains were formed, and upon one of them the ark reſted. For a particular account of the formation of theſe mountains, as well as valleys, grottoes, *&c.* our readers may have recourſe to the learned and ingenious Dr. *Woodward*. We muſt not omit obſerving, that from the petrified ſhells found in the bowels of mountains *Philo* inferred the univerſality of the deluge; which adds no inconſiderable weight to what Dr. *Woodward* has advanced in ſupport of the *Moſaic* hiſtory (5).

(5) *Phil. de mund. immortalit.* *Woodward's nat. hiſt. of the earth, par.* i. *and* ii.

tries at a vaſt diſtance from the ſea, and in the bowels of the higheſt mountains, even the *Andes* of *Peru*. Among theſe ſome ſhells are diſcovered of foreign extraction, being the produce not of the neighbouring ſeas, but of the remoteſt parts of the ocean, buried at the bottom of the deepeſt mines, as well as the tops of the higheſt mountains. Thus in *England* we often find at great depths ſhells of fiſhes of different kinds that appear now living only on the coaſt of *Peru*, and other parts of *America*. Others are likewiſe found appertaining formerly to fiſhes that are not now diſcovered living on any coaſt whatſoever, being doubtleſs ſuch as naturally reſide in, and inhabit, only the deepeſt and remoteſt receſſes of the ocean, without approaching any ſhore, or ever being ſeen near it. Now nothing will account for theſe ſurpriſing phænomena, eſpecially as they are more or leſs diſcernible in all parts of the earth, but the total diſſolution of the ſtones, marbles, metals, and all kinds of foſſils and mineral concretions of the antediluvian earth, during the time of the deluge. From whence, as this implies a reduction of the whole terraqueous globe to its original fluid maſs, we muſt neceſſarily infer the univerſality of that deluge. So that both Scripture and the conſtitution of the earth itſelf conſpire to eſtabliſh that important truth, which the author now in view repreſents as a chimerical and indefenſible hypotheſis [r].

11. Our author founds his ſtrange hypotheſis upon a paſſage of Scripture, which will by no means ſupport it. *Moſes* informs us, that *Lamech* made the following ſpeech to his wives *Adah* and *Zillah*: *Hear my voice, ye wives of* Lamech; *hearken unto my ſpeech: for I have ſlain a man to my wounding, and a young man to my hurt. If* Cain *ſhall be avenged ſeven-fold, truly* Lamech *ſeventy and ſeven-fold.* From whence this writer infers, that "the poſterity of *Lamech* the *Cainite* was preſerved through "the flood, and doomed by God Himſelf to continue a monument of His judgments "on wilful ſinners, and of the truth of His threatenings denounced before the flood, "and that to no fewer than ſeventy-ſeven generations, or TILL THE BIRTH OF OUR "SAVIOUR CHRIST, FOR THEIR DELIVERANCE THEREFROM." The impertinence and abſurdity of which inference will moſt clearly appear from the following obſervations [s].

First, The latter part of *Lamech*'s ſpeech, which the ſchemiſt has principally in view, bears not the leaſt relation to *Lamech*'s poſterity, as ſuch, nor to any puniſhment to be inflicted upon them, for their great anceſtor's tranſgreſſion; but to the murderer or murderers of *Lamech*. This is clear from the preceding paſſage of Scripture, to which the text we are upon immediately refers. *And the Lord ſaid unto him, Therefore whoſoever ſlayeth* Cain, *vengeance ſhall be taken on him ſeven-fold.* From whence it plainly appears, that *vengeance was to be taken on the ſlayer of* Cain, not on his deſcendents, as ſuch; and conſequently that *Lamech*'s murderer was to be puniſhed, not his deſcendents, to the ſeventy-ſeventh generation. Nor is it eaſy to conceive how, from this paſſage, any writer could draw ſo wild and romantic a concluſion [t].

Secondly, Suppoſing, however abſurd our Chriſtian readers may juſtly deem ſuch a ſuppoſition, that ſome remains of *Lamech*'s poſterity were to have been preſerved through the flood, to no fewer than ſeventy-ſeven generations, as this author aſſerts, yet how will it appear, that the laſt of theſe generations was coeval with the birth of our Saviour Chriſt? For, between *Lamech* and the flood we muſt not allow, at fartheſt, above four generations; nor during 2344 years, the interval between the deluge and the birth of Chriſt, above ſixty-eight, or at moſt, ſixty-nine, the ſum of which is but ſeventy-three generations. This may be moſt clearly evinced from archbiſhop *Uſher*, and Sir *Iſaac Newton* (F), in conjunction with Scripture. So that, according

[r] Whist. ubi ſup. Woodward's nat. hiſt. of the earth, par. ii. p. 76—112. Lond. 1723.
[s] Gen. iv. 23, 24. Whist. ubi ſup. [t] Gen. iv. 15.

(F) The author of the piece under conſideration finds fault with Sir *Iſaac Newton*, for not aſſigning a ſufficient number of years to a generation. He makes the interval between *Hercules* and *Hippocrates*, containing nineteen generations, to amount to 836 years; whereas, according to Sir *Iſaac Newton*, it ſcarce exceeded 630. Now, as *Hippocrates* lived about 430 years before Chriſt, *Hercules* muſt have preceded the Chriſtian Æra 1266 years, if we allow this author's hypotheſis. And, as the length of human life was the ſame almoſt throughout this whole period, *David*, who lived about 1066 years before Chriſt, aſſerting it to have arrived at only 70 or 80 years in his time, we may ſuppoſe about eleven generations to have paſſed between *Hippocrates* and Chriſt. So that, according

according to this calculus, which we take to be ſufficiently exact, the ſeventy-ſeventh generation of *Lamech*'s deſcendents muſt commence 132 years after the birth of Chriſt. However, it muſt be obſerved, that in making it we have been rather too favourable to our ſchemiſt, ſince we have ſuppoſed none of the generations between the births of *Abram* and of Chriſt to have exceeded thirty-three years, the length aſſigned the later generations by Sir *Iſaac Newton*; whereas ſeveral of thoſe immediately ſucceeding the former of the above-mentioned events muſt have been conſiderably longer, If, therefore, it is deficient in point of exactneſs, this muſt be occaſioned by its being too favourable to the ſcheme we are conſidering; and of courſe it muſt bid fair for overturning that ſcheme [u].

But, thirdly, Suppoſing that the expiration of the ſeventy-ſeventh generation from *Lamech* and the birth of Chriſt did exactly coincide, yet even this will not come up to the point: for our author has been miſled by the *Engliſh* verſion in the paſſage upon which he would found his hypotheſis. That verſion has it there, *If* Cain *ſhall be avenged ſeven-fold, truly* Lamech *ſeventy and ſeven-fold*; whereas the original *Hebrew* ought there to have been rendered, *If* Cain *ſhall be avenged ſeven-fold, truly* Lamech *ſeventy times ſeven*, which will make a wide difference in the computation of generations. For the words: שבעים ושבעה ought undoubtedly to have been tranſlated *ſeventy times ſeven*, or *ſeventy times ſeven-fold*, as moſt manifeſtly appears from the Septuagint verſion, whoſe words are ἑβδομηκοντάκις ἑπτά, *ſeventy times ſeven*, or, according to our author, *ſeventy times ſeven generations*. Which words were not intended to expreſs any determinate number, but a large indeterminate one, far exceeding a number juſt before mentioned. *Seven*, it is very well known, was conſidered as a complete and perfect number by the *Hebrews*, and therefore was frequently taken by them for an indeterminate number, and *ſeventy times ſeven* for another far exceeding the preceding indeterminate one. This we might prove by various arguments; but at preſent we ſhall chooſe to make uſe of one only, and that is a parallel expreſſion of our Bleſſed Saviour, which does not only confirm the authority of the Septuagint, but even puts the (G) point we are inſiſting upon beyond

[u] Newton's chronol. of the Greeks, p. 53, 54, 55. Jacob. Usser. Armachan. annal. Vet. Teſtament. p. 2, 3, 4, & 608. Lutetiæ Pariſiorum, 1673. Gen. iv. v. xi.

according to this writer's chronological principles, 1260 years muſt have been equivalent to 30 generations, or nearly ſo; upon which ſuppoſition, as about 1074 years elapſed between *Hercules* and the flood, the interval between the flood and the birth of our Saviour could not well have contained above fifty-four or fifty-five generations. Nay, according to our author, on account of the longevity of all nations, till at leaſt the age of *Moſes*, we ought not to admit above 20 generations between the flood and *Hercules*, nor conſequently above 50 between the former and the birth of Chriſt. To which if we add eleven, for 480 years, wanting, as this writer pretends, in the *Hebrew* chronology, and four antediluvian ones, the whole will amount to about 65 generations. From our ſchemiſt's chronological principles, therefore, it evidently appears, that the 77th generation after *Lamech* did not commence till near 500 years after the beginning of the Chriſtian Æra.

But that Sir *Iſaac Newton* did not err in defect, when, in conformity to the antients, he aſſerted a generation to conſiſt of about 33 years, at leaſt for the laſt 1000 years before Chriſt, ſeems to appear ſufficiently from our Saviour's genealogy, as given us by St. *Luke*. For we find, in that genealogy, from *David* to Chriſt forty-three generations; ſo that as the term including theſe generations did not amount to above 1060 or 1070 years, they cannot be ſuppoſed to have exceeded, one with another, 25 years. Nor are we to be ſurpriſed, that St. *Luke* ſhould have made the interval between *David* and the flood equivalent to only 23 generations, though it contained, according to archbiſhop *Uſher*, 1339 years. For, that men lived much longer than they did in *David*'s time, from the flood to the days of *Moſes* at leaſt, ſeems to be allowed on all hands: and therefore that theſe laſt generations were near double the others, as upon a calculation they will be found to be, we may very naturally ſuppoſe. It is worthy obſervation, that the generations of St. *Luke*, in conjunction with the four preceding the deluge, make up 70; which does not only confirm what we have here advanced, but likewiſe ſtrongly evinces the truth of the *Hebrew* chronology, and conſequently ought to ſilence the cavils our author has urged againſt it. To give a full anſwer to all theſe cavils would be incongruous with our preſent deſign, as well as ſuperfluous and unneceſſary; ſince this has been done effectually by the learned Dr. *Carpzov*, to whom, for farther ſatisfaction, we refer our curious and inquiſitive readers (6).

(G) This likewiſe receives a conſiderable acceſſion of ſtrength from the *Samaritan* verſion, which makes the two words under conſideration equivalent to *much more*, or *a much greater puniſhment*. Such a citation as this is appoſite enough, when we have to do with the author now in view, who ſeems to entertain a very high opinion of the *Samaritans*, or at leaſt of the *Samaritan Pentateuch*. Nothing is more common than for the *Hebrews* to put a certain for an uncertain number (7).

(6) *The Republic of Letters for Feb.* 1729. *p.* 225. *Whiſton's eſſay towards reſtoring the true text of the Old Teſtament, &c. p.* 214, 215. *Lond.* 1722. *Luk.* iii. 23—38. *Jacob. Uſſer. annal. Vet. Teſtament. p.* 3, 28, 600. *Lutetiæ Pariſior.* 1673. *Jo. Gottlob Carpzov. critic. ſacr. Vet. Teſtament. p.* 781 979. *Lipſiæ*, 1728. (7) *Verſ. Samaritan. in Gen.* iv. 24. *Whiſton's eſſay towards reſtoring the true text of the Old Teſtament, p.* 195—220. *& alib. paſſ.*

diſpute. That expreſſion is to be met with in *Matt.* xviii. 22. Λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Οὐ λέγω σοι ἕως ἑπτάκις, ἀλλ' ἕως ἑβδομηκοντάκις ἑπτά· which our verſion has rightly rendered, *Jeſus ſaith unto him, I ſay not unto thee, until ſeven times, but until ſeventy times ſeven.* Theſe are the very words uſed by the Septuagint in the paſſage now before us, and therefore confirm what we have here advanced. Nor can this writer except to the authority of the Septuagint without being inconſiſtent with himſelf; he having, in another piece, put that verſion at leaſt upon a level with the original *Hebrew*; tho', in that point alſo, we muſt beg leave to differ from him. The number of generations, therefore, intended here, if any generations at all are intended, will not be ſeventy-ſeven, but four hundred and ninety; a number that is irreconcileable with, and intirely ſubverſive of, our author's ſcheme [w].

12. THIS writer ſuppoſed, that *Lamech*'s poſterity were to be of an olive or copper colour for ſeventy-ſeven generations, by way of (H) puniſhment for the double murder their great anceſtor had been guilty of; from whence he collects, that the preſent *Americans*, who have an olive, or copper-coloured complexion, were *Lamech*'s deſcendents. Now we appeal to our readers, whether any thing can be more weak, illogical, and abſurd, than ſuch a concluſion. For, if this puniſhment was to be inflicted on *Lamech*'s offspring through ſeventy-ſeven generations only, how comes it to paſs, that after near double that number of generations, even at this very day, thoſe complexions remain among the genuine *Americans?* If at the birth of our Saviour, as this author ſuggeſts, the *Americans* were to be delivered from the ignominious mark, or colours, with which they were ſtigmatized, or, in other words, the puniſhment inflicted upon them, how can we account for their ſtill retaining the ſame colours, or ignominious mark (I)? And conſequently how can we infer from thence, that they are the poſterity of *Lamech?* This certainly is a moſt capital blunder, intirely diſconcerts our author's plan, and renders his whole ſcheme moſt apparently abſurd.

[w] VERS. SEPTUAG. in Gen. iv. 24. Dictionnaire Hebraique, &c. par Mr. LOUIS DE WOLZOGUE, p. 659. A Amſterdam, 1712. VAL. SCHINDL. lex. pentaglot. p. 1792, 1794. Hanoviæ, 1612. Univ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 684, not. (R). Matt. xviii. 22. WHISTON's eſſay towards reſtoring the true text of the Old Teſtament, p. 206, 207, 208, 215, 216, & alib. paſſ. Lond. 1722.

(H) That our author takes the *ſuppoſed* colour of all the *Americans* to have been part of the puniſhment inflicted upon *Lamech*'s poſterity, for their great progenitor's enormous crime, appears from ſeveral paſſages in the piece here referred to. He tells us, that "*Cain* was by birth a white; but that, "upon his wicked life, and moſt barbarous *parricide*, GOD changed him to the remoteſt ſpecies "and colour of a perfect black, and this during thoſe "*ſeven generations* which were allotted to his puniſhment before he was to be ſlain." And, in another place, he ſuppoſes, that "the ſeveral ſorts "of colours, different from whites, belonged to "wicked *Lamech*, and his wicked poſterity, when, "*upon* his double murder, a like PUNISHMENT for "*ſeventy-ſeven generations* was entailed upon them." From whence it clearly appears, that the colours, or complexions, of *Lamech*, and his deſcendents, different from that of their great anceſtor *Adam*, were, in his opinion, intended to be part of the puniſhment inflicted upon *Lamech*, and his poſterity. If, therefore, this ſtrange writer would have been conſiſtent with himſelf, he ſhould have made this part of *Lamech*'s puniſhment to have expired with the other at the birth of Chriſt, and not have ridiculouſly, and without the leaſt colour of reaſon, pretended, that the blacks and *Americans* would become perfect whites, when they embraced the Chriſtian religion. For, that the puniſhment ſhould be taken off intirely at the birth of Chriſt, if his general hypotheſis be of any force, muſt be allowed; ſo that to deny any one part of that puniſhment to be then taken off, is, in effect, to overturn the whole hypotheſis.

Beſides, in order to adjuſt the expiration of the curſe upon *Lamech* to the commencement of the Chriſtian æra, he advances ſo many abſurd ſuppoſitions, is ſo inconſiſtent with himſelf in the chronological principles he thought proper afterwards to adopt in pure oppoſition to Sir *I. Newton*, and runs ſo counter to the whole ſtream both of ſacred and profane antiquity, that, in our opinion, not the leaſt regard is due to this fantaſtical performance. In fine, we ſhall conclude what we have to ſay of it with obſerving, that it contains more idle reveries, more ridiculous and unſupported notions, than were ever yet, in any other piece, publiſhed, even by this extraordinary author [8].

(I) That *Lamech*, and his off-ſpring, had *a mark ſet upon them*, is a notion only exiſting in the imagination of our author; not the leaſt countenance to ſuch a notion being given by Scripture. Beſides, as the mark ſet upon *Cain* was only perſonal, even in this writer's opinion, it muſt be in the higheſt degree abſurd to ſuppoſe ſuch a mark affixed to *Lamech*'s poſterity, for ſeventy-ſeven generations. But whoever examines the crude and indigeſted performance now in view, with the leaſt attention, will own, that our ſchemiſt has not at all conſidered the conſequences that flow from his wild and arbitrary poſitions. Here, as in other pieces, he ſeems to ſuppoſe himſelf infallible, and takes for granted, that every deviation from the moſt common and received interpretation of Scripture is ſo tranſcendently clear, as not to ſtand in need even of the moſt ſuperficial examination (9).

(8) *Whiſton's expoſit. of the curſe upon* Cain *and* Lamech, *&c. p.* 108, 109, 118, 119, 120 (9) *Idem ibid. p.* 109, 110, *&c.*

In fine, had we no other proofs of it, this would plainly ſhew him to be a weak projector both in hiſtory and theology; and, in ſome meaſure, juſtify Dr. *Halley*'s obſervation of him; to wit, That he is a perſon of extenſive reading, but extremely addicted to paradoxical notions; that he writes down every whimſical hypotheſis which ſtrikes his imagination, and ſends to the preſs every thing he commits to writing. Be this as it will, that he is extremely fond of his own productions, and has a vaſt opinion of them, appears from the air of triumph and ſelf-ſufficiency, with which he has obtruded ſo many paradoxes upon the world, ſome of which, in their conſequences, bear hard, to uſe no harſher an expreſſion, upon ſeveral important points of revealed religion [x].

America *not inhabited till the later ages.*

IV. That the main land of *America* was not inhabited till the later ages of the world, is deducible from the preceding parts of this diſſertation. For, if *Tartary* itſelf was not well peopled in the time of *Ogus Khan*, about 630 years before Chriſt, as we have already obſerved it was not; who can imagine, that *America*, at ſuch a diſtance from the neareſt known part of it, ſhould have received any conſiderable number of people from thence, before the 4th or 5th century after Chriſt? Now, in fact, we find this to be the caſe. For, that the firſt arrival of the *Scythians*, or *Tartars*, happened about the year of Chriſt 400. has been rendered extremely probable by *Hornius*; as alſo that the *Chichimecæ*, a barbarous people, in moſt of their cuſtoms reſembling the antient *Scythians*, found their way into *Mexico* about the 700th year of Chriſt. The firſt of theſe migrations ſeems to have been occaſioned by the embroiled ſtate of *Tartary*, which was greatly agitated by bloody wars, and inteſtine commotions, as well as overſtocked with people, about the beginning of the fifth century. And the latter was probably effected by the deſcendents of the firſt migrators, who in the ſpace of 300 years might have peopled the moſt northern parts of *America*. This is likewiſe confirmed by the accounts the *Americans* themſelves give us of the *Chichimecæ*, and their firſt arrival in *Mexico*. Nor can it well be doubted, but that ſince the year 700. the *Tartars* have performed ſeveral other ſuch migrations [y].

No conſiderable number of Chineſe *ſettled in* America.

It has been already obſerved, that there was a conſiderable agreement in the names of places, writing, characters, cuſtoms, and ſtructures, of the *Mexicans*, *Peruvians*, and *Chineſe*. This ſeems to intimate, that the *Chineſe* either planted ſome colonies in *America*, or carried over ſome *Tartars*, in their ſhips, thither. And, in confirmation of this ſentiment, ſome authors have imagined, that great numbers of the *Chineſe*, having been driven out of their own country by the *Tartars* about the year of Chriſt 1270. ſailed in 1000 ſhips, with their king *Facfar*, to *America*, and founded the kingdom or empire of *Mexico*. This point has been laboured by *Hornius*, and conſidered as a notion extremely probable by Dr. *Harris*. But, however ſtrong that gentleman might have thought the arguments offered by *Hornius*, in ſupport of his opinion, to us they do not appear ſo convincing. For the *Chineſe* hiſtory (K), which may

[x] Whiston's diſſertation upon the curſes denounced againſt *Cain* and *Lamech* before the flood; proving that the *Africans* and *Indians* are their poſterity. Lond. 1725. [y] Hornius de origin. gent. American. lib. iii. c. 4, 5. Harris's introduct. p. 13. Lond. 1705.

(K) The *Chineſe* call *Kublay* or *Koplai Khan*, the grandſon of *Jenghiz Khan*, and fifth monarch of the *Moguls*, *Ho-pi-lye*. He accompliſhed the reduction of *China* under the power of the *Tartars*. *Jenghiz Khan* had only conquered that part of it lying to the north of the *Whang-ho*, or *yellow river*; and *Ugadai Khan* what is ſituate between that river and the *Yang-tſe-kyang*. The laſt blow he gave the *Chineſe* was an intire defeat at ſea, which proved the total ruin of the emperor *Ti-ping*, and the extinction of the dynaſty of *Song*. It happened about the year of Chriſt 1278. and has been related in the following manner by the *Chineſe* hiſtorians.

The *Chineſe* fleet being overtaken by that of the *Tartars*, could not avoid an engagement. This was very bloody, but at laſt proved deciſive in favour of the *Tartars*. The *Ko-lau*, or prime miniſter, *Lo-ſyew-ſe*, finding his ſhip ſurrounded by the *Tartarian* veſſels, threw himſelf, with the young emperor in his arms, into the ſea. The reſt of the lords and courtiers followed his example. This ſo ſhocked the empreſs, that, being abandoned to deſpair, ſhe alſo drowned herſelf. The action happened near an iſland dependent on *Quang-cheu-fu*, capital of the province of *Quang-tong*. *Another general, who commanded a part of the* Chineſe *fleet, having forced his way thro' the enemy, and eſcaped their fury with ſome of his veſſels, endeavoured to make to ſhore; but was driven off by a ſtrong wind, which blew from the land; and a violent ſtorm riſing at the ſame time, he was ſunk at once with all his followers. It is affirmed, that above* 100,000 Chineſe *periſhed in this fight, either by the ſword, or by water, into which the greater part threw themſelves in deſpair.*

From this ſhort extract our readers will clearly perceive how *Paulus Venetus* and *Gonſalo Mendeza* have

may ſafely enough be depended upon from the reign of *Jenghiz Khan* to the preſent time, is intirely ſilent as to this king *Facfar*, and the *Chineſe* colonies, which, to the number of 100,000 ſouls, are ſuppoſed to have ſailed with him to *America*. Nor does *Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan* (L), the *Tartar* hiſtorian, give the leaſt intimation of ſuch an expedition. The authority, therefore, of *Paulus Venetus* and *Mendoza*, in this particular, is not to be intirely depended upon; nor will the point in view be evinced by the wrecks of *Chineſe* ſhips ſaid to be found about *Quivira* and *Florida*, though we ſhould allow the fact, as atteſted by *Vaſquez de Coronado* and *Acoſta* [z].

[z] Iidem ibid. Vasquez de Coronado & Joseph. Acosta apud Hornium & Har. ubi ſup. Vid. etiam Du Halde's annals of the Chineſe monarchs.

have impoſed upon *Hornius*; as alſo how they have darkened and corrupted the *Chineſe* hiſtory. For that they both had in view this cataſtrophe, after a peruſal of them, no perſon of the leaſt penetration will deny; and that their ſtory of king *Facfar* is plainly a detorſion of the latter part of this hiſtorical article, to us appears extremely probable. Nor is this to be wondered at, *Mendoza* being an obſcure writer, and *Paulus Venetus*, or, as he is called by ſome, *Marco Polo*, an author guilty of great miſtakes. This has been fully evinced by M. *Von Strahlenberg*, who has corrected ſeveral of them. But had he been a writer of much better authority, he ought not to ſtand in competition with the *Chineſe* hiſtorians, who have tranſmitted down to poſterity an account of the total reduction of their country by the *Tartars*, about the year 1278. For, however fabulous their hiſtorical memoirs of the earlier ages may be, yet thoſe of ſo late a date as 1278. muſt undoubtedly merit more regard than the relations of a ſtranger, who could inform himſelf at beſt but very imperfectly of their affairs. Beſides, the departure of a vaſt number of *Chineſe* in 1000 ſhips to certain remote iſlands, as we find aſſerted by *Marco Polo*, was too remarkable an event to have been omitted by all the other *Oriental* writers, had it been paſſed over in ſilence by the *Chineſe*. But, to wave other conſiderations, the utter improbability of ſuch a notion appears from the very genius of the *Chineſe*, who are ſo paſſionately fond of their own country, that the bulk of them would rather ſuffer death than abandon it. Nor had they any reaſon to be diſſatisfied with the firſt *Tartar* emperor *Ho-pi-lye*, or, as they called him after his acceſſion to the throne, *Shi-tſu*, who in his manners was more of a *Chineſe* than a *Tartar*.

That the native *Chineſe*, indeed, ſhould make any conſiderable ſettlements in ſo remote a region as *America*, we are not inclined to believe, for the reaſons here aſſigned. However, they might in former ages have carried on a conſiderable trade with the *Americans*, as we find inſinuated by *Vaſquez de Coronado* and *Acoſta*. They might alſo, as here obſerved, leave ſome *Tartars*, and particularly ſeveral colonies of *Manchews*, in the new world. But, notwithſtanding this, we are firmly perſuaded, that the bulk of the colonies firſt planted in *America* came from the moſt eaſtern part of *Aſia* in the manner already related. Nor is the affinity of manners, cuſtoms, writing, *&c.* between the *Peruvians*, *Mexicans*, and *Chineſe*, notwithſtanding what has been advanced by *Hornius*, ſufficient to enable us to conclude, that any large number of *Chineſe* ever ſettled either in *Peru* or *Mexico*. A moderate commercial intercourſe between the *Peruvians*, *Mexicans*, and *Chineſe*, will ſufficiently account for the reſemblance between thoſe nations in all the above-mentioned particulars.

Farther, had the *Chineſe* ſent any conſiderable colonies either to *Peru* or *Mexico*, it is probable we ſhould have found ſome intimation of this in the hiſtory of their monarchs. For they mention in that hiſtory a *Chineſe* colony ſent to the iſles of *Japan*, and ſeem to value themſelves upon it. Beſides, we find not the leaſt hint in any of their annals, or the obſervations of the miſſionaries, of their having any knowlege of the continent, ſeas, or iſlands, to the eaſt of *Japan*. All which amounts to a ſtrong preſumption, that no great numbers of them ever tranſported themſelves to *America*, and that they never had any ſettled or general correſpondence with that country; though they might in ſome particular ages have trafficked with the *Americans*, and afterwards for ſeveral reaſons have put an end to that trade. In fine, the *Chineſe* ſeem to have been too much wrapped up in their own country, to have undertaken many ſuch long voyages as were thoſe to *America*; though this will not overturn the reality of ſome ſuch voyages. Nor will this reality be diſproved by their having afterwards loſt all knowlege of the new world; ſince the deſcendents of the antient *Phenicians* knew nothing of that vaſt continent for many ages; though ſome of their anceſtors were probably well acquainted with it.

That the progenitors of the *Americans*, therefore, came principally from *Tartary*, and the unknown continent or iſlands to the eaſt of it, partly in their own veſſels, and partly in thoſe of the *Chineſe*, if ſome of them did not perform their journey intirely by land, from what has been here advanced, appears highly probable. To which a farther acceſſion of ſtrength might be added, could we inſert all the particular cuſtoms, religious rites, inſtitutions, ſpecies of food, *&c.* in which the *Scythians*, or antient *Tartars*, and *Americans* agreed. But this the preſcribed bounds of this diſſertation will not permit us to do. Nor is it at all neceſſary, as we find an enumeration of them in *Hornius*, and even in *Harris*'s *introduction*, into which they have been tranſplanted from that author (1).

(L) The ſilence of *Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan* has the greater weight in the point before us, as neither *Mohammed Ebn Emir Khoandſchah*, *Khondemir*, nor any of the other *Oriental* hiſtorians, has taken the leaſt notice of this expedition. M. *D'Herbelot* likewiſe intirely omits it in the article *Cobla* or *Coblai*: from whence we may infer, that this opinion of *Hornius*, embraced likewiſe by Dr. *Harris*, is not ſupported in a proper manner. But this more clearly appears from the preceding note (2).

(1) *Du Halde's annals of the Chineſe mon. M. Von Strahlenberg's introduct. p. 10, & alib. paſſ. Horn. de origin. gent. American. Vaſquez de Coronado & Joſeph. Acoſt. ibid. See likewiſe our hiſtory of China, which immediately precedes this diſſertation.* (2) *See Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan's genealogical hiſtory of the Tat. par. v. c. 5. D'Herbel. biblioth. orient. in Cobla ou Coblai, p. 267.*

The Welſh *viſited* America.

THAT the *Welſh* contributed towards the peopling of *America*, is intimated by ſome good authors; and ought to be conſidered as a notion ſupported by ſomething more than bare conjectures. *Powell*, in his hiſtory of *Wales*, informs us, that a war happening in that country for the ſucceſſion, upon the death of their prince *Owen Guinneth*, A. D. 1170. and a baſtard having carried it from his lawful ſons, one of the latter, called *Madoc*, put to ſea for new diſcoveries; and, ſailing weſt from *Spain*, he diſcovered a new world of wonderful beauty and fertility. But, finding this uninhabited, upon his return, he carried thither a great number of people from *Wales*. To this delightful country he made three voyages, according to *Hakluyt*. The places he diſcovered ſeem to be *Virginia*, *New England*, and the adjacent countries. In confirmation of this, *Peter Martyr* ſays, that thoſe of *Virginia* and *Guatimala* celebrated the memory of one *Madoc*, as a great and antient hero; and hence it came to paſs, that modern travelers have found ſeveral old *Britiſh* words among the inhabitants of *North America*. The ſame author mentions the words *Matoc-Zunga* and *Mat-Inga*, as being in uſe among the *Guatimallians*, in which there is a plain alluſion to *Madoc*, and that with the *d* ſoftened into *t*, according to the *Welſh* manner of pronunciation. Nay, Biſhop *Nicolſon* ſeems to believe, that the *Welſh* language makes a conſiderable part of ſeveral of the *American* tongues. According to a famous *Britiſh* antiquary, the *Spaniards* borrowed their double L (LL) from the people of *Mexico*, who received it from the *Welſh*; and the *Dutch* brought a bird with a white head from the *Streights of Magellan*, called by the natives *Penguin*; which word, in the old *Britiſh*, ſignifies *White-head*, and therefore ſeems originally to have come from *Wales*. This muſt be allowed an additional argument, to omit others that occur, in favour of *Madoc*'s three *American* expeditions [a].

As did alſo the Normans.

THE famous M. *Bayer* believes the *Normans* to have been the firſt *European* nation that ſailed to *America*. But in ſupport of this notion, which he admits to be a ſort of paradox, he has only produced a paſſage of *Snorro Sturlæus*. Nor is this clear and expreſs enough to engage our aſſent to ſuch an hypotheſis, which muſt therefore be conſidered as a bare conjecture of M. *Bayer*. However, as he was a moſt ſagacious reſearcher into antiquity, and a gentleman of profound erudition, we ought not intirely to explode it, but ſuſpend our opinion of the truth of this point till it has met with a farther diſcuſſion from the learned [b].

And one Martinus, *a* Bohemian.

DR. LOCHNER has not ſcrupled to aſſert, that one *Martinus*, a *Bohemian* of noble extraction, diſcovered both the coaſt of *Braſil*, and the *Streights of Magellan*, before *Columbus* firſt ſailed to the new world. This ſentiment has alſo been eſpouſed by other *German* authors, though we muſt own ourſelves not ſufficiently convinced of the truth of it. However, ſome of the *Germans*, taking this for granted, and imagining that it will reflect no ſmall honour upon their country, are very deſirous, that the new continent ſhould have the name of *Bohemia*, rather than that of *America*, which it received from *Americo Veſpucci*. But, ſuppoſing that the particulars relating to *Martinus*'s diſcoveries were much better ſupported than we really take them to be, inſomuch that there was not the leaſt reaſon to doubt the certainty of them, yet, as the name of *America* has been ſo long uſed by all the *European* nations, it would not be proper at this time of day to ſubſtitute another in its place [c].

American *traditions alluſive to the* Moſaic *hiſtory.*

THUS have we produced the moſt probable conjectures that can be offered concerning the firſt peopling of *America*, a point which has exerciſed the wits and pens of the learned ever ſince the diſcovery of that vaſt continent. We have alſo endeavoured to evince, that the *Americans* were the deſcendents of *Noah*, as well as all the nations of the antient world; which will likewiſe receive ſome farther acceſſion of ſtrength from the traditions which the natives, according to *Gemelli*, and others, had about the flood, and the peopling of their country after that memorable event. The *Peruvians* believed, that there formerly happened a deluge, in which all the people of their continent periſhed, except a few, who eſcaped the common deſtruction, by retiring into certain cavities or hollows upon the tops of the higheſt mountains,

[a] HORNIUS de origin. gent. American. lib. iii. c. 2. p. 134. PET. MART. decad. vii. c. 3. & decad. viii. c. 5. GUL. NICOLSON. ubi ſup. p. 20, 21. HUMPH. LLHUYD. fragm. Brit. fol. m. 2. a. Comp. WILLOUGHBY's ornithol. lib. iii. p. 322. with Capt. COOK's voyage, &c. p. 127. [b] SNORRO STURLÆUS apud Th. Sig. Bayer. in converſ. rer. Scythicar. p. 337, 338. Petropoli, 1738. [c] MICH. FRED. LOCH. &c. comment. de Ananaſa, ſive Nuce Pinea Indica, vulgo Pinhas, &c. Norimbergæ, 1716. *Vid.* etiam Act. Eruditor. Lipſ. ſupplement. tom. vi. ſect. 9. p. 436. Lipſiæ, 1717.

whoſe

whoſe poſterity at laſt repeopled the world. Some traditional notions of this kind prevailed alſo among the antient inhabitants of *Hiſpaniola*, as we are informed by *Gemelli*. There is likewiſe mention made in the antient hiſtories of *Mexico* of a general flood, that ſwept away the whole race of mankind, except one man and his wife. Theſe two perſons, according to them, had a numerous iſſue; but all their children were dumb, till endued with the faculty of ſpeech by a dove. To which they added, that the primitive language ſpoken by the immediate deſcendents of the aforeſaid pair was ſplit into ſuch a variety of tongues, or dialects, that they could not underſtand one another, and therefore were neceſſitated to migrate into different regions, and became there the founders of different nations. Nay, ſome of the *Americans* expreſly affirmed, that all men deduced their origin from four women, which ſeems to approach pretty near to the *Moſaic* hiſtory, that makes all nations to have deſcended from *Noah* and his three ſons. All which traditional notions appear manifeſtly to imply, not only that the *Americans* ſprang originally from *Noah* and his ſons, but likewiſe that ſome of their anceſtors were acquainted with the *Moſaic* hiſtory; and conſequently overturn both that ſtrange ſyſtem we have already animadverted upon, and what has been advanced by *Pereira*, who makes the firſt progenitors of the *Americans* to have been prior even to *Adam* himſelf [d].

[d] Gul. Nicolson. ubi ſup. p. 20. Ferd. Columb. ubi ſup. p. 622. Gemelli, p. 509. R. Blome's collect. p. 60. Pereir. 622. Præadam. exercit. c. 8.

* *A Diſſertation upon the Independency of the* Arabs.

* *See* Octavo Edition, *Vol.* XX. *p.* 196.

The prediction relating to Iſhmael.

THE author of the book of *Geneſis* has recorded a prediction relating to the poſterity of *Iſhmael*, that merits the attention of all ſober inquirers into the truth of revealed religion. It is contained in the following remarkable paſſage of that book: *And the angel of the* Lord *found her by a fountain of water in the wilderneſs, by the fountain in the way to* Shur. *And he ſaid,* Hagar, Sarai's *maid, whence cameſt thou? and whither wilt thou go? And ſhe ſaid, I flee from the face of my miſtreſs* Sarai. *And the angel of the* Lord *ſaid unto her, Return to thy miſtreſs, and ſubmit thyſelf under her hands. And the angel of the* Lord *ſaid unto her, I will multiply thy ſeed exceedingly, that it ſhall not be numbered for multitude. And the angel of the* Lord *ſaid unto her, Behold, thou art with child, and ſhalt bear a ſon, and ſhalt call his name* Iſhmael, *becauſe the* Lord *hath heard thy affliction. And he will be a wild man; his hand will be againſt every man, and every man's hand againſt him: and he ſhall dwell in the preſence of all his brethren* [a].

This prediction not to be confined to Iſhmael.

That the diſpoſition and ſtate here ſpecified were not to be confined to the perſon of *Iſhmael*, but to extend to his remoteſt poſterity, is a point that will admit of no diſpute. His deſcendents, as well as himſelf, *were to be* (A) *wild men; their hands were to be againſt every man, and every man's hand againſt them.* Nothing is

[a] Gen. xvi. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12.

(A) The words פרא אדם ought to be rendered here *a free and ſavage man*. The word פרא is uſed frequently to ſignify the *wild* Arabian *aſs*, and ſufficiently expreſſes the nature of that animal. For in *Golius phar* is equivalent to *fugit, he fled*; and conſequently *pharur* to *fugiens, flying, fleet*, or *he flies*; from whence we may infer, that the *Hebrew* פרא had originally the ſame, or a ſimilar ſignification; ſo that here it ſignifies *free* or unconfined, as well as *ſavage*, like the *Arabian* aſs. That animal was abſolutely free and unconfined, and would by no means ſubmit to the bridle, as other aſſes did. Hence the Deity aſks *Job*, מי שלח פרא חפשי *Who ſends out the wild aſs free? i. e. Who* at the original conſtitution of things formed the *Arabian* aſs of ſuch a nature as not to endure the bridle, and ſubmit to man to be his beaſt of burden? How exactly this ſenſe anſwers to the genius and diſpoſition of the deſcendents of *Iſhmael*, will hereafter very clearly appear (1).

(1) *Gol. lex. Arab. Job* xxxix. 5.

more common in Scripture, than to apply to antient nations the names of their great progenitors, nor were many of theſe names unknown to the writers of profane hiſtory. But we need not inſiſt upon this. It will be readily granted by Chriſtians, as well as ſceptics and unbelievers of all denominations, that the *Scenite Arabs* are here to be underſtood. Nay, both friends and foes will allow, that this prediction muſt be naturally ſuppoſed to include the *Scenite Arabs* of the lateſt ages, ſince the terms in which it is expreſſed are abſolute and clear, void of all limitation or reſtriction [b].

The ſignification of the word יד *here.*

As for the word יד, which our tranſlators have rendered *hand*, it ſignifies figuratively *power*, *empire*, *force*, or *dominion*; and is frequently ſo taken in Scripture. We may therefore in the paſſage cited aſſign it ſuch a ſenſe; nay, here this muſt be allowed to be the moſt natural and obvious ſignification. So that, according to the latter part of the prediction, *Iſhmael*'s poſterity, to the remoteſt periods of time, *were to be wild men*, living in a ſtate of hoſtility with their neighbours, oppoſing and baffling the efforts of all other nations to enſlave them. That is, they were never to be thoroughly ſubjugated by any foreign power, but maintain their independency through the ſeries of all future ages [c].

If therefore, upon examination, it ſhall be found, that none of the great empires, nor any of the kingdoms or ſtates into which they were ſplit, ever made an abſolute conqueſt of the country poſſeſſed by the *Iſhmaelites*; if from the beſt and moſt authentic modern travelers it will appear, that they continue ſtill to aſſert their independency, notwithſtanding the power and vicinity of the *Turk*; and laſtly, if the antient and modern character of this nation exactly correſponds with that given of them by the angel of the Lord before the birth of *Iſhmael*; then we have all the reaſon in the world to look upon *Moſes* as an inſpired writer, to conſider this prediction as coming from HIM, who alone has a complete and perfect knowlege of all events [d].

The Arabs never thoroughly ſubjugated by the Egyptians *in the reigns of* Ammon *and* Seſac.

I. The firſt, empire, or great monarchy, we find mentioned in Scripture, is that of *Egypt*. This ſeems to have been erected by *Ammon*, or *Amenemes*, and his ſon *Seſoſtris*. Now if, with Sir *Iſaac Newton*, we take the laſt prince to have been the ſame with *Shiſhak*, or *Seſac*, it does not appear from Scripture, that in his time the *Arabs* were dependent upon the *Egyptians*. For the nations, out of which, in conjunction with the *Egyptians*, his army was formed, when he undertook an expedition againſt *Jeruſalem*, were the *Lubims*, the *Sukkiims*, and the *Cuſhims*, that is, the *Libyans*, *Troglodytes*, and *Ethiopians*. We cannot, therefore, well ſuppoſe the *Arabs* then to have been under the domination of that prince. It muſt be owned, indeed, that, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, *Seſoſtris* ſubdued *Arabia* before he mounted the throne of *Egypt*. But this teſtimony can be of no great weight, at leaſt unleſs qualified with proper reſtrictions. For the ſame author likewiſe aſſures us, that *Seſoſtris* found himſelf obliged to draw a line from *Heliopolis* to *Peluſium*, in order to ſecure *Egypt* from the excurſions of the *Arabs* and *Syrians*. The *Arabs*, therefore, on the confines of *Palæſtine* and *Syria*, according to this writer, muſt have frequently committed hoſtilities againſt that prince, and conſequently have been independent on him. Though we ſhould therefore allow *Seſoſtris* to have conquered ſome of the ſouthern provinces of *Arabia* in his *Indian* expedition, yet the aforeſaid *Arabs* muſt have been then in a ſtate of independency; at leaſt this muſt be ſuppoſed, in order to render our hiſtorian conſiſtent with himſelf. Now a great part of the *Arabs*, bordering upon *Syria*, *Palæſtine*, and *Egypt*, were the deſcendents of *Iſhmael*; ſo that *the wild men* ſprung from him undoubtedly preſerved their liberty during the reigns of thoſe two conquerors who founded the *Egyptian* empire [e].

But farther, that the *Scenite Arabs*, *Iſhmaelites*, or *Nabathæans*, in conformity to the Divine prediction, lived upon plunder, haraſſing their neighbours by continual robberies and excurſions, we learn from the ſame *Diodorus Siculus*. Nay, he obſerves,

[b] Gen. xiv. 1. Isa. xxi. 2. Jer. xxv. 25. Ezek. xxvii. 22, 24, 26, 29. Herodot. lib. vii. Polyb. lib. v. Strab. lib. xi. Bion Smyrnæus in epitaph. Adon. Justin. lib. xi. Oppian. cyneg. lib. iii. v. 402. Non. in Dion. l. xl. v. 19. Virg. Georg. lib. ii. Plin. lib. vi. c. 17. Vid. etiam Sam. Bochart. Phal. lib. ii. c. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, &c. & lib. iii. c. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, &c. p. 78—225. Francofurti ad Mœn. 1681. [c] Josh. iv. 24. & Targ. in loc. Isa. xxviii. 2. & Targ. in loc. xix. 19. & Targ. in loc. Pſal. xcv. 7. Num. xi. 23. Exod. xiv. 31. & Targ. in loc. c. xvii. v. 9 & Targ. in loc. Josh. viii. 20. & Targ. in loc. Vid. etiam Val. Schind. lex. pentaglot. p. 733, 734 Hanoviæ, 1612. & M. Louis Wolzog. diction. Hebraiq. p. 225. A Amſterdam, 1712. [d] Gen. xvi. 7—12. [e] Newton's chronol. c. ii. p. 191—265. Diod. Sic. bibl. hiſt. lib. i. p. 36. & lib. ii. p. 92. 2 Chron. xii. 3. Univ. hiſt. vol. vii. p. 262, 279. Gen. xxv. 11.

that it was extremely difficult either to ſubdue or attack this nation of robbers, becauſe they had (B) wells digged at proper diſtances in their dry and barren country known only to themſelves. So that, if any body of foreigners ever purſued or invaded them, they, for the moſt part, either died of thirſt, or were conſumed by the fatigues they found themſelves obliged to ſuſtain. *Diodorus*, therefore, does not only affirm, that the *Scenite Arabs*, or deſcendents of *Iſhmael*, preſerved their liberty inviolate to his time, but likewiſe informs us of ſome of the means uſed by them in order ſo to preſerve it [f].

Nor by the Ethiopians.

We have already obſerved, that the *Ethiopians* drowned *Seſac*'s ſucceſſor in the *Nile*, and ſeized upon *Egypt*. With that kingdom *Libya* alſo fell into their hands; which enabled *Zerah* the *Ethiopian* to advance againſt *Aſa* king of *Judah* with an army of 300 chariots, and 1,000,000 men, Now we find not the leaſt intimation in Scripture, that any body of *Arabs* ſerved *Zerah* in this expedition. The only nation mentioned on this occaſion was the *Ethiopians*. From whence, in conjunction with what has been advanced by *Diodorus Siculus*, we may infer, that the *Scenite Arabs* were not at this time ſubject to the *Ethiopians* [g].

The Arabs *independent, when* Aſſyria *and* Ethiopia *revolted from* Egypt.

Zerah being overthrown by *Aſa*, his ſon *Memnon*, or *Amenophis*, was obliged to abandon *Egypt*, and retire with great precipitation into *Ethiopia*. And though he afterwards reoccupied the former country, he was never ſo powerful as his father *Zerah*, and therefore cannot rationally be ſuppoſed to have reduced ſo potent a nation as the aforeſaid *Arabs*. Nor do we find, that any thing was attempted againſt them by his ſucceſſors, before *Aſſyria* and *Ethiopia* revolted from *Egypt*. This happened in the reign of *Aſychis*, when *Egypt*, as formerly, was divided into ſeveral ſmall kingdoms. As, therefore, the *Egyptian* empire, in its moſt flouriſhing ſtate, did not ſubdue the *Iſhmaelite Arabs*, it is utterly improbable, that either the *Aſſyrians* or *Ethiopians* conquered them after the partition of it [h].

And in the time of So.

So, or Sabacon, indeed, the *Ethiopian*, afterwards made himſelf maſter of *Egypt*; but the kingdom, or empire, of *Aſſyria*, founded by *Pul*, ſeems to have been then a very formidable power. For *Shalmaneſer* king of *Aſſyria* put a period to the kingdom of *Iſrael*, though *Hoſhea* had entered into an alliance with *So* againſt him. From whence we may infer, that the *Ethiopian* was not ſo potent as the *Egyptian* monarchs, who reigned before the defection of *Aſſyria*. And as the ſame may be ſaid of *Shalmaneſer*, we think it extremely improbable, that the *Scenite Arabs* ſhould have been ſubject either to the *Aſſyrians* or the *Egyptians* [i].

The Arabs *not ſubject to* Beleſis.

Nay, thoſe gentlemen who adhere to the ſyſtem of *Cteſias*, and contend for the higheſt and moſt incredible antiquity of the *Aſſyrian* empire, allow, that the *Scenite Arabs* at this time were neither under the dominion of the *Aſſyrians*, nor the *Egyptians*. But then they make them ſubject to *Beleſis*, or *Nabonaſſar*, king of *Babylon*, who, according to them, was poſſeſſed of a great part of the old *Aſſyrian* empire. The chief authors produced in ſupport of this opinion are *Diodorus Siculus*, *Herodotus*, *Juſtin*, and *Athenæus*; but none of theſe, upon examination, will be found to come up to the point [k].

As for *Diodorus Siculus*, he no-where aſſerts, that *Beleſis*, or *Nabonaſſar*, had *Arabia* annexed to *Chaldæa* and *Babylon*. Nor indeed could he, with any tolerable grace, affirm the whole country going under that name to have been a part of the *Babylonian* empire; ſince by ſuch an aſſertion he would have run counter to what he has advanced in another paſſage of the very book here cited, which has been already pro-

[f] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. lib. ii. p. 92. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vii. p. 262. [g] Univ. hiſt. vol. vii. p. 210. Newt. ubi ſupra. 2 Chron. xiv. 8—15. [h] 2 Chron. xiv. 8—15. Newt. & Univ. hiſt. ubi ſup. [i] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vii. p. 211, 212. Newt. chronol. p. 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255. Vid. etiam p. 279, 280, & alib. [k] Prideaux's connect. of the hiſt. of the Old and New Teſtam. vol. i. p. 1. Lond. 1716.

(B) Such a ſituation undoubtedly contributed towards the ſecurity of the *Arabs*; but it ought by no means to be looked upon as the ſole cauſe of their preſervation. For all the difficulties ariſing to an invading army from the nature of the country, and the wells dug by the *Arabs*, here mentioned by *Diodorus Siculus*, were in fact ſurmounted by *Pompey*, *Trajan*, and *Severus*; and yet none of thoſe conquerors could either extirpate or ſubdue the deſcendents of *Iſhmael* (2).

(2) *Dio*, *lib.* xxxvi. lxviii. & *lib.* lxxv. *in excerpt. Theodoſ. p.* 849. *Ed. Leunclav.* *Plut. in Pomp.* *Ammian. Marcellin. &c.*

duced.

duced. *Herodotus* is profoundly ſilent on this head, and therefore nothing can be inferred from him in ſupport of the aforeſaid notion. The ſame may, with great truth, be ſaid of *Athenæus*, who does not ſo much as mention either *Arabia* or *Beleſis* in the book quoted on this occaſion. And as for *Juſtin*, or rather *Trogus Pompeius*, whom he epitomized, he paſſes over *Beleſis* in profound ſilence; nor can he be ſuppoſed to countenance the point at preſent in view. For that *Trogus* copied either *Diodorus Siculus*, or thoſe he followed, in his account of the diſſolution of the *Aſſyrian* empire, cannot, we think, be denied. But no one can imagine, after what has been obſerved, that either *Diodorus Siculus*, or thoſe authors he extracted his materials from, could believe *Arabia* to have been ſubject to *Beleſis* or *Nobonaſſar*. Neither would *Juſtin*'s authority, had he correſponded with Dr. *Prideaux*'s citation, have ſtood in competition with that of either *Diodorus Siculus* or *Herodotus* [l].

FARTHER, *Diodorus Siculus*, who in his hiſtorical memoirs relating to the duration and period of the *Aſſyrian* empire has adhered to the ſyſtem of *Cteſias*, makes the king of the *Arabs* an independent prince, even in the place referred to by Dr. *Prideaux*. For he there tells us, that the king of the *Arabs* joined *Beleſis*, the governor of *Babylon*, with a body of auxiliary troops, in order to enable him and *Arbaces* to overturn the *Aſſyrian* empire. He likewiſe relates, that *Sardanapalus* offered a reward of 200,000 talents of gold to any one who ſhould kill either *Arbaces* or *Beleſis*; and double that ſum, beſides the government of *Media*, to the perſon who ſhould bring either of them to him alive. But, according to this hiſtorian, that prince did not put the king of the *Arabs* upon the ſame or a ſimilar footing, which he muſt have done, had he been either a vaſſal or a ſubject, nor even take the leaſt notice of him. From whence we may fairly collect, that a conſiderable part of the *Arabs*, at leaſt, was not ſubject to the *Aſſyrians*, when their great monarchy was diſſolved, even in the opinion of thoſe who ſwallowed implicitly what had been related of that monarchy by *Cteſias* [m].

The Arabs *always independent on the* Aſſyrians *and* Babylonians.

BUT whatever antiquity we aſſign the *Aſſyrian* empire, whether we conſider it as preceding the revolt of the *Medes* five hundred and twenty years, as founded by *Pul*, or follow the ſyſtem of *Cteſias*, it appears pretty plain from *Herodotus*, that the whole body of the *Arabs* never lived in a thorough ſubjection to it. For, according to that moſt excellent, though much injured, hiſtorian, the *Medes* were the *firſt* nation that ſhook off the *Aſſyrian* yoke. Now this defection of the *Medes* happened about 710 years before the birth of Chriſt; and therefore before that period the *Arabs* did not revolt from the *Aſſyrians*, if they were before ſubject to them. Nor does it appear from hiſtory, that they attempted to revolt from any power during the next 98 years, at the expiration of which term *Cyaxares* king of the *Medes*, either alone, as *Herodotus* inſinuates, or in conjunction with *Nabopolaſſar* king of *Babylon*, put a period to the *Aſſyrian* empire by the reduction of *Nineveh*. So that the *Arabs* had either till that time remained faithful to the *Aſſyrians*, or elſe were never ſubject to them. Now *Cyrus*, at the head of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, about 73 years after the diſſolution of the aforeſaid empire, took *Babylon*, and made himſelf maſter of the large and extenſive territories of the *Babylonian* monarchy. As therefore the *Medo-Perſian* empire under that prince, and his two next ſucceſſors, conſiſted at leaſt of all the *Aſſyrian* and *Babylonian* dominions, *Arabia* muſt have been ſubject to them, had it been a province of the *Aſſyrian* and *Babylonian* empires. Nay, had it ever been a province of either of thoſe empires, it muſt have been one of the former when *Nineveh* was taken by *Cyaxares* and *Nabopolaſſar*, and of the latter when *Cyrus* reduced *Babylon*; ſince there is no account of its defection from any *Aſſyrian* or *Babylonian* monarch, as has been juſt obſerved. But we are informed by *Herodotus*, that *Arabia* did not belong to any of the *ſatrapies* into which *Darius Hyſtaſpis* divided the *Perſian* dominions immediately after his acceſſion. From whence it very clearly follows, that the *Arabs* were never reduced to a ſtate of ſervitude, either by the *Babylonians*, or the *Aſſyrians* [n].

[l] DIOD. SIC. lib. ii. HERODOT. lib. i. ATHEN. deipnoſoph. lib. xii. JUST. lib. i. c. 3. [m] DIOD. SIC. lib. ii. p. 79, 80. Hanoviæ, 1604. [n] HERODOT. lib. i. JAC. USSER. ARMACHAN. annal. vet. & Nov. Teſt. p. 59. Lutetiæ Pariſior. 1673. EUSEB. chronic. p. 124. ALEXANDER POLYHISTOR apud Georg. Syncellum, p. 210. & apud Euſebium in chronico, p. 46. PRID. ubi ſup. p. 47, 48 & p. 120—125. HERODOT. lib. iii.

BUT

But as the paſſages of *Herodotus* here referred to will ſet this matter in the cleareſt light, we ſhall beg leave to give our readers a tranſlation of them. "Be this as it "will," ſays the hiſtorian, "the ſon of *Hyſtaſpis* was declared king, and all the "people of *Aſia* ſubmitted to his government, except the *Arabs*, who, though they "had been overcome by *Cyrus*, and afterwards by *Cambyſes*, were never reduced by "the *Perſians* to the condition of ſubjects, but were accounted their friends, and open-"ed them a paſſage into *Egypt*. This, without the aſſiſtance and permiſſion of the "*Arabs*, would have been utterly impracticable." And again—"The fifth *ſatrapy* "comprehended all the countries ſituated between the city of *Poſideum*, built in the "mountains of *Cilicia* and *Syria* by *Amphilochus* the ſon of *Amphiareus*, and *Egypt*, "EXCEPTING ONLY THE ARABIAN TERRITORIES, WHICH ARE FREE FROM ANY "TRIBUTE. This diviſion, containing all *Phœnicia*, *Palæſtine*, *Syria*, and *Cyprus*, "was taxed at three hundred and fifty talents." Now *Cyrus* formed the greateſt empire that had ever been erected in the Eaſt before his time, and eſtabliſhed it with ſuch wiſdom, that, upon the ſtrength of this foundation only, it ſtood above two hundred years, notwithſtanding his ſucceſſors, through that interval, were the moſt abandoned ſet of men that ever mounted a throne. Can any ſober perſon therefore believe, that even the moſt powerful of the *Aſſyrian* princes, whoſe territories made up but part of the *Perſian* dominions, ever thoroughly ſubjugated a nation, which this famed and puiſſant conqueror could never bring into a ſtate of ſubjection to him [o]?

The Arabs *never ſubdued by* Cyrus, Cambyſes, *or* Darius Hyſtaſpis.

And that the *Arabs* here mentioned were the poſterity of *Iſhmael*, may be clearly evinced from the ſituation aſſigned them in this place by *Herodotus*. For he fixes them on the confines of *Phœnicia*, *Syria*, *Palæſtine*, and *Egypt*; where the *Iſhmaelites* ſettled themſelves, according to the ſacred hiſtorian. Nay, from theſe curious paſſages we may farther infer, that, in the time of *Cyrus*, *Cambyſes*, and *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, the *Nabathæan* or *Iſhmaelite Arabs* were not only independent on the *Perſians*, but likewiſe able to introduce what power they thought proper into *Egypt*. This amounts to a ſtrong preſumption, that even before the beginning of the *Perſian* empire, as well as during the firſt period, and through the whole courſe of it, the *Scenite Arabs* paid no homage to the *Egyptians*; and therefore *Herodotus* concurs with *Diodorus Siculus* in ſettling the point we are at preſent inſiſting upon [p].

Particularly that were the poſterity of Iſhmael.

It may, perhaps, be imagined by ſome, that this laſt obſervation is ſuperfluous and unneceſſary; ſince, after the reduction of *Egypt* by *Cambyſes*, that country, with the adjacent parts of *Libya*, *Barca*, and *Cyrene*, formed the ſixth *ſatrapy* of the *Perſian* empire. But, in order to ſhew, that it is not without its uſe, we may farther obſerve, that the *Egyptians*, ſeveral times after the death of *Cambyſes*, ſhook off the *Perſian* yoke, particularly in the reigns of *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, and *Darius Nothus*. Nay, they revolted from this laſt prince about four hundred and fourteen years before the commencement of the Chriſtian æra, and continued in a ſtate of independency till they were intirely ſubdued by *Ochus*, about ſixty-four years after. So that though the *Nabathæan Arabs* were by no means ſubject to the *Perſians*, we could not have aſſerted them always to have been independent on *Egypt* after the death of *Cambyſes*, had not antient hiſtory borne us out in ſuch an aſſertion. To what has been already offered in relation to the independency of the *Iſhmaelite Arabs*, during the firſt period of the *Perſian* empire, we may add, that, before *Cambyſes* had obtained a paſſage through the king of *Arabia*'s territories, he could not undertake an expedition againſt *Egypt*. The *Arab*, after the concluſion of a treaty with him, ſupplied the *Perſian* monarch, and all his forces, with water in the deſerts; which effectually paved the way to the conqueſt of that country. This we learn from *Herodotus*; and it may be conſidered as an additional proof of the truth of what is here advanced [q].

However, it muſt be owned, in ſeeming oppoſition to our ſcheme, that the laſt-mentioned author makes *Sennacherib*, or, as he calls him, *Sanacharib*, king of *Arabia* as well as of *Aſſyria*. But to this it may be replied, that the paſſage here referred to rather proves *Aſſyria* to have been dependent on *Arabia*, than *Arabia* on *Aſſyria*. For *Sanacharib* is there ſtiled king of *Arabia* and *Aſſyria*, not king of *Aſſyria* and *Arabia*; and the forces he commanded in his expedition againſt *Egypt*, are not called

Sennacherib never king of Arabia.

[o] Herodot. ubi ſup. c. 88. & c. 91. See alſo Prid. connect. vol. i. b. ii. p. 111. [p] Herodot. ubi ſup. Gen. xxv. Diod. Sic. lib. i. p. 36. & lib. ii. p. 92. [q] Herodot. lib. iii. & lib. vii. Thucydid. lib. i. Ctesias. Diod. Sic. lib. xi. & lib. xvi. Euseb. in chronic. p. 4.

Aſſyrians, but *Arabians*. From whence it ſeems to follow, that, according to *Herodotus*, *Aſſyria* was at that time a province of the *Arabian* empire, and not *Arabia* of the *Aſſyrian*. But the account that hiſtorian gives us of *Sennacherib*'s invaſion of *Egypt* muſt be allowed very confuſed and indiſtinct. Nay, it has the air of a romance, rather than the appearance of a true hiſtory. It ſeems to be nothing but a corruption of the Scripture-account of the terrible blow *Sennacherib* received in *Judea*, after he had defeated *Tirhakah* king of *Ethiopia*. In which view every man of ſenſe, and every friend to revelation, will conſider it. And as for thoſe perſons, who, through an unaccountable prejudice, to uſe no harſher an expreſſion, prefer the authority of *Herodotus*, even in the moſt exceptionable and improbable, not to ſay apparently falſe, parts of his work, to that of Scripture; they muſt ſtand to the conſequence juſt mentioned, which is ſo far from overturning our opinion, that it ſtrongly ſupports it. Though, after all, allowing a much greater degree of credit to this paſſage of *Herodotus* than it really deſerves, *Sennacherib* may be ſuppoſed either to have aſſumed the title of king of *Arabia* without being in poſſeſſion of that country, or to have ſeized upon ſome part of it before he entered *Egypt*. In either of which caſes *Herodotus* may be deemed conſiſtent enough with himſelf. But that *Sennacherib* was abſolutely maſter of *Arabia*, even during the ſhorteſt term, can by no means be allowed; ſince then our hiſtorian would ſhake his own authority, if not intirely ſubvert it. Beſides, he received this fabulous relation from the *Egyptian* prieſts, whoſe prejudice in favour of their own nation, and averſion to the *Jews*, would not permit them to give him a faithful narrative of the fact they here ſo notoriouſly diſguiſed. Nor do we find, that *Herodotus* himſelf laid any manner of ſtreſs upon the accounts they communicated to him of events and tranſactions that preceded the reign of *Pſammitichus*. Nay, the falſity of many ſuch accounts is acknowleged, and even ſtrongly atteſted, by *Manetho*. As therefore *Sennacherib*'s invaſion of *Egypt* preceded above forty years the reign of *Pſammitichus*,, and as the ſtory here inſerted, that came to *Herodotus* through the hands of the *Egyptian* prieſts, ſavours ſo ſtrongly of fiction, the paſſage now in view cannot be ſuppoſed in the leaſt to affect our preſent opinion [r].

It cannot be inferred from Xenophon, that the whole nation of the Arabians was ever fubdued by Cyrus.

But we may, perhaps, ſtill be told, that *Xenophon* expreſly affirms *Cyrus* to have conquered the *Arabs*. The words uſed by that author, in the place here referred to, on which the ſenſe of the whole paſſage turns, are, ὑποχείριος ἐποιήσατο Ἀραβίους, which may be rendered *he reduced, brought under his power*, or *ſubdued the* Arabs. They do not, therefore, neceſſarily include, in the idea they exhibit, *an abſolute conqueſt*, or *thorough ſubjugation*. For *Herodotus* himſelf aſſures us, that *Cyrus reduced, ſubdued*, or *conquered* (Κύρῳ τε καταστρεψαμένῳ, &c) the *Arabs*; and yet he at the ſame time declares, that neither *Cyrus*, *Cambyſes*, nor *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, could reduce that people to the condition of ſubjects. So that this paſſage will by no means anſwer the purpoſe it may be intended to ſerve, as not in the leaſt claſhing with what has been already advanced. Beſides, whatever *Arabs Xenophon* might mean here, we are not diſpoſed to believe, that he had the whole body of the *Nabathæan* or *Iſhmaelite Arabs* in view. For is it likely, that *Cyrus* ſhould have reduced the whole nation of the *Iſhmaelite Arabs* in his direct march from *Sardis* to *Babylon*? Can we ſuppoſe that conqueror to have taken ſo ſtrong a fortreſs as *Petra*, which would have been a moſt noble exploit, and yet that *Xenophon* ſhould not have tranſmitted to poſterity any particulars of it, nay, not ſo much as ever have mentioned ſo remarkable a city? Such ſuppoſitions, conſidering the paſſion that writer always diſcovers for the memory of his hero, are in themſelves highly improbable; and even, when they run counter to the whole ſtream both of ſacred and profane hiſtory, manifeſtly abſurd [s].

But this will moſt evidently appear from an attentive peruſal of *Xenophon* himſelf, without any additional conſiderations. He informs us, that *Cyrus*, in his march from *Sardis* to *Babylon*, obliged the *Phrygians*, *Cappadocians*, and *Arabians*, to ſubmit to him; ſo that theſe *Arabians* were neighbours to the *Phrygians* and *Cappadocians*, and near the countries traverſed by a traveler in his journey from *Sardis* to *Babylon*. For ſuch were the kingdoms of *Phrygia* and *Cappadocia*, and to ſuch a notion *Xenophon*'s text manifeſtly leads us. We muſt therefore neceſſarily ſuppoſe theſe

[r] Herodot. lib. ii. Univ. hiſt. vol. vii. p. 212. See alſo the preface to the Univ. hiſt. p. 17, 18.
[s] Xenophon. Cyropæd. lib. vii. p. 515, 516, 517. Oxon. 1727. Herodot. ubi ſup. c. 88.

Arabs

Arabs to have been only ſome wandering tribes roving about the confines of *Syria*, near the banks of the *Euphrates*, whom *Cyrus* might oblige to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their power, in his march to *Babylon*. This to us, and, we perſuade ourſelves, to all our impartial readers, ſeems to be the utmoſt that can be inferred from *Xenophon* in the paſſage now before us. So that it does not appear from hence, that *Cyrus* ever approached the interior part of *Arabia*, and muchleſs made himſelf maſter of it. But, had *Xenophon* even aſſerted this, we ſhould not have thought ourſelves obliged to aſſent to him; in our opinion, his authority muſt give way to that of *Herodotus*[t].

The Arabs not under the dominion of the Perſians, when Herodotus wrote his hiſtory.

THAT neither the *Egyptians*, *Aſſyrians*, nor *Perſians*, therefore, before the reign of *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, ever made a complete conqueſt of *Arabia*, is as well atteſted, as any negative point can be at ſuch a diſtance of time. To which we may add, that neither was ſuch a conqueſt made by the *Perſians*, before *Herodotus* wrote the third book of his moſt valuable hiſtory, that is, before the year preceding Chriſt 445. for in that year our hiſtorian read the firſt draught of his work at *Athens*. Nay, we may venture to affirm, that the *Arabs* had not received the *Perſian* yoke in the year before Chriſt 412. being the twelfth of *Darius Nothus*; ſince *Herodotus* did not put the laſt hand to his hiſtory till after the nineteenth campaign of the *Peloponneſian* war, which coincides with that year. For *Herodotus*, in his *Thalia*, or the aforeſaid book, aſſures us, "that the *Arabs* were never reduced to the condition of ſubjects by "the *Perſians*; but had always been conſidered by that nation as their friends." From whence it clearly appears, that, when he reviſed, poliſhed, and completed that work of his ſtill extant, or in the year preceding the Chriſtian æra 412. the *Arabs* had not ſubmitted to the *Perſians*[u].

They obtain their independency through the reign of Darius Nothus.

NAY, ſo far were the *Perſians* at this time from being able to impoſe their yoke upon the *Arabs*, that they could not prevent a confederacy between that nation and the *Egyptians*, then enemies to the *Perſian* monarch. They entered, therefore, into an alliance with *Amyrtæus* king of *Egypt*; and aſſiſted that prince in his war againſt *Darius Nothus* with a body of auxiliary troops. This war continued from the year before Chriſt 410. to the year 407[w].

And thro' that of Artaxerxes Mnemon.

ABOUT three hundred and eighty-ſix years beore the Chriſtian æra, *Artaxerxes Mnemon* made great preparations for an invaſion of the iſland of *Cyprus*. He aſſembled for this purpoſe an army of 300,000 men, and fitted out a fleet of three hundred ſail. *Euagoras* king of *Cyprus*, in the mean time, ſtrengthened himſelf with ſeveral alliances againſt ſo formidable a power. And, in conſequence of theſe alliances, he was aſſiſted with a ſtrong body of auxiliaries by the *Egyptians*, *Libyans*, *Tyrians*, *Arabs*, and other nations who were then at enmity with the *Perſians*. This muſt be owned a convincing proof, that the *Arabs* were at that time neither ſubject to the *Perſians*, nor to the *Egyptians*; nor, indeed, to any other power. They undoubtedly enjoyed their liberties then in the fulleſt extent[x].

Alexander the Great meditates an expedition againſt the Arabs.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT, having overthrown the *Perſian* empire, and puſhed his conqueſts almoſt as far as the *Ganges*, among other projects, meditated the reduction of *Arabia*. The motives to this expedition we have already taken notice of in our hiſtory of the *Arabs*, and therefore need not repeat them here. For this purpoſe he equipped a very formidable fleet, compoſed of ſhips built in *Phœnicia*, *Cyprus*, and *Babylonia*; and aſſembled a numerous army, which he was upon the point of marching into *Arabia*. But death put an end to this, as well as all his other ambitious deſigns, in the year preceding the birth of Chriſt 323[y].

The Nabathæan Arabs *independent, when* Alexander *overthrew the* Perſian *empire.*

NOTHING therefore can be more evident, than that the *Scenite* or *Nabathean Arabs* were a free and independent people, when the *Macedonians* put a period to the *Perſian* empire. They were alſo then a very formidable power, as ſufficiently appears from the great preparations made by *Alexander* to reduce them. Nay, this is moſt glaring and conſpicuous from the conduct of the *Arabs* at that juncture. For they alone, of all the neighbouring nations, had ſo little apprehenſion of that prince, that they ſent no embaſſadors to him, nor took the leaſt notice of him, though his dominions extended from the *Adriatic* ſea almoſt to the *Ganges*, the greater part of the then known habitable world[z].

[t] XENOPH. ubi ſup. [u] EUSEB. in chronic. ſub Olymp. 83. HERODOT. lib. vii viii PRID connect. vol. i. p. 368, 369. [w] DIOD. SIC. lib. xiii. HERODOT. lib. iii. c. 15. [x] DIOD. SIC. lib. xvi. [y] STRAB. lib. xvi. ARRIAN. 161. Univ. hiſt. vol. vii. p. 279, 280. [z] STRAB. & ARRIAN. ubi ſup. Univ. hiſt. ubi ſup.

The Arabs *not ſubject to* Ptolemy.

THAT *Ptolemy*, therefore, one of his immediate ſucceſſors, ſhould this very year, upon a partition of the *Macedonian* empire, have allotted him not only *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Palæſtine*, and *Cœle-Syria*, but likewiſe *Arabia*, if we take the country going under that name in its utmoſt extent, is apparently abſurd. At leaſt, that he ſhould then be in poſſeſſion of this region, no ſober perſon will ever be induced to believe. When, therefore, ſome authors inſinuate, that *Ptolemy*, upon *Alexander*'s death, had *Arabia* aſſigned him, we muſt underſtand them as ſpeaking but of an inconſiderable part of that country. For the *Arabs* in general were this year independent of the *Macedonians*, and therefore by no means ſubject to *Ptolemy*. *Alexander*, at his deceaſe, had not begun his march againſt them; and conſequently none of his ſucceſſors could then, with any ſort of propriety, be ſtiled king of *Arabia* [a].

Demetrius *beſieges* Petra *ineffectually.*

BUT this will ſtill more clearly appear from what we are going farther to obſerve. After *Antigonus* had recovered *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Palæſtine*, out of the hands of *Ptolemy*, he ſent a body of troops under the command of *Athenæus*, one of his generals, to chaſtiſe the *Nabathæan Arabs*. Thoſe robbers, or, in the language of *Moſes*, *wild men*, had made ſeveral incurſions upon his new conqueſts, and committed there dreadful depredations. In order, therefore, to make them feel the weight of his reſentment for thoſe outrages, he ſent the above-mentioned detachment, conſiſting of four thouſand foot, and ſix hundred horſe, to ravage and lay waſte their territories. But that detachment was almoſt intirely cut to pieces, only fifty horſe eſcaping the general carnage, in the manner already related. Nor had his ſon *Demetrius*, at the head of four thouſand foot, and as many horſe, all choſen troops, much better ſucceſs. For, after he had in vain attempted to take *Petra*, their metropolis, by ſtorm, he found himſelf obliged to conclude a peace with the *Arabs* almoſt upon their own terms, having loſt the greateſt part of his army in this fruitleſs expedition [b].

The Arabs *would not ſuffer* Antigonus *to collect the bitumen of the lake* Aſphaltitis.

NAY, after the concluſion of this peace, the aforeſaid *Iſhmaelites*, or *Nabathæans*, would not ſuffer any bitumen to be collected upon the lake *Aſphaltitis*, or the *Dead Sea*, for the uſe of *Antigonus*. For, being appriſed, that *Jerom the Cardian*, in purſuance of his inſtructions, had prepared a proper number of boats to carry the bitumen off the lake to one place, there to be diſpoſed of for the benefit of that prince, they reſolved to attack the people he employed. And, in conſequence of this reſolution, having drawn together a body of ſix thouſand men, they fell upon them, put moſt of them to the ſword, and obliged *Antigonus* to lay aſide the project he had formed [c].

Ptolemy *never maſter of all* Arabia.

HENCE we are furniſhed with an irrefragable argument, that *Arabia* had not been ſubdued by *Ptolemy*, before he was driven out of *Syria*, *Palæſtine*, and *Phœnicia*, by *Antigonus*. For, had not this been the caſe, there would have been no occaſion for *Demetrius* and *Athenæus* to have penetrated as far as *Petra*, nor for the former to have concluded a peace with the *Arabs* ſo little to the advantage of *Antigonus*. Nay, that nation of thieves neither durſt nor could have obſtructed *Jerom of Cardia* in his attempt to collect the bitumen of the *Sea of Sodom*, in order to increaſe the revenue of that prince; at leaſt ſuch an inſult would not have been offered with impunity. That the *Iſhmaelite Arabs*, therefore, had not been ſubdued either by *Ptolemy* or *Antigonus*, before the year preceding Chriſt 311. when the above-mentioned occurrences happened, and conſequently that *Ptolemy* could at fartheſt have been in poſſeſſion of but a ſmall part of *Arabia* in the year 323. will admit of no diſpute [d].

What part of that country he poſſeſſed.

AFTER all, by comparing *Herodotus* with *Diodorus Siculus*, it may not be difficult to diſcover what part of *Ptolemy*'s dominions had the name of *Arabia* given it by the latter of thoſe authors. For he tells us, that this very year 311. by a treaty of peace, *Ptolemy* had *Egypt*, and the adjacent parts of *Libya* and *Arabia*, delivered up to him. Where, by the adjacent parts of *Libya* and *Arabia*, we are undoubtedly to underſtand thoſe tracts to the weſt and eaſt of the *Nile*, contiguous to *Egypt*, included under the names of *Libya* and *Arabia* by *Herodotus*. So that the *Arabs* governed by *Ptolemy* ſeem to have been none other than the *Egyptian Arabs*, inhabiting the country bounded on the eaſt by the *Nile*, or at leaſt a part of *Egypt* nearly ap-

[a] CURT. lib. x. DIOD. SIC. lib. viii. PLUTARCH. in Eumen. Vid. & PRID. connect. vol. i. p. 519. Lond. 1716. [b] DIOD. SIC. lib. xix. PLUT. in Demet. Univ. hiſt. vol. vii. p. 280, 281. [c] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup. Univ. hiſt. vol. vii. p 281 [d] PRID. connect of the hiſt. of the Old and New Teſt. vol. i. p. 518, 519.

proaching

proaching that river, on the weſt by the *Arabian* gulph, on the norrh by the *Lower Egypt*, and on the ſouth by the borders of *Ethiopia*. In the earlier ages *Egypt* extended very little beyond the eaſtern bank of the *Nile*, if the *Nile* itſelf was not the eaſtern boundary of that kingdom; ſo that we may eaſily apprehend all the aforeſaid tract to have gone under the denomination of *Arabia*, as is intimated by *Herodotus*. And that the *Arabian Cuſhites*, taken notice of in our hiſtory of the *Arabs*, were ſeated in part of it, ſeems to be countenanced by Scripture. As, therefore, *Alexander* died ſcarce ninety years after *Herodotus* had finiſhed his hiſtory, the tract above-mentioned might have been called by the *Greeks Arabia*, when *Ptolemy* aſcended the throne of *Egypt*, as well as in the days of *Herodotus* [e].

The Arabs ſubject to Ptolemy intermixed with the Egyptians.

ADMITTING the truth of this obſervation (and we think it will not be conteſted by any perſon moderately verſed in antient hiſtory), the people ſettled in the aforeſaid diſtrict had not, in reality, a better claim to the appellation of *Arabs*, than to that of *Egyptians*. For a good part of them at leaſt ſeem to have appertained to that nation. We therefore cannot help approving of the map prefixed to the ſecond edition of Mr. *Littleton*'s tranſlation of the ſecond book of *Herodotus*, wherein we find them ſtiled *Arab-Egyptians*. The country they inhabited is there very exactly and very ingeniouſly delineated [f].

The Greeks ſometimes apply the name of a whole country to a part of it.

ANOTHER ſolution of the pretended difficulty we are conſidering may likewiſe be ſubmitted to the judgment of our learned and inquiſitive readers. It is very common for the *Greek* writers to apply the name of a whole region to a part of it. Of this we have ſeveral inſtances in *Herodotus*, as well as other authors that occur. So *Phraortes* king of *Media* is ſaid by that hiſtorian to have ſubdued *Aſia*, though he periſhed in an attempt he made on *Nineveh*, the metropolis of the *Aſſyrian* empire; ſo his ſon *Cyaxares* is ſaid to have trained up the people of *Aſia* in military diſcipline, though he preſided only over the *Medes* and *Perſians*; and, to omit other inſtances, he tells us, that the *Scythians* poſſeſſed themſelves of *Aſia*, whereas they only conquered the *Upper Aſia*, or the two *Armenia's*, *Cappadocia*, *Pontus*, *Colchis*, and *Iberia*. By *Arabia*, therefore, *Diodorus* may be very rationally ſuppoſed to mean only a ſmaller part of that country in the paſſage here referred to; by which explanation, he will not only be rendered conſiſtent with himſelf, but likewiſe with *Herodotus*, *Plutarch*, *Arrian*, and *Strabo* [g].

The proper Arabia independent on Ptolemy in the year before Chriſt 301.

IN the year before Chriſt 301. *Ptolemy Soter* recovered from *Antigonus Judæa*, *Cœle-Syria*, and all *Phœnicia*, except *Tyre* and *Sidon*, according to ſeveral authors. As none of them mention *Arabia* on this occaſion, they undoubtedly conſidered *Ptolemy*'s *Arabs* as neceſſarily connected with the *Egyptians*, and bearing no relation either to the *Jews*, *Syrians*, or *Phœnicians*. And this we are the rather induced to believe, becauſe, after the death of *Antigonus*, all *Alexander*'s dominions were divided into four kingdoms, one of which, conſiſting of *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Arabia*, *Cœle-Syria*, and *Palæſtine*, was given to *Ptolemy*, according to the aforeſaid authors. Here, therefore, we find *Arabia* following *Libya* and *Egypt*, and, as it were, united with them. Since, therefore, both the above-mentioned events happened this very year 301. and were taken notice of by the ſame authors; ſince, in their account of the former, they have paſſed over in ſilence *Arabia*, *Libya*, and *Egypt*, but conſidered them together in that of the latter; we cannot help thinking, that *Ptolemy*'s *Arabia* and *Libya* were the countries going under thoſe names in the ſecond book of *Herodotus*. So that the two hiſtorical articles inſerted in this paragraph are an additional proof of the truth of what has been juſt advanced [h].

Never ſubdued by any of Alexander's ſucceſſors.

BUT to a Chriſtian, or even a moderate ſceptic, if any ſuch perſon is to be found, may be offered another conſideration, which will likewiſe fully evince the point in view. The battle of *Ipſus*, wherein *Antigonus* was ſlain, produced a diviſion of the *Macedonian* empire, erected by *Alexander the Great*, into four powerful kingdoms. Over one of theſe, compoſed of *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Arabia*, *Cœle-Syria*, and *Paleſtine*, *Ptolemy* preſided; another, made up of *Macedon* and *Greece*, was governed

[e] HERODOT. lib. ii. DION. SIC. ubi ſup. PRID. connect. &c. vol. i p. 519. [f] LITTLETON's tranſlat. of Herod. b. ii. Lond. 1720. [g] HERODOT. lib. i. PRID. ubi ſupra, p. 63. ARRIAN. de reb. poſt Alexand. geſt. in excerptis Photii, cod. 92. p. 602. Amſt. 1668. CURT. lib. x. DIOD. SIC. lib. xviii. STRAB. lib. xvii. PLUT. in Eumen. Univ. hiſt. vol. iii. p. 417. [h] DION. SIC. lib. xx. PLUTARCH. in Demetr. APPIAN. in Syriac. POLYB. lib. v. Vid. etiam PRID. ubi ſup. p. 558.

by *Caſſander*; *Thrace*, *Bithynia*, and ſome other provinces beyond the *Helleſpont* and the *Boſporus*, that formed the third, fell to the lot of *Lyſimachus*; and the fourth, which conſiſted of all *Alexander*'s other dominions, was guarantied by the reſt of the confederated princes, to *Seleucus*. Now theſe four kingdoms, or, if we pleaſe, the kings that reigned over them, were the four horns of the he-goat mentioned by the prophet *Daniel*, which grew up after the breaking off of the firſt horn. For *Alexander* king of *Græcia* was that firſt horn, and the four above-mentioned princes, who ſprung up after him, divided his empire between them, and therefore may be ſaid to have grown up after him, as the four horns ſucceeding the firſt were to do. They likewiſe anſwered to the four heads of the leopard ſpoken of by the ſame prophet; and their four kingdoms muſt have correſponded with the four parts, into which the kingdom of the mighty king (*Alexander*) ſhould be broken and divided towards (or according to the number of) the four winds of heaven, among thoſe four kings, *who ſhould not be of his poſterity*, as none of them were. By this laſt partition, therefore, of the *Macedonian* empire, all thoſe prophecies were exactly fulfilled; and conſequently the monarchies or kingdoms above-mentioned muſt have been of the ſame extent, or exactly have correſponded with, the territories which formed that empire. So that *Ptolemy* could only have been maſter of that *Arabia*, which had before been reduced by *Alexander the Great*. And that this was not the proper *Arabia*, has been already moſt clearly evinced; for it has been ſhewn, that *Alexander* propoſed to make an intire conqueſt of that country, but did not live to put his deſign in execution. It is, therefore, moſt natural to ſuppoſe, eſpecially if we conſider with proper attention what has been already offered in ſupport of this notion, that the *Arab-Egypt*, or *Egyptian Arabia*, of *Herodotus*, was the *Arabia*, over which, in conjunction with *Egypt*, and the adjacent parts of *Libya*, *Ptolemy* reigned. Nay, as Chriſtians, we may venture farther to affirm, that the proper *Arabia* was probably never annexed to any of the aforeſaid kingdoms, and conſequently never dependent on any of them, as long as any of them did ſubſiſt. For, had this not been the caſe, ſome one of them would have had an additional territory, that never appertained to the *Macedonian* empire. And, if this be allowed, it will ſeem to follow, that thoſe four kingdoms did not with preciſion anſwer to the aforeſaid empire; and conſequently, that it could not with the utmoſt propriety be ſaid to be divided into them. For theſe *very* kingdoms (and not others, as an acceſſion of territory would have made them) were to remain till the *fourth beaſt*, i. e. the *Romans devoured and brake in pieces* every thing that oppoſed it. So that, to aſſert the proper *Arabia* to have been conquered by ſome of *Alexander*'s ſucceſſors, or their deſcendents, will be in ſome meaſure to ſhake the authority of the prophet *Daniel*, by rendering doubtful the completion of ſome of his prophecies, or at leaſt by throwing ſuch an obſcurity upon them, as will render that completion very difficult to be diſcerned. More might be ſaid on this head, would the limits we have here preſcribed ourſelves permit. But, as they will not, we ſhall only beg leave to inform our curious readers, that they may with great pleaſure and facility purſue the hint here given, after they have attentively peruſed what the learned Dr. *Prideaux* has ſaid of the completion of thoſe prophecies. We cannot, therefore, help thinking, that, in the preſent point, ſacred and profane hiſtory mutually ſupport and ſtrengthen each other [i].

The whole of Arabia ſubject to Ptolemy part of Egypt.

We have the following liſt of the kingdoms and provinces poſſeſſed by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign. *Egypt*, *Cœle-Syria*, *Palæſtine*, *Cilicia*, *Pamphylia*, *Lycia*, and *Caria*. From whence it appears, that he was not then maſter of *Arabia*; except we will have the *Arabia* formerly mentioned, extending almoſt to the *Nile*, to have been at that time under his dominion. And, in this caſe, we may conſider it as part of the country going under the denomination of *Egypt*. The twenty-fifth of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* coincides with the year before Chriſt 260 [k].

The Arabs independent on Egypt in the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes.

Nor was *Ptolemy Euergetes* in poſſeſſion of *Arabia* near forty years after. For, in the year preceding the Chriſtian æra 222. being the laſt of his reign, he only made himſelf maſter of the *Arabian* and *Ethiopian* coaſts of the *Red Sea*; which amounts to a plain implication, that he did not penetrate far into *Arabia*. We have, in this and the preceeding paragraph, taken notice only of the independency of *Arabia* on

[i] Idem ibid. Dan c. vii & c. viii. [k] Theocrit. Idyl 17.

Egypt; ſince no one, as we apprehend, has ever ſuppoſed, or indeed had the leaſt reaſon to ſuppoſe, that it appertained to any other kingdom but *Egypt*, in any part of the interval between the erection of the *Macedonian* empire, and the commencement of the *Roman* power [l].

As alſo on Antiochus the Great, *and* Ptolemy Philopator.

HOWEVER, *Antiochus the Great*, about four years after, made an irruption into *Paläſtine*, and forced *Rabbah* of the children of *Ammon*, *Rabbath Ammon*, or, as *Polybius* calls it, *Rabbatamana*, after a brave defence, to ſurrender to him. The immediate conſequence of which was the ſubmiſſion of the neighbouring *Arabs*, who, after the reduction of this fortreſs, found themſelves incapable of holding out againſt him. But, being defeated the next year, 217. by *Ptolemy Philopator*, at the battle of *Raphia*, he abandoned his conqueſts in *Cœle-Syria*, *Palæſtine*, and the little *Arab* diſtrict about *Rabbath Ammon*; which immediately returned to *Ptolemy*. But, notwithſtanding this, that prince had then no great footing in *Arabia*. For all the advantage accruing to him from the victory gained over *Antiochus* at *Raphia*, was only the ceſſion of *Cœle-Syria* and *Palæſtine* to him. So that he received now no new acceſſion of territory, but only recovered what he had loſt before to *Antiochus*. The *Arabs*, therefore, above-mentioned ſeem to have belonged to *Palæſtine*, and not *Arabia*; or, at fartheſt, to have been a very inconſiderable canton of the *Arab* nation [m].

The Arabs *free in the year before Chriſt* 187.

ABOUT the year 187. *Hyrcanus* ſupplanted his father at the *Egyptian* court, and procured for himſelf a commiſſion to be *Ptolemy Epiphanes*'s collector of the revenues in all the countries beyond *Jordan*. But, being oppoſed by the *Jews* in the execution of his office, he found himſelf obliged to repaſs the *Jordan*, and to build, for his ſecurity, an exceeding ſtrong caſtle, which he called *Tyre*, or *the fortreſs*. From hence he made war upon the neighbouring *Arabs*, infeſting them with incurſions and depredations for ſeven years together. Nor can it be doubted but that he likewiſe ſuffered conſiderably from the hoſtilities committed on their part. Hence it appears, that thoſe *Arabs* at that time were neither dependent upon the *Syrians*, nor the *Egyptians* [n].

And in 170.

JASON, upon the approach of *Antiochus Epiphanes* king of *Syria*, after his reduction of *Egypt*, thought fit to retire from *Jeruſalem*, and take ſhelter in the territories of *Aretas* king of the *Arabs*. That prince's dominions then extended as far as the borders of *Palæſtine*, and included part, at leaſt of the land of the *Ammonites*. But, being accuſed of ſome crime before *Aretas*, or *Al Hareth*, that prince refuſed to take him under his protection; which obliged him to fly out of *Arabia*. This amounts to a full proof, that, in the year 170. the *Iſhmaelites* or *Nabathæan Arabs* lived under the domination of their own prince; and conſequently were neither ſubject to the *Syrians* nor the *Egyptians* [o].

As alſo in 164.

THAT the *Iſhmaelites* or *Nabathæans* drove the poſterity of *Eſau* out of that country in Scripture called the *Land of Edom*, while the *Jews* were captives at *Babylon*, may be inferred from *Strabo*. But we doubt not, that thoſe *Arabs* were, long before that period, intermixed with the antient *Idumeans*. This moſt clearly appears from *Moſes*, and the Pſalmiſt. For, according to the former, *Iſhmael*, and his immediate deſcendents, dwelt in the ſolitudes of *Paran*, *Shur*, &c. before *Edom*, or *Eſau*, and his ſons, ſettled themſelves there; and the latter makes the *Hagarenes*, or, as ſhould ſeem, the people of *Hag'r*, who were undoubtedly related to *Iſhmael*, contiguous to the *Moabites*, that were ſeated upon the confines of the Scripture *Idumea*. Nor is it at all improbable, that the *Nabathæans* made up part of the later *Idumeans*, of whom *Judas Maccabeus* put above forty thouſand to the ſword. This event, which happened in the year 164. is therefore an indication, that the *Iſhmaelites* were then a powerful nation. We muſt not omit obſerving here, in conſequence of what has been juſt laid down, that Dr. *Prideaux* is guilty of a great miſtake, when he aſſerts, that *Edom*'s ſons were the only inhabitants at firſt of the tract afterwards called *Arabia Petræa* by the *Greeks* [p].

WE ſay, the aforeſaid event in 164. indicates the *Nabathæans* to have been then a powerful nation; ſince *Nabathæa*, or *Arabia Petræa*, was diſtinct from the country

[l] Monument. Adulitan. apud Coſmam Ægyptium, in topograph. Chriſtian. p. 140, 141, 142, 143, Pariſiis, 1706. [m] POLYB. lib. v. p. 411, 412, &c. Deut. c. iii. v. 11. 2 SAM. c. xii. v 26. JEREM. c. xlix. ver. 2. [n] See PRID. connect. &c. vol. ii. p. 145. [o] 2 MACCAB. c. v. ver. 7—10. [p] 1 MACCAB. c. v. ver. 3, 4, 5. 2 MACCAB. c. x. ver. 16, 17, 18—23.

inhabited

inhabited by the later *Idumeans*. That tract was a part of the antient *Paleſtine*; and therefore thoſe *Nabathæans* ſeated there muſt have been an additional clan of that people. So that, upon this ſuppoſition, the *Nabathæans* did not only then poſſeſs their own country, but even part of the antient *Paleſtine*. This notion will receive a freſh acceſſion of ſtrength, or rather a clear and full proof, from what has been already obſerved in the hiſtory of the *Arabs* [q].

A.M. 3837. HOWEVER, the *Nabathæan* or *Iſhmaelite* nation were then at peace with the *Jews*, as we learn from the author of the firſt book of the *Maccabees*. They permitted *Judas Maccabeus* and his brother *Jonathan* to paſs through part of their territories, and gave them intelligence of the diſtreſs their friends were in. This happened in the year 164. and is a farther proof of their independency. For the king of *Syria* was then at war with the *Jewiſh* nation, and there is not the leaſt reaſon to imagine, that they bore any relation to the *Egyptians*. However, the year following, 163. a party of the *Nomades*, or *Scenite Arabs*, endeavouring to obſtruct *Judas*'s march to *Gilead*, were repulſed, and forced to conclude a peace. But we do not find, that either *Judas* or the *Arabs* gained the leaſt acceſſion of territory by this treaty. As theſe *Arabs* had it then in their power to enter upon a war, and conclude a peace, when they pleaſed; it may be inferred from hence, that they were then in the full poſſeſſion of their liberty [r].

Maccabees in 161. IN the year 161. being the ſixth of *Judas Maccabeus*, the *Jews* continued in a ſtate of friendſhip with the *Nabathæans*. *Jonathan* and *Simon*, therefore, being puſhed by the troops of *Demetrius Soter* king of *Syria*, under the command of *Bacchides*, had an intention to depoſit all their carriages in the hands of that nation. This was to have been effected by a detachment of *Jewiſh* forces, under the conduct of *John*, the brother of *Jonathan* and *Simon*; and evinces the independency of the *Nabathæans* at that juncture. But, notwithſtanding the amity ſubſiſting betwixt them, the *Arabs* ſeem to have been ſo addicted to pillaging, that they could not withſtand the temptation of plundering even their friends, when a fair opportunity offered. For the *Jambrians*, a tribe of *Arabs* ſettled at *Medaba*, fell upon *John* in his march, carried off the whole detachment, and ſeized upon the carriages and baggage. And, if they thus plundered their friends, they undoubtedly took the ſame liberty with ſtrangers, and thoſe that were at variance with them. So that it muſt neceſſarily be ſuppoſed, that the ſubjects of the *Egyptian*, *Aſſyrian*, *Perſian*, *Macedonian*, and *Roman* empires, frequently fell a prey to them. Nor can this be doubted, after attentively conſidering what has been already obſerved from *Diodorus Siculus*. The behaviour likewiſe and diſpoſition of the *Scenite Arabs* at this day moſt evidently confirm what is here ſuggeſted of that rapacious nation. *Their hand is*, and always has been, *againſt every man, and every man's hand againſt them*; which to every ſober and impartial perſon will be a convincing proof of the divine authority of a prediction that has hitherto been ſo remarkably fulfilled [s].

Maintain their independency in 146. THE aforeſaid diſpoſition of the *Arabs*, and their independency both on *Syria* and *Egypt*, in the year preceding Chriſt 146. may likewiſe be evinced from the author of the firſt book of the *Maccabees*, and others. Thoſe writers inform us, that, after *Alexander* king of *Syria* had been defeated by *Ptolemy Philometor* king of *Egypt*, he fled with five hundred horſe into the territories of *Zabdiel* an *Arab* prince or emir, with whom he had before entruſted his children. But, add the ſame authors, he was there ſlain by thoſe he moſt confided in, who carried his head to *Ptolemy*. That prince, however, reaped no advantage from this perfidious action of the *Arabs*; for he died a few days after, of a dangerous wound he had received in the late battle [t].

And in 145. THE following year, 145. *Diodotus*, afterwards called *Tryphon*, went into *Arabia*, and, probably by the force of money, engaged *Zabdiel* to deliver into his hands *Antiochus* the ſon of *Alexander* king of *Syria*. By the ſame ſort of influence, that prince was undoubtedly induced to violate the laws of hoſpitality, with regard to *Ptolemy*, the preceding year. What part of *Arabia* this *Zabdiel* preſided over, we

[q] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vii. p. 233. PRID. connect. &c. vol. i. p. 11, 12. vol. ii. p. 188, 189. [r] 1 MACCAB. c. v. ver. 24——36. 2 MACCAB. c. xii. ver. 11, 12. [s] 1 MACCAB. c. ix. ver. 35, 36. JOSEPH. antiquit. lib. xiii. c. 1. 1 MACCAB. c. ix. ver. 37——41. Univ. hiſt. vol. vii. p. 262. DIOD. SIC. lib. ii. p. 92. Gen. c. xvi. ver. 12. [t] 1 MACCAB. c. xi. ver. 15, 16, 17, 18. JOSEPH. antiquit. lib. xiii. c. 8. DION. SIC. in excerptis Photii, cod. 244. POLYB. in excerptis Valeſii, p. 194. LIV. epit. lib. lii. STRAB. l. xvi. p. 752.

are

are not told either by the author of the firſt book of the *Maccabees*, or *Diodorus Siculus*, who both take notice of him. But it may be collected from them, that his dominions were ſituated near the confines of *Cœle-Syria*; and therefore a great part of his ſubjects muſt have been the deſcendents of *Iſhmael*. That prince ſeems to have been well paid for what he did on this occaſion; ſince for ſome time he reſiſted *Tryphon*'s importunities, and refuſed to comply with his ſolicitations. From what has been here obſerved we may infer, that the tribe he governed had no dependence either upon *Syria* or *Egypt*, or, indeed, any other country whatſoever [u].

In the year 144. *Jonathan* gave a check to a party of *Arabs* that had ſided with *Demetrius* king of *Syria*; but this did not prove a matter of any great advantage to him. Thus we find, that ſeveral of the *Arab* tribes ſometimes joined the *Syrians*, and ſometimes the *Egyptians*; which may be eſteemed a proof of their independency on both thoſe nations [w]. *And in* 144.

About the year 130. *Hyrcanus* poſſeſſed himſelf of ſome places in *Arabia*; and the following year conquered the *Edomites*, or *Idumeans*, who were ſeated in a part of the antient *Palæſtine*. But, notwithſtanding theſe conqueſts, we do not find, that he made any great impreſſion upon the country of the *Nabathæans*, or *Iſhmaelite Arabs*. So that we may conſider them as a nation unſubdued by any foreign prince, in 129 [x]. *As alſo in* 129.

Aristobulus, having conquered the *Itureans*, according to Dr. *Prideaux*, forced them to become proſelytes to the *Jewiſh* religion about 106 years before the birth of Chriſt. Some perſons pretend, that this diſtrict derived its name from *Jetur*, or *Itur*, the ſon of *Iſhmael*; which ſeems to inſinuate, that the inhabitants of it muſt have been his deſcendents. But, admitting the truth of this ſuppoſition, which yet we are by no means obliged to do, it will not follow from thence, that any branch of the *Iſhmaelites* remained in *Iturea*, when it was reduced by the *Jewiſh* prince. The primitive name of a country was ſometimes retained even by the nation that expelled, or cut off, the firſt inhabitants of it. So the *Iſraelites*, to omit other inſtances that occur, ſometimes called the country they conquered, after the expulſion and even exciſion of the greateſt part of the *Canaanite* nations, Canaan, and *the land of* Canaan. Now, that the *Iſhmaelites*, if firſt ſettled there, had been obliged to retire from thence into the country called *Arabia Petræa*, is probable from hence, that the *Nabathæans*, who inhabited that region, ſeem to have comprehended the whole poſterity of *Iſhmael*, as has been evinced in the hiſtory of the *Arabs*. But, even allowing ſome of the ſons of *Jetur* to have been in *Iturea*, when ſubdued by *Ariſtobulus*, which is the utmoſt that can be deſired, yet but a very ſmall and even inconſiderable part of *Iſhmael*'s deſcendents would then have had the *Jewiſh* yoke impoſed upon them. So that tho' we ſhould make the largeſt conceſſion to our infidel adverſaries in this point, that they can, with the leaſt colour of reaſon, deſire, it muſt ſtill be allowed, that the *Nabathæan Arabs*, or bulk of *Iſhmael*'s deſcendents, do not appear at this time to have been ſubject to any foreign prince. On the contrary, from what has been already advanced, it muſt be owned extremely probable, if not abſolutely certain, that they were then free and independent. In farther proof of the point we are inſiſting upon, it ought to be obſerved, that *Iturea* was a part of *Cœle-Syria*; and that *Ariſtobulus* ingrafted into the *Jewiſh* ſtate only ſome of the people ſettled there, as we learn from *Joſephus* out of *Strabo* [y]. *Not ſubject to any foreign prince in* 106.

Alexander king of the *Jews*, having paſſed the *Jordan*, forced the *Arabs*, who had poſſeſſed themſelves of the land of *Moab*, and of the land of *Gilead*, to become tributaries to him. But we do not find, that he ever made himſelf maſter of any part of the proper *Arabia*. *Alexander* marched againſt the aforeſaid *Arabs*, and gave them ſeveral defeats in the year preceding the Chriſtian æra 94 [z]. *Nor in* 94.

In the year 92. *Obodas*, or *Abd Wadd*, an *Arab* emir, drew the aforeſaid *Alexander* into an ambuſcade, and put a great part of the army he had marched into the *Arab* *Nor in* 92.

[u] 1 Maccab. c. xi. ver. 39. Joseph. antiquit. lib. xiii. c. 9. Appian. in Syriac. Liv. epit. lib. lii. Strab. lib. xvi. p. 752. [w] 1 Maccab. c. xii. v. 24—31. Joseph. ubi ſup. [x] Joseph. antiquit. lib. xiii. c. 17. Strab. lib. xvi. [y] Joseph. antiquit. lib. xiii. c. 19. Reland. Palæſtin. lib. i. c. 22. Gen. c. xxv. ver. 15. 1 Chron. c. i. ver. 31. Pſal. cvi. ver. 35. Ezek. c. xvi. ver. 3. Zeph. c. ii. ver. 5. Mat. c. xv. ver. 22. Act. c. vii. ver. 11, &c. xiii. ver. 19. Joseph. antiquit. lib. xiii. c. 19. [z] Joseph. antiquit. lib. xiii. c. 21, 22. & de bel. Judaic. lib. i. c. 3.

territories to the ſword. *Alexander* himſelf, with great difficulty, made his eſcape. Upon this defeat, it is natural to ſuppoſe, that the *Arabs* recovered all that had been before taken from them by the *Jews*. Be that as it will, that they had hitherto preſerved their liberty, appears clearly from this event [a].

Zizus in 89 ZIZUS, an *Arab* king, in conjunction with *Sinaces* a *Parthian* commander, vanquiſhed *Demetrius Eucharus*, who reigned at *Damaſcus*, took him priſoner, and ſent him for a preſent to *Mithridates* king of *Parthia*. This affair gives us reaſon to believe, that *Zizus*'s ſubjects were not dependent on any foreign power in the year before Chriſt 89. when it is ſaid to have happened [b].

Aretas in 85 ARETAS, or AL HARETH, king of *Arabia Petræa*, overthrew in a great battle *Antiochus Dionyſius* king of *Damaſcus*, and put both him and moſt of his forces to the ſword. After this action, he became king of *Cœle-Syria*. He alſo defeated *Alexander* king of the *Jews* at *Addida*, in the year 85. which gives us a ſufficient idea of the *Arab* power at that time [c].

Aretas in 65 IN the year 65. *Aretas* advanced to *Jeruſalem* with an army of fifty thouſand men, and overthrew *Ariſtobulus*; but retired into *Arabia*, when he found, that *Scaurus* and *Gabinius* had eſpouſed the intereſt of that prince. *Ariſtobulus*, purſuing the *Arab*, gained a conſiderable advantage over him. But it does not appear, that either the *Jews* or the *Romans* at this time made any acquiſitions in *Arabia* [d].

Not ſubdued by Lucullus. THAT the *Arabs*, by their incurſions into *Syria*, ſometimes brought upon themſelves the *Roman* arms, has been already obſerved. Nay, that they ſubmitted to *Lucullus*, is aſſerted by *Plutarch*. But this can only be underſtood of ſome particular tribes of that people. For the very year after that general returned to *Rome*, and was ſucceeded by *Pompey* in the command of the *Roman* army that acted againſt *Mithridates*, *Aretas*, who poſſeſſed only part of *Arabia*, penetrated into the *Jewiſh* territories, as far as *Jeruſalem*, with an army of fifty thouſand men; which plainly proves him at that time to have been an independent prince. And that ſome of the *Arab* tribes had not been reduced by *Lucullus*, when *Pompey* arrived in *Aſia*, is alſo apparent from the ſucceſs the latter had in his war againſt the *Arabs*, a few years after the departure of the former. He is ſaid to have made tributary an *Arab* tribe commanded by *Sampſiceramus*, or *Shams' alkeram*, who reigned at *Hems*, or *Emeſa*; and even to have obliged *Aretas*, an *Arab* prince, whoſe dominions bordered upon *Syria* and *Meſopotamia*, to ſubmit to him. *Plutarch* alſo relates, that he ſubdued the *Arabs* who dwelt about mount *Amanus*, by his lieutenant *Afranius*; and forced the king of the *Arabs* reſiding at *Petra* to make his ſubmiſſion to him. None of which events can be ſuppoſed to have happened, if, as this ſame author may ſeem to ſome to inſinuate, the whole nation of the *Arabs* was ſubjugated by *Lucullus* [e].

Nor by Pompey. BUT it may poſſibly be ſaid, though *Lucullus* could not make a complete conqueſt of *Arabia*, *Pompey* moſt certainly did; or, at leaſt, he thoroughly ſubjugated the deſcendents of *Iſhmael*, whoſe perpetual independency we are now endeavouring to prove. For, according to Dr. *Prideaux*, he took *Petra*, and *Aretas* in it; and, after ſome detention of that prince in cuſtody there, obliged him to ſubmit to ſuch terms of accommodation as he thought proper to preſcribe [f].

THIS objection, ſeemingly one of the moſt formidable that can be offered to the ſcheme under conſideration, appears here in its utmoſt force, being couched in as ſtrong terms as any in which the moſt ſanguine of our adverſaries could have propoſed it; which, we hope, will paſs with the world for an undeniable argument of impartiality. But our readers will not be at a loſs for an anſwer to it, when they have maturely weighed the following obſervations.

NOTWITHSTANDING what has been ſo poſitively advanced by Dr. *Prideaux*, that *Pompey* ever intirely poſſeſſed himſelf of *Petra*, does not appear from any antient author. *Plutarch* rather ſeems to inſinuate, that he was recalled from thence by the death of *Mithridates*, before he could make full proof of the ſincerity of the *Arab* prince's ſubmiſſion. And this is the more probable, becauſe *Gabinius*, who ſucceeded ſoon after to the government of *Syria*, made preparations for an expedition againſt

[a] JOSEPH. ubi ſupra. [b] Idem ibid. [c] JOSEPH. antiquit. lib. xiii. c. 23. & de bel. Judaic l. i. c. 4. [d] JOSEPH. antiquit. lib. xiv. c. 3. & de bel. Judaic. lib. i. c. 5. [e] PLUT. in Lucul. & in Pomp. Univ. hiſt. vol. vii. p. 262, 281. [f] PRID. connect. of the hiſt. of the Old and New Teſt. vol. ii. p. 433.

the *Arabs*; but was diverted from his deſign by *Ptolemy*'s ſolicitation to be reſtored to his kingdom. 2. *Pompey* advanced to *Petra*, and came to an accommodation there with *Aretas*, in the year preceding the birth of Chriſt 63. But the latter end of that very year, or, at fartheſt, the beginning of the next, after *Pompey* had left *Syria*, *Aretas* put himſelf again in motion, and began to be very troubleſome to that province. *Scaurus*, therefore, being made the firſt præſident of *Syria*, found himſelf involved in a new war with that prince; but, marching too far after him into the deſerts of *Arabia Petræa*, he fell into great difficulties for want of proviſions, and other neceſſaries, in the year 62. Out of theſe he was extricated by the aſſiſtance of *Hyrcanus* and *Antipater*; the former ſupplying him with proviſions, and the latter prevailing upon *Aretas* to conclude a new treaty of peace with him. And this, we think, demonſtratively proves, that *Pompey* was ſo far from conquering *Aretas*, and conſequently making himſelf maſter of *Petra*, that, upon his retreat out of *Arabia*, he left that prince in the full poſſeſſion of all his dominions. The authors cited here, as our readers will find upon a peruſal of them, ſeem to put this point beyond all diſpute. 3. Suppoſing, though not granting, ſince nothing appears more oppoſite to truth, that *Pompey* had ſubdued *Aretas*, yet that he conquered all the wild or *Scenite Arabs*, will never be allowed. For *Agbarus*, or, according to ſome, *Ariammes*, an *Arab* emir, aſſiſted *Pompey* in his expedition againſt that prince; ſo that ſome of the *Arab* tribes, at leaſt, by joining the *Romans*, preſerved their liberty and independency. 4. That the *Arabs* in general remained hitherto a free people, notwithſtanding the efforts of the *Romans* to enſlave them, may be collected from *Appian*. For he informs us, that neither *Marcius Philippus* nor *Lentulus Marcellinus*, who governed *Syria* in the years 60. and 59. could put a ſtop to the depredations of the *Arabs*. They were then ſo formidable, that the whole *Roman* power in the Eaſt was not able to reduce them. 5. As the *Romans* at this juncture did not reduce *Arabia Petræa* to the form of a *Roman* province, as they had before done *Syria*, it is clear to demonſtration, that neither *Pompey*, *Scaurus*, *Philippus*, *Marcellinus*, nor *Gabinius*, who ſucceeded *Marcellinus* in the year 58. ever thoroughly ſubjugated the *Nabathæans*. So far from it, that we find them acting as a free people, almoſt from the very moment that *Pompey* left *Arabia*. They treated the *Roman* ſubjects as enemies, before that general's departure out of *Aſia*, and for ſeveral years after, without meeting with any conſiderable check; than which a fuller proof of their independency on the *Romans*, even during *Pompey*'s greateſt flow of proſperity, cannot be offered [g].

That *Aretas*, indeed, might make ſome conceſſions, and pay a certain ſort of homage, to *Pompey*, when at *Petra*, we ſhall not take upon us abſolutely to deny. But this will not at all affect the ſubject of our preſent inquiry. The queſtion is not, whether the *Iſhmaelite Arabs* were ever haraſſed, and forced to be ſomething more complaiſant to a formidable neighbour, than their rough diſpoſition naturally prompted them to be; but whether they were ever completely conquered, and thoroughly ſubjugated, by any foreign power? Not whether *Aretas* was obliged to make ſome ſort of ſubmiſſion to *Pompey*; but whether his country was ever annexed to the *Roman* empire? And this we may hold in the negative, notwithſtanding *Pompey*'s expedition into *Arabia*. That they were vanquiſhed by *Cyrus* and *Cambyſes*, but yet were never ſubject to the *Perſians*, has been already obſerved from *Herodotus* [h].

After *Gabinius* had defeated *Alexander* near mount *Tabor*, with the loſs of ten thouſand men, he marched againſt the *Nabathæans*; and, having routed them, returned back immediately into *Syria*. He had not, therefore, time to make any conſiderable conqueſts in *Arabia*. And that ſome, at leaſt, of the *Arabs* were independent in 48. ſeven years after this invaſion happened, cannot, as we apprehend, be denied. For, in that year, *Antipater* the *Idumean*, by intreaty and perſuaſion, prevailed upon ſeveral *Arab* emirs, as well as the free cities of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, to ſupply *Cæſar* with a body of auxiliary troops. *Alcaudonius* likewiſe, an *Arab* king, advanced three years after to *Apamia*, where *Baſſus* was cooped up by a body of

The Arabs remain unconquered in the year before Ch. 48.

[g] Plut. in Pomp. & alib. Univ. hiſt. & Prid. ubi ſup. Dio, lib. xxxvii. Appian. in Mithridat. Joseph. antiq. lib. xiv. c. 9. & de bel. Judaic. lib. i. c. 6. Cic. in orat. pro dom. ſua, & pro P. Sextio, & de provinc. conſular. Plut. in Ciceron. Cæſ. Cat. Uticenſ. & Lucul. Dio, lib. xxxv. xxxvi. xxxviii. xxxix. xl. [h] Herodot. lib. iii.

Cæſar's

Ceſar's troops; and, in conjunction with the *Parthian* forces under the command of *Pacorus*, forced the *Ceſarians* to raiſe the ſiege of that place [i].

Malchus an Arab independent prince in the year 40.

MALCHUS, or AL MALK, reigned in *Arabia Petræa* about forty years before the birth of Chriſt. And that he was independent on the *Romans*, may be inferred from *Joſephus* the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian. Nay, the word *Malchus*, or *Al Malk*, itſelf ſeems to imply this, ſince it may be conſidered as equivalent to *the king*, or *the great king*. And that ſome of the *Arab* princes are mentioned in hiſtory by the name of their office, as well as that of their perſon, may be eaſily evinced [k].

Malchus, prince of the Arabs, dies in the year 32.

IN the year preceding the Chriſtian æra 34. *Antony* would have obliged *Malchus* to cede to *Cleopatra* ſome diſtricts of *Arabia Petræa* bordering upon *Egypt*. This *Malchus* would by no means agree to. However, as he had ſome apprehenſion of *Antony*, he paid that princeſs a certain tribute for thoſe diſtricts, whilſt the triumvir continued in the zenith of his power. But, when he found him involved in a war with *Octavius*, he refuſed any farther payment; upon which *Antony* ordered *Herod* to march againſt him. *Herod* having entered *Arabia*, the two kings came to a general action. *Malchus* was overthrown; but, in a ſecond engagement, he gave the *Jewiſh* prince a ſignal defeat. However, loſing two battles afterwards, he was neceſſitated to make propoſals for an accommodation; and *Herod* ſeems to have granted him a peace, upon his promiſe to pay *Cleopatra* the former tribute. But that he made a ceſſion of any part of his dominions by this treaty, which was concluded in the year 32. either to *Herod* or *Cleopatra*, we have not the leaſt reaſon to believe [l].

Arabia independent.

MALCHUS ſtill continued to govern the *Nabathæans* in the year 30. and was undoubtedly then an independent prince. *Joſephus* inſinuates, that *Herod* was at that time jealous of him. It can ſcarce be doubted, but that *Auguſtus* remitted the tribute paid to *Cleopatra*, if it had ever before been paid; which, indeed, cannot be certainly collected from any good author. For, about ſeven years after, *Obodas*, or *Abd Wadd*, king of the *Nabathæans*, and ſucceſſor to *Malchus*, was in a ſtate of amity with the *Romans*; though, by the treachery of his prime miniſter *Syllæus*, with whom *Obodas* himſelf was ſuſpected likewiſe to concur, *Ælius Gallus* miſcarried in the expedition he undertook againſt the aromatiferous parts of *Arabia*. For a further account of that expedition, we muſt beg leave to refer our readers to the hiſtory of the *Arabs*. From what has been there advanced we may infer, that neither the northern nor ſouthern *Arabs* had been brought under the domination of any foreign power, as late as the year preceding the Chriſtian æra 23 [m].

Obodas, ſucceſſor to Malchus, independent as his predec.

IT muſt be owned, indeed, that, after the death of *Obodas*, who was poiſoned by *Syllæus*, *Auguſtus* pretended to the right of impoſing a new king upon the *Nabathæans*. But, notwithſtanding that pretenſion, it is certain thoſe *Arabs* placed on the throne of the deceaſed one *Æneas*, without making any manner of application to *Auguſtus* on that head, or even waiting at all his pleaſure about it. The new king aſſumed the name of *Hareth*, or *Al Hareth*, in *Greek Aretas*, immediately after his acceſſion; which happened about ſeven years before the birth of Chriſt. Nor was this election ever reverſed by *Auguſtus*, though he was at firſt ſo much incenſed both againſt the *Nabathæans* and their new king, that the following year he propoſed to attempt his expulſion out of *Arabia*. But, by never making ſuch an attempt, he left the *Arabs* in poſſeſſion of their independency, which, through the courſe of ſo many ages, they had uninterruptedly enjoyed [n].

The Arabs remain unſubdued to the time of Veſpaſian.

THAT the *Romans* had not conquered *Arabia* when their forces in the Eaſt ſwore allegiance to *Veſpaſian*, appears from *Tacitus*. For, according to that hiſtorian, thoſe forces, conſiſting of nine legions, were then cantoned in *Syria*, *Judæa*, and *Egypt*. Not the leaſt mention is made by him of *Arabia*, either as a *Roman* province, a tributary kingdom, or a ſtate in alliance with *Rome*. From ſo profound a ſilence we may, therefore, conclude, that the *Nabathæan Arabs*, who were neighbours to *Veſpaſian*, had no dependence then either upon the *Romans*, or any other power. The little no-

[i] JOSEPH. antiquit. lib. xiv. c. 11. HIRTIUS de bel. Alexand. JOSEPH. antiquit. lib. xiv. c. 14, 15. DIO, lib. xlii. & lib. xlvii. STRAB. lib. xvi. p. 752. [k] JOSEPH. antiquit. lib. xiv. c. 26. & de bel. Judaic. lib. i. c. 12. PRID. connect. &c. vol. ii. p. 275 (I). Lond. 1718. [l] JOSEPH. antiquit. lib. xv. c. 4, 6, 7. & de bel. Judaic. lib. i. c. 13, 14. & lib. vii. c 32. [m] JOSEPH. antiquit. lib. xv. c. 9. STRAB. lib. xvi. PLIN. lib. vi. c. 28. DIO, lib. liii. p. 516, & ſeq. ad an. 11. c. 730. See alſo Univerſ. hiſt. vol. v. p. 301, 302. & vol. vii. p. 281, 282. [n] JOSEPH. antiquit. lib. xvi. c. 15.

tice

tice taken of them by *Joſephus* at this juncture ſtrengthens likewiſe the authority of *Tacitus*. Nor can it well be ſuppoſed, that the *Nabathæans* ſhould have been ſubdued by *Tiberius*, *Caius*, *Claudius*, *Nero*, *Galba*, *Otho*, or *Vitellius*. For *Tiberius* was ſo infamouſly negligent of the public affairs, as to ſend no lieutenants for the government of *Spain* and *Syria*, for ſeveral years; to let *Armenia* be over-run by the *Parthians*, *Mœſia* by the *Dacians* and *Sarmatians*, and almoſt all *Gaul* by the *Germans*. *Caius* exceeded his predeceſſor in all manner of debauchery, was much inferior to him in every thing relating to martial affairs, and did nothing but make a mock-expedition againſt the *Germans*. *Claudius* did ſcarce any thing but conquer *Britain*, and that chiefly by the valour of his lieutenants *Oſtorius Scapula*, *Aulus Plautius*, and *Veſpaſian*. *Nero* only reduced the kingdom of *Pontus*, and the *Cottian Alps*, into the form of a *Roman* province; nor indeed can the *Roman* arms be ſuppoſed to have made any conſiderable progreſs under a prince who neither hoped for nor deſired the inlargement of the empire. And, as for the ſhort reigns of *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius*, the republic was ſo far from extending its frontiers under the diſturbances of them, that they muſt have proved fatal to it, had it not been ſeaſonably relieved by the happy management of *Veſpaſian*. So that we have not the leaſt reaſon to believe, that the *Romans* poſſeſſed themſelves of any part of *Arabia*, before that excellent prince, at the deſire of the provincial armies, aſpired to the empire [o].

And during the reigns of that emperor.

THOUGH *Veſpaſian* made it his whole buſineſs to reform the abuſes crept both into the city and ſtate by the licentiouſneſs of the late times, he did not annex *Arabia* to the *Roman* empire. For he added only nine provinces to that empire, none of which was *Arabia*. Nor does it appear from hiſtory, that he ever invaded that country. *Titus*, his ſon and ſucceſſor, ſignalized himſelf in the famous ſiege of *Jeruſalem*, and intirely overturned the *Jewiſh* ſtate; but did nothing conſiderable in other parts. *Domitian*'s principal, if not only, atchievements, meriting the attention of an hiſtorian, were the ſubjugation of the *Catti*, *Daci*, and *Sarmatians*, in four expeditions, and the extinction of a civil war. *Nerva*, though a perſon of great virtue and abilities, reigned too ſhort a time to make any conſiderable acquiſition. None of the four laſt princes, therefore, can with any colour of reaſon be ſuppoſed to have rendered the *Nabathæan Arabs* dependent on the *Romans* [p].

As alſo to the time of Trajan.

BUT what proved too difficult a taſk for any of the aforeſaid emperors may ſeem to have been effected in the reign of *Trajan*, according to *Dio*. For ſome have inferred from that author, that the eighth year of this reign was famous for the reduction of *Arabia Petræa* by *Aulus Cornelius Palma* the *Roman* preſident of *Syria*. *Euſebius* alſo relates, that the inhabitants of *Petra* and *Boſtra* computed their time from this year, in which their country is ſuppoſed to have been firſt annexed to the *Roman* empire. Nay, *Arrian*, *Eutropius*, *Lucian*, and *Dio*, intimate, that *Trajan* conquered even *Arabia Felix*; and this ſeems alſo to be ſuggeſted by ſome medals ſtruck after the fourteenth year of his reign. Which if we admit, it is plain, notwithſtanding what has been advanced, that the *Iſhmaelite Arabs* could not maintain their independency againſt the *Romans* [q].

The Arabs not ſubdued by Trajan.

BUT, however formidable theſe authorities may at firſt ſight appear, upon examination they will be found to be of very little weight. Nor is any thing more implied by the paſſages here referred to, than that ſome of the *Arabs* were obliged to pay a certain ſort of homage to the governor of *Syria*. For that the *Romans* did not poſſeſs themſelves of the whole peninſula of the *Arabs*, nor reduce the deſcendents of *Iſhmael* to the ſtate of a conquered people, in the time of *Trajan*, may, we perſuade ourſelves, be concluded extremely probable from the following conſiderations.

I. IT cannot be inferred from any of the aforeſaid authors, that either *Trajan* or *Palma* left a *Roman* gariſon in *Petra*, or any forces in *Arabia Petræa*, to awe the *Nabathæans*. Nay, from the ſilence of thoſe authors, the contrary ſeems to appear. As, therefore, ſuch gariſons and forces were kept in *Egypt*, *Syria*, and other pro-

[o] TACIT. hiſt. lib. ii. Vid. etiam SUETON. in Tiber. Cai. Claud. Ner. Galb. Oth. Vitel. Veſpaſ. &c. DION. JOSEPH. aliſque ſcriptor. paſſ. [p] SUETON. in Veſpaſ. Tit. & Domit. JOSEPH. bel. Jud. paſſ. TACIT. in annal. hiſt. & vit. Agric. paſſ. DIO, paſſ. PLIN. panegyr. AUR. VICT. in epit. EUSEB. ZONAR. &c. See alſo Univ. hiſt. vol. v. p. 636—698. & vol. vi. p. 1—6. [q] DIO, lib. lxviii. p. 777. EUSEB. in chron. p. 206. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 16. Vide etiam ARRIAN. in peripl. mar. Erythr. p. 6, 8, 46, &c. EUTRAP. p. 116. OROS. p. 215. EUTR. in breviar. p. 551-553. EUTROP. in Trajan. LUCIAN. *philop.* & Univ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 22.

vinces, to prevent the inhabitants from ſhaking off the *Roman* yoke; it muſt naturally be preſumed, that the country of the *Nabatheans* was not upon the ſame foot with thoſe provinces in the reign of *Trajan*[r].

2. Dio no-where affirms, that *Palma* intirely ſubjugated *Arabia Petræa*; but only ſays, that he reduced a certain part of it in the neighbourhood of, or adjacent to, the city of *Petra*. This will not amount to a clear implication, that he either conquered *Arabia Petræa*, or made himſelf maſter of *Petra*. For a full proof of which it will be ſufficient to produce what that author, on this occaſion, relates of *Palma*: [illegible][s].

3. Supposing we were to underſtand this paſſage of *Dio* of all *Arabia Petræa*, yet it will not prove, that the *Romans* reduced to ſervitude the *Arabs*, the expreſſion not being ſtronger than one made uſe of by *Xenophon* relating to the reduction of *Arabia* by *Cyrus*, which we have ſhewn not to evince the ſubjugation of the *Arabs* by that conqueror[t].

4. Euserius indeed relates, that the inhabitants of *Petra* and *Boſtra* reekoned their time from the eighth year of *Trajan*; but he ſays not a word of the reduction of *Petra* by that prince[u].

5. The coins ſtruck in the eighth year of *Trajan*, exhibiting the legends ARABIA AUGUST. PROVINCIA, ARAB. ADQUIS. *&c.* can only be ſuppoſed to extend to that part of *Arabia* ſubdued by, or rather forced to acknowlege the ſuperiority of, the *Roman* arms. They will by no means prove, that the whole kingdom of *Arabia Petræa* was, in the time we are ſpeaking of, a province of the *Roman* empire[w].

6. The utmoſt that can be inferred from the authors here cited is, that ſome of the *Nabathite Arabs*, in order to avoid greater inconveniencies, made ſuch a ſubmiſſion to *Palma* as their anceſtors had done to *Pompey*; which, as we have ſhewn, did not in the leaſt affect *their independency*[x].

7. Nothing can be a more glaring inſtance of the *Roman* vanity in the reign of *Trajan*, than ſome coins of that prince ſtill preſerved in the cabinets of the curious, exhibiting the legends IND. P. R. INDIA PRO P. R. *&c.* For, by theſe, the *Romans* undoubtedly intended to intimate, either that *Trajan* had actually reduced *India*, or that he at leaſt imagined himſelf maſter of it, inſomuch that he believed his projected expedition againſt that country could not miſcarry. Some of them were even ſanguine enough to give out, that he ſubdued the *Indians*: and yet it does not appear from hiſtory, that he ever undertook ſuch an expedition; nay, from hiſtory, the contrary to this appears. So that, notwithſtanding the pompous legends on *Trajan*'s coins, it is highly probable, that this emperor never penetrated into the interior part of *Arabia Felix*, but only took ſome maritim towns on the coaſt of that region. Nay, nothing more than this can be inferred from the authors cited here; nor do we remember, that any travelers ever diſcovered there the faineſt traces of the *Romans*[y].

8. Lucian is ſuppoſed to have lived about the time (C) of *Trajan*. Now he only intimates, that *Arabia* (probably *Arabia Felix*) would ſoon ſubmit to the victorious

[r] Dio, Arrian. Euseb. &c. ubi ſupra. [s] Dio, lib. lxviii. p. 777. [t] See before, p. 256. [u] Euseb. chron. can. p. 209. Amſtelodami, 1658. [w] Franciſc. Mediobarb. Birag. imperator. Romanor. numiſmat. a Pomp. Magn. ad Heracl. ab Adolf. Occon olim congeſt. curante Philip. Argelat. Bononienſ. p. 153. Mediolani, 1730. [x] See before, p. 274, 275. [y] Franciſc. Mediobarb. Birag. ubi ſup. p. 157. Zonar. in excerpt. Dion. Euseb. chron. p. 205. Univ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 22. Arrian. in peripl. mar. Erythr. p. 6, 8, 45. Eutr. in breviar. p. 551—553. Eutrop. lib. viii. ſub init.

(C) It muſt be owned, indeed, that the learned and ingenious Mr. *Boyle* believes the *Philopatris* aſcribed to *Lucian* to have been written long after the reign of *Trajan*, though he has the generality of learned men againſt him. But, notwithſtanding this, he ſubſcribes, in the main, to our opinion. "You aſk me (ſays he, to which of the two emperors the conqueſt of *Arabia* belong? I ſay, "to neither: Nor does our author ſay it was conquered, but impudently affirms it would be. Can "you infer from this, that *Arabia* was then overrun by the *Romans*? Will you take his prophecy for an hiſtory? Muſt the vain hopes of a flattering ſophiſt paſs current for authentic truth, and undoubted matter of fact? Is it not manifeſt, from what follows, that *Arabia* was not then ſubdued? for *Triphon*, you ſee, does not number it among the other victories of the emperor. So that it is not incumbent upon me to fix the conqueſt of all *Arabia* to either of the two emperors reigns, till you can make it plainly appear from the *Philopatris*, that it was really conquered

rious prince (*Trajan*), and that in the ſame manner *Perſia* and *Parthia* had already done. From whence it ſeems probable, that *Arabia* did not actually ſubmit to *Trajan*; or, if it did, that this ſubmiſſion did not reduce it to the ſtate of a *Roman* province. For *Perſia* and *Parthia*, notwithſtanding the blows they might have received from the *Romans*, never found themſelves in ſuch a ſituation [z].

9. It is plain from *Lucian*, and from what we have already advanced, that *Arabia Felix*, if it was ever a *Roman* province, could not have been ſubdued before the nineteenth year of *Trajan*. And this is confirmed by ſome coins that might have been ſtruck that very year. But then the *Romans* were ſo far from being in poſſeſſion of *Arabia Felix*, or having reduced it to a *Roman* province, that they were not maſters of *Arabia Deſerta* and *Petræa*, countries much nearer, and even contiguous to, their *Aſiatic* dominions. For, in leſs than a year afterwards, *Trajan* invaded the territory of the *Hagarenes*, a nation ſettled in one of thoſe regions. The coins, therefore, above-mentioned, exhibiting on their reverſes the legends ARABIA CAPTA S. C. ARAB. ADQUIS. S. C. *&c.* prove nothing but the vain diſpoſition of the *Romans*. Nor will any one moderately verſed in the *Roman* hiſtory be ſurpriſed at thoſe fulſome legends, ſince at this very time, according to *Euſebius*, the *Romans* had the vanity to brag, that they had brought even *India* itſelf under ſubjection; which amounts to an ample proof, that their coins in the preſent point are not at all to be depended upon. Nay, this moſt plainly appears from ſome other coins of the very year we are now upon, which on their reverſes exhibit PARTHIA CAPTA, *&c.* whereas *Parthia* was never reduced to a *Roman* province, nor conſequently brought into a ſtate of ſervitude by *Trajan*, as will more fully appear from what has been already obſerved, both in the hiſtory of the *Romans* and that of the *Parthians* [a].

10. When *Eutropius* aſſerts *Arabia* to have been reduced to a *Roman* province by *Trajan*, he intimates (D), that this *Arabia* lay upon the *Red Sea*, near the maritim provinces of *India*. The whole paſſage runs thus: *Afterwards he reduced* Arabia *to the form of a* Roman *province, and fitted out a fleet upon the* Red Sea, *that he might ravage the borders of* India. From whence we may infer, that *Eutropius*'s *Arabia* was only ſome maritim diſtricts of *Arabia Felix* on the coaſt of the *Red Sea*, whoſe ſituation favoured *Trajan*'s project of having a fleet on that ſea, for the purpoſe above-mentioned. So that, were *Eutropius*'s authority not inferior to that of *Dio*, as it moſt certainly is, it would only render probable *Trajan*'s poſſeſſion of ſome maritim diſtricts of *Arabia Felix* on the *Red Sea*; which it was an eaſy matter for the *Romans* to dignify with the name of a province. And that in fact this was the caſe, appears not only from what has been already advaneed, but likewiſe from ſome good authors, who mention the places in *Arabia Felix* ſubject to *Trajan*, and whom it will be highly proper for our curious readers to conſult on this occaſion [b].

11. That *Trajan* never thoroughly ſettled the *Roman* government either in *Parthia*, *Meſopotamia*, or *Armenia*, is manifeſt from hence, that, immediately after that prince's departure from the army in the Eaſt, all thoſe countries revolted from the

[z] Lucian. philopatr. Univ. hiſt. vol. iv. p. 319, 320. & vol. vi. p. 21, 24, 33. [a] Lucian. ubi ſupra. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 22, 24. Franciſc. Mediobarb. Birag. ubi ſupra, p. 159. 161. Dio, ubi ſup. [b] Eutropius, ubi ſupra. Arrian. ubi ſupra. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 22.

" conquered at that time, which I am very certain " no man living can do. I would be glad to know, " if ever the *Romans* were maſters of all *Arabia*; " nay, I will be content to give up the whole " cauſe, if you can prove by any good writer before " *Conſtantine the Great*, that they ever ſaw the " third part of *Arabia Felix*." Hence it plainly appears, that Mr. *Moyle* did not take the whole peninſula of the *Arabs* to have been conquered either by *Severus* or *Trajan*, at leaſt, if he was not fully perſuaded of the perpetual and uninterrupted independency of the *Arabs* (3).

(D) Since *Eutropius* repreſents *Severus* as the firſt *Roman* emperor who reduced *Arabia* to a *Roman* province, it is plain he could not have conſidered *Trajan* in that light. It muſt be allowed, therefore, that we have here given a right expoſition of this author. That *Severus* never abſolutely ſubdued *Arabia Deſerta*, and *Arabia Petræa*, will ſoon be proved; and that *Arabia Felix* was never annexed to the *Roman* empire, appears from hence, that we never find it mentioned among the provinces of that empire, either in *Severus*'s time, or afterwards. This ought to be conſidered as an additional proof of what is here advanced (4).

(3) *Mr. Moyle's diſſertation upon the age of the Philopatris, in the firſt vol. of his works, p. 295, 296 Lond.* 1726. (4) *Univ. hiſt. vol.* vi. *p.* 110.

Romans. But the *Hagarenes*, a very conſiderable *Arab* nation, and the deſcendents of *Iſmael*, had before declared againſt him. In the eighteenth or nineteenth year of his reign, they aſſerted their independency; which is an undeniable proof, that they had never been conquered by *Trajan*, or that he had never fully eſtabliſhed the *Roman* government among them. Whether, therefore, they had revolted from the *Romans*, as ſeems to be inſinuated by *Dio*, or had never made any ſort of ſubmiſſion to them, it plainly appears, that the *Romans* had never any great influence in their country, and therefore we cannot conſider them as ſubjugated by *Trajan*. They not only refuſed a recognition of his authority, but baffled his whole power, repelled all his efforts againſt their capital city, and forced him at laſt to retire with ſhame into his own dominions [c].

Not ſubdued by Adrian.

If ſo wiſe, valiant, and active a prince as *Trajan* could not ſubjugate the *Arabs*, we have little reaſon to believe, that ſuch an acquiſition as *Arabia* was made to the empire in the time of his ſucceſſor *Adrian*. That emperor was ſo far from extending his frontiers, that he abandoned three of the provinces taken in by his predeceſſor, and contented himſelf with fixing the bounds of his dominions on that ſide at the *Euphrates*. We find indeed, that *Adrian* viſited that part of *Arabia* contiguous to *Syria*, in the twelfth year of his reign, and the 129th of our Lord; but it is not intimated by any author what was the occaſion of that journey. This tract might at that time either have been ſubject to the *Romans*, or governed by a prince who was under their protection. Be this as it will, it does not appear from hiſtory, that any part of *Arabia* properly ſo called was annexed to the *Roman* empire during the reign of *Adrian* [d].

They maintain their independency through the reigns of Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, Commodus, Pertinax, &c.

Neither *Antoninus Pius*, nor his ſucceſſors *Marcus* and *Lucius*, ever invaded *Arabia*; at leaſt, none of the antient hiſtorians has given us any intimation of ſuch an invaſion. The former ſtudied more the defence of the empire, than the inlargement of it; and the latter are not famous for any military exploit, but a ſucceſsful expedition againſt the *Parthians*. *Commodus*, *Pertinax*, and *Didius Julianus*, after having made an exceeding inconſiderable figure, came all to violent deaths, and attempted nothing againſt the *Arabs*. *Peſcennius Niger* and *Albinus* may be conſidered as meteors that vaniſhed as ſoon as they appeared. They continued ſcarce a moment on the ſtage, and then made their exit without any *eclat*. So that it cannot be expected, that they ſhould have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by any great atchievements in *Arabia* [e].

Severus forced to raiſe the ſiege of Atra.

But *Severus*, who in a great meaſure reſtored the *Roman* valour and diſcipline, made a conſiderable impreſſion upon that country. He penetrated into it as far as (E) *Atra*, and laid ſiege to that capital (F). The army he commanded on this occaſion was extremely numerous, and furniſhed with a vaſt train of military engines invented by *Priſcus*, the moſt celebrated mechanic of his age. This enterprize was undertaken by *Severus*, to chaſtize the *Arabs* for aſſiſting *Niger*; but it did not meet with the deſired ſucceſs. For he was repulſed at the firſt attack, and forced afterwards to raiſe the ſiege. Some circumſtances attending both this expedition and that of *Trajan* plainly indicate the *Arabs* to have been preſerved by the interpoſition of a divine overruling power. As theſe circumſtances have been handed down to us by pagan authors of good reputation, they deſerve the attention of all ſober ſceptics and unbelievers, if any ſuch perſons are to be found in Chriſtian countries. For, with regard

[c] Dio, ubi ſupra, p. 785. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 24. [d] Spart. p. 7, 10. Dio, lib. lxviii. p. 776. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 33. Euseb. chron. an. 129. [e] Jul. Cap. in Antonin. cum notis Salmaſii, Pariſ. 1620. Dio, lib. lxx. & alib. Pausan. lib. viii. Spart. Birag. Goltz. Justin. apol. ii. Gruter. Ammian. Marcellin. Herodian. Aur. Vict. epit. Julian. Cæſ. &c. See alſo Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 49—113.

(E) It is not abſolutely certain whether *Atra* was in *Arabia Petræa* or *Arabia Deſerta*, tho' it probably ſtood on the confines of both thoſe regions. For, that it was contiguous to *Oſroene* and *Adiabene*, and conſequently near the borders of *Meſopotamia*, appears from Dio. But to which ſoever of them it appertained, its citizens were undoubtedly the deſcendents of *Iſhmael*; and therefore the preſervation of their independency is a ſufficient confirmation of the truth of our opinion (5).

(F) This town did not only baffle all the efforts of *Trajan* and *Severus*, as already related, but alſo thoſe of *Artaxerxes*, who, about the year 226. or 230. re-eſtabliſhed the *Perſian* on the ruin of the *Parthian* empire (6).

(5) *Dio, lib.* lxxv. *p.* 854, 855. (6) *See Univ. hiſt. vol.* vi. *p.* 11.

to

to Chriſtians of all denominations, if they adhere to their own principles, and are conſiſtent with themſelves, they will look upon them as glaring proofs of the truth of the prediction we are now inſiſting upon, and intended to forward its completion, by HIM who is the ſole arbiter and diſpoſer of all events [f].

CARACALLA, *Geta*, *Macrinus*, with his ſon *Diadumenianus*, and *Heliogabalus*, never ſo much as deſigned any thing againſt the *Arabs*; and, if they had, their reigns were too ſhort to have put ſuch a deſign in execution. *Alexander Severus*'s nobleſt exploit was an expedition againſt the *Perſians*, wherein he overcame their famous king *Xerxes*; but the *Arabs* never came to a rupture with him. *Maximinus*, *Pupienus*, *Balbinus*, and the *Gordians*, as far as appears from hiſtory, did not commit any hoſtilities againſt that nation. Neither did the *Philips*, *Decius*, *Gallus*, *Æmilianus*, or *Voluſian*, ever give them any trouble or moleſtation. As for the *Valerians*, *Gallien*, *Claudius*, and *Quintillus*, they ſuffered the *Arabs* to enjoy an uninterrupted repoſe. So that the *Romans* did not offer to carry their arms into *Arabia* during the interval between the death of *Severus* and the acceſſion of *Aurelian* [g]. *The* Arabs *remain a free people to the time of* Aurelian.

THIS laſt emperor was a martial prince, and a great terror to the barbarians. He carried on a vigorous war againſt the *Sarmatians*, wherein he killed a thouſand of them with his own hands. In the Eaſt he conquered the famous queen *Zenobia*, and made himſelf maſter of her capital city *Palmyra*. A great number of captives of various nations, and particularly *Saracens*, and other *Arabs*, graced his triumph, after his final return to *Rome*; notwithſtanding which, it cannot be collected from any antient hiſtorian, that he ever ſignalized himſelf by any remarkable atchievement in *Arabia* [h]. Aurelian *makes no attempt upon* Arabia.

FROM this period to the reign of *Conſtantius*, the *Romans* had little, if any intercourſe with the *Arabs*; and therefore cannot be ſuppoſed to have impoſed their yoke upon them in any part of that interval. Nor do we find, that this happened whilſt that prince ſat upon the imperial throne. On the contrary, that the *Saracens*, or *Iſhmaelites*, were then not only independent upon, but alſo in a ſtate of hoſtility with, the *Romans*, we learn from *Ammianus Marcellinus*. For, according to that hiſtorian, in this emperor's time, they ravaged *Meſopotamia*, and then retired, without meeting with any obſtruction, into their own dominions [i]. *The* Arabs *enjoy the poſſeſſion of their liberties till the death of* Conſtantius.

JULIAN, as well as ſome of his predeceſſors, for ſome time paid the *Saracens* a penſion, that they might always have a body of troops on foot for the ſervice of the *Romans*. But, upon his diſcontinuing this penſion, they went over to the *Perſian*, and ever after remained faithful to him. Than which we cannot deſire a clearer proof of their being then a free people, and in great repute for their bravery among the moſt powerful nations [k]. *And till the concluſion of* Julian's *reign.*

AFTER the defeat and death of *Valens*, the *Goths* laid ſiege to *Conſtantinople* itſelf, and made their utmoſt efforts to poſſeſs themſelves of that capital city. *Mavia* queen of the *Saracens*, at this preſſing and critical conjuncture, ſent a body of her beſt forces to aſſiſt the *Romans*; and it was principally by their bravery that the barbarians were forced to retire. This muſt be allowed a convincing proof both of the valour and freedom of the *Arabs* in that age [l]. *They are independent in the reign of* Valens.

ABOUT the year of Chriſt 411. the *Saracens*, or *Iſhmaelite Arabs*, committed great diſorders upon the frontiers of *Egypt*, *Palæſtine*, *Phœnicia*, and *Syria*, without oppoſition; but ſoon retired of their own accord. Than which there cannot be offered a ſtronger argument both of their independency at that time upon, and hoſtile diſpoſition towards, the *Romans* [m]. *And in the year of Chriſt* 411.

IN the reign of *Theodoſius*, *Alamundarus*, or *Al Mondar*, with a numerous army, aſſiſted the *Perſians* againſt that prince. But the greateſt part of his *Arabs*, being ſeized with an unaccountable panic, threw themſelves headlong into the *Euphrates*, where they are ſaid to have periſhed to the number of an hundred thouſand men. *As alſo in the reign of* Theodoſius.

[f] DIO, lib lxxv. p. 854, 855. HERODIAN. lib. iii. EUSEB. chron. SPARTIAN. in Sever. GOLTZ. p. 84 See Univ. hiſt. vol. vii. p. 283. [g] DIO, HERODIAN. SYNCELL. ZOSIM. JORNAND. GOLTZ. BIRAG. SPANHEM. &c. Vide etiam AUR. VICT. EUTROP. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. ZONAR. Chron. Alexand. EUSEB. HIER. chron. TREBEL. POL. AGATH. EUSEB. LACT. OROS. &c. See alſo Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 121—187. [h] AUR. VICT. ZOS. EUTROP. ATHAN. ſolit. ABU'L FARAJ. BIRAG. SPANHEM. GOLTZ. Univ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 187—195. [i] AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. lib. xiv. Univ. hiſt. vol. vii. p. 283, 284. [k] AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. lib. XXV. & lib. xxix. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 329. & vol. vii. p. 283, 284. [l] AMMIAN MARCELLIN. lib. xxxi. Univ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 387, 388. & vol. vii. p. 284 [m] Univ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 467.

However, we do not find, that the *Romans* took any advantage of this blow, nor that the *Arabs* were greatly weakened by it. For, that they ſoon recovered from it, ſeems to be evinced by their making another irruption into the *Roman* empire about the year 452. They were, however, driven then into their own dominions by the troops of *Marcian*, and obliged to conclude a peace with that prince. But that they ceded any conſiderable extent of territory to him, does no-where appear. They were, therefore, at this time independent on the *Romans*, and ought to be conſidered not as ſubjects, but allies, of the *Perſians* [n].

Their progreſs in their ſeveral conflicts to the time of Mohammed.

ABOUT the beginning of the ſixth century, another *Arab* prince of the *Monder* family ſided with the *Perſians*, and did incredible damage to the *Romans*. He haraſſed them for fifty years together, and ravaged all their territories from the borders of *Egypt* to the confines of *Meſopotamia*. In fine, none of the *Roman* generals, nor any of the *Arab* emirs in the intereſt of the *Romans*, could ever make head againſt him. However, the *Arabs* of *Syria* and *Irak* at this time, and even till the birth of *Mohammed*, frequently committed hoſtilities againſt one another. Thoſe of *Irak*, forming the kingdom of *Hira*, eſpouſed the intereſt of the *Perſians*; as thoſe of *Sham* or *Syria*, under the kings of *Ghaſſan*, did that of the *Romans*. But that neither the former were ſubjects to the *Perſians*, nor the latter to the *Romans*, may be inferred from ſeveral writers of good authority. As for the kingdom of *Hejaz*, where the greateſt part of the *Iſhmaelites* ſettled themſelves, that the *Arabs* there continued in a ſtate of independency, from the days of *Iſhmael* to the birth of the famous impoſtor *Mohammed*, who was one of them, appears not only from what has been already advanced in this diſſertation, but from the concurring teſtimony of the beſt and moſt authentic of the *Oriental* hiſtorians [o].

Aid to the diſſolution of the Saracen *empire.*

II. MOHAMMED made himſelf maſter of the whole peninſula of the *Arabs* in the year 631. and laid the foundations of an empire in many reſpects equal to that of the *Romans*. This formidable power, which, like a deluge, overwhelmed at once both the eaſtern and weſtern part of the world, continued above three hundred years. So that till towards the middle of the tenth century, the *Arabs* were not only in poſſeſſion of their own country, but likewiſe of a very conſiderable part of the then known world [p].

They are free in the time of Saladin.

THE *Saracen* empire at that time failing, ſeveral governors of its provinces ſet up for themſelves. However, the *Arabs* ſtill kept poſſeſſion of their peninſula. Nay, though, after the diſſolution of the *Saracen* empire, the power of *Mohammed*'s immediate ſucceſſors was divided among the aforeſaid governors, uſurping the ſovereign authority, each in their ſeveral diſtricts; yet the ſovereignty of the *Arabs* may be conſidered as prevailing in all the countries poſſeſſed by thoſe princes. Nor have we the leaſt reaſon to ſuppoſe, that the *Arabs* ever received any foreign yoke before the reign of *Saladin* [q].

THAT prince, who aſſumed the title of *Sultan*, or *Soltan*, ſucceeded *Eladid*, the laſt khalif of *Egypt*. *Saladin* ſent his brother *Touransjah*, with a powerful army, to reduce the kingdom of *Yaman*, which then obeyed the uſurper *Abdolnabi*. *Touransjah*, having overthrown *Abdolnabi*, and *Jaſir* prince of *Aden*, and taken both of them priſoners, made himſelf maſter of *Yaman*, or rather a conſiderable part of that country, according to *Abulfeda*. That he did not reduce the whole country, may be inferred from *Abulfeda*, and from what followed there ſoon after this expedition. For, according to the *Arab* hiſtorian, *Touransjah* poſſeſſed himſelf of a conſiderable part of *Yaman* only; and from the ſame author it appears, that the governors *Touransjah* left behind him there, were ſo independent both on him and *Saladin*, that the ſultan found himſelf obliged to ſend an army under the command of his brother *Saiphol Iſlam* to reduce them, nine years after the former invaſion. In fine, after the death of *Touransjah*, which happened in the year of the *Hejra* 576. *Ezzoddin Othman* governor of *Aden* and

[n] SOCRAT. lib. vii. p. 357—360. Univ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 474, 475. EVAGR. lib. ii. c. 5. p. 295. PRISC. p. 40. NICEPH. lib. xv. c. 9. p. 61. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vi. p. 498. & vol. vii. p. 284. [o] PROCOP. de bel. Perſic. lib. i. p. 49, 50, 51, &c. Univ. hiſt. vol. vii. p. 283, 284. POCOCK. not. in ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 66. 74. PROCOP. in Perſ. apud Photium, p. 71, &c. AHMED EBN YUSEF, AL BEIDAWI, &c. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. vii. p. 272. & p. 275—277. [p] ABUL-FED. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. ABUL FARAJ. Poc. not. in ſpec. hiſt. Arab. aliiq; ſcriptor. paſſ. See alſo Dr. PRIDEAUX's epiſt. to the reader, prefixed to his life of Mahomet, p. 5. [q] BOHADIN. F. Sjeddadi vit. & res geſt. Saladin. ed. & Lat. verſ. ab Alberto Schultens p. 37. Lugd. Batavor. 1732.

Hettan Ebn Moukid governor of *Zabid* ſeem to have aſſerted their independency, and to have acknowleged no ſuperior, till they were conquered by *Saiphol Iſlam*. But ſuppoſing that they always conſidered *Saladin* as their ſovereign, yet, as they preſided only over the diſtricts of *Zabid* and *Aden*, we can only infer, from the ſucceſs which attended *Saiphol Iſlam*, that he made himſelf maſter of ſome of the maritim parts of *Yaman*. Be that as it will, the *Arabs* of *Yaman* at this juncture were not under the domination of any foreign power. For, though both *Saladin* and *Saiphol Iſlam* were *Curds* by birth, yet they were rendered *Arabs* by their education, language, diſpoſition, manners, polity, literature, and religion [r].

BUT the bulk of *Iſhmael*'s deſcendents were the *Bedoweens*, that inhabited the deſert and uncultivated parts of *Arabia*, which correſponded with the *Arabia Petræa* and *Arabia Deſerta* of the antients. Theſe went under the denomination of *Iſhmaelites* even in the days of *Saladin*, were then a free people, and lived under the government of their emirs, as they had all along done, and as they do at this day. The ſultan was ſo far from being able to conquer them, that once or twice he was in the moſt imminent danger of being cut off by them. Several of their emirs alſo aſſiſted him in his wars againſt the *Franks*, as free and independent princes. This, and much more to our preſent purpoſe, would the limits we have here preſcribed ourſelves permit us to be prolix on the preſent occaſion, might be proved from *Bohadin* and *Abulfeda*, not to mention others of the moſt celebrated *Oriental* hiſtorians [s].

SALADIN, or *Abu Modaffir Yuſef Ebn Yub Ebn Sjadſi*, ſultan of *Egypt*, died in the year of the *Hejra* 589. His brother *Saiphol Iſlam* then reigned in *Yaman*, though he ſeems to have been in poſſeſſion of only part of that fine country. Be that as it will, neither *Yaman*, nor any other part of the peninſula of the *Arabs*, was then ſubject to foreigners. So far from it, that the *Arabs* are repreſented as lords of the Eaſt till the year of the *Hejra* 656. when *Hulaku* the *Tartar* put a period to the empire of *Al Moſta'ſem Ebn'ol Moſtanſer*, the laſt khalif of *Baghdad*. For, till then, the dynaſty of the *Arabs*, or *Moſlems*, prevailed in the Eaſt, according to *Abu'l Farajius* [t]. *The Arab ns ſubdued by Hulaku.*

HULAKU, or HOLAKU, EBN TULI KHAN, that great conqueror, departed this life in the year of the *Hejra* 664. and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Abaka Khan*. That prince reigned ſeventeen years, and then left the government of his extenſive dominions to *Ahmed Khan*, one of his brothers. *Ahmed* having been depoſed, after a ſhort reign of two years, *Argun Khan*, the ſon of *Abaka*, mounted the throne. All theſe princes were very formidable in the Eaſt; but the *Oriental* hiſtorians have not informed us, that any of them ever made the leaſt impreſſion upon the *Arabs*. Nay, it does not appear from the *Tartar* hiſtorian *Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan*, that the deſcendents of *Jenghiz Khan* had any intercourſe or correſpondence with the *Arabs*; which (G) amounts to a very ſtrong preſumption, that none of the aforeſaid *Tartar* or *Mogul* kings reduced to their obedience the more civilized *Arabs*, and much leſs the *Bedoweens* [u]. *Nor by any of his ſucceſſors.*

THE following khans of the *Tartar* line were *Caichtu* the ſon of *Abaka*, *Baidu* the ſon of *Targhi*, *Kazan* the ſon of *Argun*, *Giyatho'ddin Chodabandah Mohammed* the ſon of *Argun*, and *Abu Said Bahadur*. None of theſe, as far as we can collect from the *Oriental* writers, ever attempted to make any conqueſts in *Arabia*. Upon the extinction of the *Tartar* line, which happened by the death of *Abu Said Bahadur Khan* at *Karabaga*, in the year of the *Hejra* 736. *Hulaku*'s empire was divided into ſeveral leſſer ſtates. The *Tartars*, therefore, made no conſiderable figure from this period *They maintain their independency till the death of* Tamerlane.

[r] ABULFED. in excerpt. Alberti Schultens, p. 16, 30. Lugd. Batavor. 1732. BOHADIN. ubi ſup. p. 39, & alib. [s] BOHADIN. vit. & res geſt. Salad. & ABULFED. in excerpt. paſſ. [t] BOHADIN. ubi ſup. p. 275---278. ABULFED. in excerpt. p. 60. GREG. ABUL. FARAJ. hiſt compend. dynaſtiar. dyn. x. p. 527. [u] GREG. ABUL. FARAJ. dynaſt. x. p. 527--565. Oxon. 1663. ABUL GHAZI BAHADUR KHAN's genealog. hiſt. of the Tat. AHMED EBN MOHAMMED EBN ABDALGAF. AL CAZWINI in Nighiariſt. EBN SHONAH, D'HERBEL. biblioth. orient. p. 453, 454.

(G) This has likewiſe been rendered extremely probable by *Ebn Shonah*, who has given us a liſt of the kingdoms *Hulaku* left to his ſon *Abaka*, or *Abga Khan*, which does not comprehend *Arabia*. For the particulars of that liſt, we muſt beg leave to refer our readers to the author here cited, and to M. *D'Herbelot*, they being ſomething foreign to the ſubject about which we are at preſent engaged (7).

(7) *Ebn Shonah, D'Herbel. biblioth. Orient. p. 454.*

to the reign of *Timur Beg*, or *Timur Lenc*, the *Tamerlane* of the *Europeans*; and conſequently, during that interval, were not in a condition to diſturb the repoſe of the *Arabs*. Nor do we find, that this formidable prince ever moleſted them, though he ſubdued and gave law to the *Perſians*. He died in the year of the *Hejra* 807 [w].

THE *Yubidæ* reigned in *Egypt* about eighty-one years, and in part at leaſt of *Yaman* for ſome time; but they were in all reſpects *Arabs*, as has been already obſerved. Beſides, the *Iſhmaelites* were intirely independent on them. The *Bahrite Mamluks* ſucceeded the *Yubidæ*, whoſe ſlaves they were, in the kingdom of *Egypt*; as the *Circaſſian Mamluks*, their deſcendents, did them. Their empire continued about two hundred and ſeventy-five years; but ſo far were they from extending their dominions, that *Egypt* was little better than a ſcene of blood, ravages, rapine, and confuſion, during the greateſt part of the time it groaned under their yoke. This we learn from *Al Jannabius*; and it amounts to a full proof, that the *Arabs* had nothing to fear from them, even when in the zenith of their power [x].

Selim *did not conquer* Arabia.

SULTAN *Selim Khan*. the ninth emperor of the *Turks*, overthrew the *Mamluk* empire in *Egypt*. He firſt defeated in a great battle *Al Malec Al Eſhraf Abu'l Naſr Safio'ddin Kanſu Al Gauri*, called by the *Turkiſh* hiſtorians ſultan *Gauri*, the *Circaſſian*, at *Marj Dabek* near *Aleppo*; and afterwards *Al Malec Al Eſhraf Tumanbai Al Jarcaſi*, at *Ridanie*. Theſe two victories, which happened in the year of the *Hejra* 923. put *Selim* in poſſeſſion of the kingdom of *Egypt*, which has ever ſince groaned under the *Turkiſh* yoke. That *Arabia* was independent on the *Mamluks*, when *Selim* conquered *Egypt*, appears from hence, that the *Arabs* ſent a body of troops to aſſiſt *Tumanbai*, which were to act only as auxiliaries; and that *Selim* himſelf acknowleged ſuch independency. Nor can we perſuade ourſelves, that this *Othman* conqueror ever greatly prevailed againſt the *Arabs*. For, notwithſtanding we are told by the *Turkiſh* hiſtorians, that ſeveral tribes of the *Bedoweens* ſubmitted to him, and that even the ſharif of *Mecca* himſelf acknowleged his ſovereignty; yet their authority, in the point before us, is of no great weight. Every body knows, that the *Turkiſh*, as well as *Arab*, hiſtorians are ſo ſtrongly tinctured with hyperbole and rhodomontade, that their deſcriptions of the great atchievements of their heroes are not always to be taken in the ſtricteſt literal ſenſe. Beſides, nothing more can be inferred from the relation here hinted at, than that ſome of the *Arab* tribes, and the ſharif of *Mecca*, paid *ſome* ſort of homage and ſubmiſſion to the *Othman* ſultan, after his reduction of *Egypt*; which is not at all inconſiſtent with the point we have in view. For, though this ſhould be admitted, it will by no means follow, that the *Arabs* were then ſlaves to the *Turks*, or upon the ſame footing with the ſubjects of the *Othman* empire. It has been before obſerved, that, according to *Herodotus*, *Cyrus* vanquiſhed the *Arabs*; and yet that author aſſures us, that neither *Cyrus*, nor his immediate ſucceſſors, could reduce them to the ſtate of ſubjects. Nay, that excellent writer ſpeaks of the *Arabs* in general, whereas the *Turkiſh* hiſtorians inſinuate only, that ſome particular tribes, and the ſharif of *Mecca*, ſubmitted to *Selim*; ſo that the authority of the former ſeems to bear harder upon our ſcheme, than that of the latter; and yet, in reality, neither the one nor the other affects it. But, for a farther illuſtration of what is here advanced, we muſt beg leave to refer our readers to a former part of this diſſertation [y].

Nor his ſon Soliman I.

THAT the *Arabs* were not ſubdued by *Selim*, appears alſo from hence, that one of their ſheikhs endeavoured to ſupport *Muſtapha Paſha* in an attempt to ſubject *Egypt* to his dominion. For this happened but ſix years after the laſt defeat of the *Circaſſian Mamluks*, under the conduct of *Tumanbai*, and two only after the death of *Selim*. Nor do we find, that *Soliman* ever took vengeance of them for ſo daring an affront offered to the *Othman* empire. The *Turkiſh* hiſtorians inform us, that the ſultan's admiral, with a body of land-forces under the command of *Soliman Paſha*, annexed the kingdom of *Yaman* to the *Othman* dominions, in the year of the *Hejra* 945. tho', in reality, thoſe troops only reduced that part of *Yaman* bordering on the ſea *Al Kolzom*. But, ſuppoſing that they made themſelves maſters of the whole province, it will not follow from thence, that they ſubdued the peninſula of the *Arabs*, nor even

[w] ABULFED. AHMED EBN YUSEF, AL JANNABIUS, TEIXER. &c. [x] AL MAKRIZIUS, AL JANNABIUS, ABULFED. RAUDAH, AHMED EBN YUSEF, AL JAUHARIUS, &c. [y] AHMED EBN YUSEF, AL JANNABIUS, &c. See alſo DEMETRIUS CANTEMIR's hiſtory of the *Othman* empire in the life of *Selim* I. HERODOT. lib. iii. See before, p. 265—267.

that

that part of it inhabited by the deſcendents of *Iſhmael*, which it is certain they never did. Nay, the *Turks* themſelves diſtinguiſh the tract now conquered from *Arabia*, and even make it a part of *India*; though in this, it muſt be owned, they run counter to the beſt *Oriental* geographers and hiſtorians [a].

THE *Beni Omer*, a tribe of the *Scenite Arabs* wandering in the deſerts of *Sham*, without any fixed habitations, in the beginning of *Selim* the Second's reign, about the year of the *Hejra* 975. made an incurſion into the *Turkiſh* dominions, and laid waſte a conſiderable part of the territory of *Baghdad*. It is true, theſe plunderers were afterwards diſperſed; but they can by no means be ſaid to have been then ſubdued. For *Demetrius Cantemir*, prince of *Moldavia*, in a note upon the paſſage now in view, aſſures us, that the *Beni Omer* pay *ſometimes only*, out of the produce of their dates, which were the ſole fountain of their riches, a good yearly ſum to the paſha of *Baghdad*. Nay, according to that illuſtrious author, they frequently ravaged the very ſuburbs of *Baſra*. Nor do the *Turkiſh* hiſtorians ſo much as inſinuate, that all, or even a conſiderable part, of the *Bedoweens*, at this time, paid the leaſt homage to, or acknowleged any dependence on, the *Othman* emperor [a]. *They remained independent during the reign of* Soliman II.

IN the year of the *Hejra* 977. the ſharif of the kingdom of *Yaman* attacked the *Turkiſh* forces under the command of *Murad Paſha*, beglerbeg of the *Othman* conqueſts there, and put them all to the ſword. However, we are told by the *Turkiſh* writers, how truly we cannot ſay, that *Sinan Paſha*, in conjunction with *Ozdemir Ogli*, ſoon after, intirely defeated the *Arabs*, and reduced the whole country again to the *Othman* obedience. But, admitting this for fact, which many will not ſo eaſily do, it cannot be from hence inferred, that *Selim* II. poſſeſſed a greater part of *Arabia* than his father *Soliman*; but only that he recovered a province which that prince had annexed to the *Othman* empire [b].

FROM this time to the year of the *Hejra* 1105. we find little notice taken of the *Arabs* by the moſt authentic *Turkiſh* hiſtorians; from whence it may be collected, that no material alteration happened, during that interval, in the ſituation of the *Arabs*, with regard to their independency on the *Turk*. But, according to the aforeſaid writer, *Emir Mohammed*, a prince of the *Arabs*, then aſſembled a body of troops, with which he attacked and plundered a *Turkiſh* caravan going in pilgrimage to *Mecca*. Not content with this, he afterwards advanced to *Mecca*, and laid ſiege to that city; though, being touched with reverence of the place, he ſoon retired from thence into the deſert. The beglerbeg of *Sham*, attended by ſeveral paſhas, in a ſhort time marched againſt him, at the head of a powerful army; but the emir, by a ſtratagem, defeated him, and diſperſed his numerous forces [c]. *And till the time of* Ahmed II.

DEMETRIUS CANTEMIR, prince of *Moldavia*, in his hiſtory of the *Othman* empire, extracted from authentic monuments preſerved in the *Seraglio*, aſcribes this conduct of the *Arabs* to the non-obſervance of an antient cuſtom on the part of the *Turks*. The *Bedoweens* inhabiting the deſerts between *Damaſcus*, *Baghdad*, and *Mecca*, frequently infeſted the road to *Mecca* with their robberies, and rendered it dangerous to the ſuperſtitious pilgrims who went to viſit *Mohammed*'s tomb. The *Othman* emperors, therefore, after *Selim* I. conqueror of *Egypt*, paid them yearly 40,000 crowns in gold out of the treaſury of the womens *Seraglio*, by way of bounty, under the title of *Surre*. This ſum they pretended to pay the *Arabs*, for ſecuring the roads and fountains; though they did it in reality, becauſe they could not otherwiſe remove ſuch troubleſome enemies from the *Hadji's*. But the money not being ſent for ſome years, on account of the war in *Hungary*, *Emir Mohammed*, with his tribe, incloſed the pilgrims in a narrow place, and forced them to ſurrender for want of water. *Selim Gierai*, khan of *Tartary*, being one of theſe pilgrims, they obliged him, by the *Arabian Rai*, to carry their complaints to the ſultan, and procure the continuance of the uſual bounty; and ſo they diſmiſſed him upon his parole. Upon his arrival at *Conſtantinople*, he never ceaſed to importune the *Othman* court, till the arrears of the *Surre* were ſent to the *Arabs*; which done, for ſome time, they remained quiet. Hence it appears, that in the year of the *Hejra* 1105. and even from the reign of

[a] AL RAUDAH & DEMET. CANTEM. in Solim. I. p. 201. not. (60). A voyage to Arab. Fel. p. 124, 125. Lond. 1732. [a] AHMED EBN YUSEF, AL JANNABIUS, AL RAUDAH, DEMETR. CANTEM. in Selim II. p. 219, 220. See alſo not. (5). [b] DEMETRIUS CANTEMIR ubi ſup. p 221, 222. [c] DEMETR. CANTEM. in Ahmed II. p. 393, 394. See alſo not. (22)

Selim I. the *Turks* paid a ſort of tribute to theſe *Arabs*, and conſequently ſeem to have been rather dependent on them, than they on the *Otkman* empire [d].

Arabs ſtrive for their liberty in the reign of Muſtapha II.

ABOUT the year of the *Heijra* 1111. the neighbouring *Arabs* took *Boſtra*, and made an irruption into *Meſopotamia*. But they were overthrown in a great battle by *Daltaban Muſtapha Paſha*, afterwards prime Vizir, with the loſs of above 30,000 men, according to *Demetrius Cantemir*. That illuſtrious author alſo informs us, that, in conſequence of this victory, they found themſelves obliged to ſubmit to a tribute impoſed upon them by the aforeſaid general, who was then paſha of *Baghdad*. But, as he intimates, that the *Beni Omer* only, a ſingle tribe of the *Arabs*, were thus puniſhed by *Daltaban Muſtapha Paſha*, nothing can be inferred from hence in prejudice of our opinion. On the contrary, from hence it ſeems probable, that the other *Arabs* were as free from ſervitude then as ever. And this will be more fully evinced by the teſtimonies we are going to produce [e].

They are not ſubject to the Turk in 1709

M. DE LA MERVILLE, who viſited *Arabia*, in the year 1709. aſſures us, that the peninſula of the *Arabs* was divided into ſeveral kingdoms, or regions, and provinces, which were then poſſeſſed by particular kings and princes, neither dependent on the Grand Signor, nor the king of *Perſia*. He alſo affirms, that the kingdom of *Hejaz*, the principal ſeat of the *Iſhmaelites* even from the days of their great anceſtor, was ſubject to the ſharif of *Mecca*; and that the ſharifs of *Mecca* and *Medina*, as well as the king of *Yaman*, were ſovereigns that paid not the leaſt homage to the Grand Signor. The ſame may be inferred from a cotemporary author, who had himſelf been among that wild people, of the ſheikhs and emirs of the *Bedoweens*. Notwithſtanding, therefore, the blow given to a ſingle *Arab* tribe by *Daltaban Muſtapha Paſha*, the *Arabs* in general, and even the *Bedoweens*, preſerved their independency after that general's death. It is worthy obſervation, that the kingdom of *Hejaz*, where the *Orientals* are firmly perſuaded the greateſt part of *Iſhmael*'s deſcendents have been ſettled, from his time to this very day, has never yet been conquered, nor under any but an *Arab* juriſdiction [f].

Nor in 1722.

THE very learned and ingenious Dr. *Shaw*, with whom we have the honour to be acquainted, in conformity to what he ſuggeſts in the preface to his invaluable work, has informed us, that he was ſeized and carried off by a party of *Arabs*, in his journey from *Ramah* to *Jeruſalem*, though eſcorted by four companies of the *Turkiſh* troops. This happened in the year 1722. Nay, from the ſame worthy gentleman, we learn, that the *Turks* themſelves were then obliged to pay the *Bedoweens* a ſort of tribute, or ſtipulated ſum, by way of acknowlegement, in order to procure a ſafe paſſage for their *Hadji's* and *Caravans*. This muſt be allowed an ample proof, that the *Arabs* then retained a mark of ſovereignty ſuperior to any that could be pretended to even by the *Othman* ſultan himſelf [g].

THIS account is abundantly confirmed (H) by what happened near *Smyrna* in the beginning of *April* the following year. *Uſun Effendi*, going then to his new government of *Smyrna*, was attacked by a body of *Scenite Arabs*, or *Bedoweens*, under the orders of *Emir Ali*, not far from *Smyrna* itſelf. The *Arabs* behaved on this occaſion with uncommon cruelty, a thing not very often practiſed among them towards *Moſlems*, or people of the ſame religion. They killed upon the ſpot *Uſun Effendi*, almoſt intirely ſtripped his wife, and afterwards retired with the booty they had acquired. By this it ſeems to appear, that they muſt either have an extraordinary averſion to the *Turks*, or elſe at that time have received from them ſome very grievous provocation: unleſs we ſuppoſe, that they acted upon the principle of ſelf-preſervation. For ſuch a barbarous action is by no means compatible with the character given us of the *Arabs* by the beſt and moſt authentic of the *Oriental* hiſtorians [h].

[d] Idem ibid. [e] DEMETRIUS CANTEMIR in Selim II p. 219. & Muſtapha II. p. 415. [f] LA ROQUE voyage de l'Arab. Heur. paſſ. & D'ARVIEUX voyage dans la Paleſt. &c. [g] See the preface to Dr. SHAW's travels, p. vii. viii. [h] See the Preſent State of *Europe*, or, The Hiſtoric. and Politic. Monthly Mercury for the month of *June*, 1723. p. 180, 181, 182.

(H) In the article from *Smyrna* theſe plunderers are called highwaymen; and indeed they very well merited that appellation. But that they were either a party, or the deſcendents, of the *Arabs*, may, as we apprehend, be naturally inferred from ſeveral circumſtances in the relation there given (8).

(8) *The Hiſtor. and Polit. Month. Merc. for July*, 1723. p. 180, 181, 182.

They aſſert their independency in 1739

We are told by the learned Dr. *Pococke*, that the *Arabs* of *Arabia Petræa* reſembled the old *Arabes Scenitæ*, or *Iſhmaelites*, whoſe poſterity they undoubtedly were, in many particulars, ſo late as the year 1739. They were then formed of different clans, or tribes, each obeying the orders of its great *Sheikh*, and every encampment thoſe of its particular *Sheikh*. The *Sheikh* of the *Beni Soliman* ſeemed to be the moſt powerful of all, and had a great influence over all the reſt. But, however divided the *Arabs* might appear, they were all united in a ſort of league together. From whence we may conclude, that they were at that time far from owning themſelves ſubject either to the *Turk*, or to any other foreign power whatſoever [i].

The public prints at this very time (*September* 1748) inform us, that the king of *Arabia*, or, as we would rather chooſe to call him, the *Grand Emir*, a few months ſince, at the head of a numerous army, threatened to inveſt *Baghdad*. As this news comes directly from *Conſtantinople*, whether it be true or falſe, it amounts to a ſufficient proof, that the *Arabs* on the confines of *Sham*, or in the neighbourhood of *Baghdad*, are not conſidered there as dependent on the Grand Signor. Beſides, the advices containing this article intimate, that the *Arab* prince has put himſelf in motion, in order to force the ſultan to confer upon one of his friends the government of *Baghdad*. We have little reaſon therefore to doubt, that the deſcendents of *Iſhmael* at this very day are independent of the *Othman* empire.

The diſpoſition of the deſcendents of Iſhmael.

With regard to the diſpoſition of the *Scenite Arabs*, or the deſcendents of *Iſhmael*, that they were always *wild men*, in a ſtate of enmity with other nations, as the Angel of the Lord predicted of them to *Hagar*, we have abundant proof. *Job*, in all probability, lived within a few generations of *Iſhmael* himſelf; and, in his time, the *Arabs* bordering on *Babylonia*, or the *Iſhmaelites*, were greatly addicted to pillaging their neighbours, as we learn from Scripture. As early as the reign of *Seſoſtris*, that celebrated conqueror, the *Arabs* ſettled on the confines of *Egypt*, that is, the *Nabathæans*, followed the ſame practice, according to *Diodorus Siculus*. That they lived in tents, and roved about the deſerts (after the manner of the preſent *Bedoweens*) above 600 years before the birth of Chriſt, appears from the prophets *Iſaiah* and *Jeremiah*. *Herodotus* informs us, that they inhabited the ſolitudes, contiguous to *Egypt*, and even had the command of them, as have likewiſe the preſent *Bedoweens*, in the reigns of *Cyrus*, *Cambyſes*, and *Darius Hyſtaſpis*; from whence we may infer, that they greatly reſembled thoſe *Bedoweens*. *Diodorus Siculus* aſſerts this of the *Nabathæans*, in the reign of *Antigonus*, not many years after *Alexander*'s death. In the time of the *Maccabees* they lived after the ſame manner. That they continued their depredations upon the *Roman* ſubjects even till the death of *Julius Cæſar*, we find atteſted by *Plutarch*, *Arrian*, and *Strabo*. This alſo may be inferred from *Dio*. They remained in the ſame fierce and ſavage diſpoſition after *Conſtantius*'s acceſſion to the imperial throne, when they ravaged a conſiderable part of *Meſopotamia*, if we will believe *Ammianus Marcellinus*. Nay, that they frequently committed terrible depredations upon the frontiers of *Egypt*, *Palæſtine*, *Syria*, and *Phœnicia*, even till the birth of *Mohammed*, may be evinced from ſome good authors. And that from the birth of *Mohammed*, to this very day, they have perſiſted in their antient courſe of life, and thereby demonſtrated themſelves *wild men*, in conformity to the divine prediction, is rendered inconteſtable by the teſtimonies of thoſe *Oriental* writers, and modern travelers (not to mention others that occur), which have already been produced in this diſſertation [k].

Thus have we proved, that the *Arabs*, particularly the *Iſhmaelites* or *Nabathæans*, were never thoroughly ſubdued by any foreign power, from the death of their great anceſtor *Iſhmael* to the preſent time. We have proved, that none of thoſe puiſſant empires, ſo celebrated by the antients, none of thoſe formidable monarchies, of which we meet with ſuch pompous deſcriptions in the Eaſtern writers of a later date, nor any of the ſtates that now ſubſiſt, could ever deprive them of their liberty. It has alſo been clearly evinced, that, thro' ſuch an immenſe ſeries of ages as has elapſed between *Iſhmael*'s time and the preſent, they have all along retained their ſavage and fierce

[i] Pococke's deſcript. of the Eaſt, vol. i. b. 3. c. 2. p. 137, 138. Lond.

[k] Job i. 15. Diod. Sic. lib. i. Isa. xiii. 20. Jer. iii. 2. Herodot. lib. iii. 1 Macc. ix. 36. Prid. connect. vol. i. p. 250. Plut. in Pomp. & alib. Appian. de bell. civil. c. 10. ib. Strab. lib. xvi. p. 747. Lutetiæ Pariſiorum, 1620. Dio, lib. lxviii. p. 785. Ammian. Marcellin. ubi ſup. &c. See alſo the preceding part of this diſſertation.

diſpoſition. *Their hand has been againſt every man, and every man's hand againſt them* [l]. Notwithſtanding which, we find them ſtill flouriſhing and independent; and are firmly perſuaded they will remain in this ſituation, as long as it ſhall pleaſe the Supreme Governor of the univerſe to continue the preſent ſyſtem of things.

AFTER what has been ſaid, Who can entertain the leaſt doubt of the divine authority of *Moſes?* The *Arabs*, or at leaſt the moſt conſiderable part of them, have been hitherto, as we firmly believe they will be to the remoteſt periods of time, a ſtanding and perpetual proof of that authority. The prediction mentioned by this hiſtorian [m], as coming from the Angel of the LORD to *Hagar*, has been to our days verified and fulfilled in every particular. The nation to which it relates has been hitherto an indiſputable completion of it; and conſequently an hiſtorical demonſtration at leaſt, that the book in which it is recorded came originally from that Being, who alone has a perfect knowlege of all events, who alone can neither deceive nor be deceived.

An objection anſwered.

THE moſt ſanguine infidel, as we apprehend, can offer only the following objection to the ſyſtem that has been here eſpouſed. The *Arabs*, he may inſinuate, were inacceſſible, and conſequently preſerved from becoming a prey to foreign invaders by their ſituation. But to this it may be replied, that though their country was difficult of acceſs, yet it was not inacceſſible, as ſufficiently appears from what has been advanced in this diſſertation. *Cyrus* vanquiſhed them; but could never totally ſubdue them. *Pompey* entered their metropolis; but could never thoroughly reduce them to his obedience. *Trajan* beſieged one of their ſtrong towns; but could not carry it, either by ſtorm, or capitulation. The whole power of the *Roman* empire, including the greateſt part of the then known world, under the command of *Severus*, was baffled before the ſame fortreſs. From which inſtances it appears, that the *Arabs* were not protected, and ſcreened from danger, merely by the deſerts they inhabited; but that ſomething of an higher nature, conſidering the powerful nations by which they were always ſurrounded, muſt more effectually have contributed to their preſervation [n].

What power preſerved the Arabs.

WHAT this was, we ſhall not long be at a loſs to diſcover, when we have conſulted *Dio*. This author gives us ſufficiently to underſtand, that *Trajan* was obliged to abandon the ſiege of *Petra* by the extraordinay interpoſition of Providence itſelf. Violent ſtorms of wind, rain, hail, and dreadful flaſhes of lightning, drove back the *Romans*, as often as they advanced to the attack; ſwarms of flies infeſted their camp in a ſtrange and unaccountable manner; the apparitions of rainbows likewiſe dazled and frightened them to ſuch a degree, that they found themſelves incapable of making a general aſſault. In ſuch circumſtances as theſe, it is no wonder the emperor ſhould think it proper to deſiſt from the enterprize he had undertaken. Nor was *Severus*, eighty years after, more ſucceſsful in the execution of a deſign he had formed againſt the capital of the *Hagarenes*, though he had it in his power, humanly ſpeaking, to make himſelf maſter of the place. For, when one of his officers engaged to ſtorm it with 150 men only, GOD, according to the ſame hiſtorian, *preſerved it by the backwardneſs of the emperor one day, and by that of his troops the next.* But of this our readers will find a more particular and diſtinct account in the hiſtory of the *Arabs*; to which, therefore, for their farther ſatisfaction, we muſt beg leave to refer them [o].

Dio's teſtimony of great weight in the point before us.

THE teſtimony of *Dio* is the more extraordinary on this occaſion, as he was a pagan, a *Roman*, and an officer of great merit, cotemporary with the laſt-mentioned emperor. He ſeems likewiſe to have had a ſingular eſteem and veneration for the memory of *Trajan*, and lived at no great diſtance of time from him. All which are circumſtances that extremely favour our ſcheme. For they clearly evince, that he could not have been prejudiced either in favour of *Jews* or *Chriſtians*; that he would not relate any thing to the diſparagement of *Trajan*, without the moſt glaring evidence to ſupport him; that he had ſufficient means, eſpecially conſidering that he was governor of ſeveral provinces, to come at the truth in the point before us; and laſtly, that, being a perſon of diſtinguiſhed judgment and capacity, he never probably received any ſtrong tincture of ſuperſtition. All, therefore, that a libertine, or unbeliever, can urge againſt his authority, in the preſent caſe, muſt amount only to this; that the paſſages here referred to were foiſted into his hiſtory by ſome *Chriſtian* or *Jewiſh* bigot, in order to forward the propagation of his religion. But ſuch an

[l] Gen xvi. 12. [m] Gen. xvi. 7—13. [n] HERODOT PLUT. DIO, &c. ubi ſup. [o] Dio, lib. lxviii. p. 785. & lib. lxxv. p. 854, 855

aſſertion

aſſertion as this ought not to be admitted in any diſputes. For it ſuppoſes, that our adverſaries are always in the right, and we in the wrong, the very point which ought to be proved; that conſequently all paſſages occurring in the antients on their ſide the queſtion are infallibly true, and all others, eſpecially thoſe that make againſt them, as certainly falſe; in fine, that their judgments are the ſole ſtandard of truth, and of courſe ought to have a prompt and implicit obedience paid unto them [p].

The affinity of cuſtoms, manner of life, &c. between Iſhmael *and his deſcendents.*

We might here expatiate upon ſeveral particulars, in which the *Nabathæans*, *Hagarenes*, or *Bedoweens*, agreed with *Iſhmael*, and his mother *Hagar*. Circumciſion they have always practiſed, and pretended to have derived this rite from *Iſhmael*; they had all along mercenary wives, or concubines, in which capacity *Hagar* ſerved *Abraham*; they have through an immenſe ſeries of ages lived without culture, as did their father *Iſhmael*; and, like him, been alſo *archers in the wilderneſs*, &c. But, as the generality of our readers cannot be unacquainted with theſe, we ſhall content ourſelves with barely mentioning them, and citing the authors who have treated more largely of them. The great point to be eſtabliſhed is the perpetual independency of the *Arabs*; which, we hope, has been proved, even to demonſtration. This will naturally ſuggeſt to us, that they had ſcarce ever any intercourſe with foreigners, and therefore always eaſily preſerved their primitive cuſtoms, manners, and inſtitutions; which receives alſo a confirmation from the nature and ſituation of the country they inhabited, even from *Iſhmael*'s time to the preſent. In fine, their perpetual independency being admitted, almoſt every thing elſe that has been obſerved of them by various authors, muſt follow of courſe [q].

A difficulty removed.

Before we conclude this diſſertation, it may not be improper to remove a difficulty relating to the preſent ſubject, which ſeems to have been never hitherto ſufficiently conſidered. The prophet *Iſaiah* predicted of the *Arabs*, that *they ſhould flee from the ſword, from the drawn ſword, from the bent bow, and from the grievouſneſs of war*; and the prophet *Jeremiah*, that *they ſhould drink out of the cup of the fury of the* Lord God *of* Iſrael, *who would ſend the ſword among them*. Now theſe prophecies, which were accompliſhed by *Cyrus*'s expedition into *Arabia*, a little before the reduction of *Babylon*, may be underſtood with great propriety, of ravages and devaſtations made in their country, of ſome defeats given them; but do not neceſſarily imply an abſolute ſubjugation of the *Arabs*. This appears, at firſt ſight, clear and ſelf-evident. And that they are ſo to be underſtood, neceſſarily follows from what has been advanced on this head by *Herodotus*. That excellent and juſtly celebrated hiſtorian informs us, that though *Cyrus*, and his ſon *Cambyſes*, vanquiſhed the *Arabs*, yet they could never bring them into a ſtate of thorough ſubjection to the *Perſian* empire. Nay, he aſſerts, that none of the *Perſian* monarchs, even to this time, could ever exact any tribute from them; and that till then they were conſidered only as the friends and allies of thoſe princes. Dr. *Prideaux*, therefore, is not ſufficiently ſupported by hiſtory, when he affirms, that *Cyrus* intirely ſubdued *Arabia*. Nay, he ſeems inconſiſtent with himſelf; for he elſewhere affirms, that the *Arabs* are the moſt antient nation in the world, that they have never been by any conqueſt diſpoſſeſſed or driven out of their country, and that they have always there remained in a continued deſcent from the firſt planters of it even to this day. All which manifeſtly ſuppoſes the *Perſians* never to have had any conſiderable footing in the peninſula of the *Arabs*; and conſequently that neither *Cyrus*, nor his ſucceſſors, ever made a conqueſt of it [r].

The great inſincerity and ſelf-inconſiſtency of unbelievers.

This obſervation has been made for the ſake of believers, who acknowlege the divine authority of the aforeſaid prophets. For, with regard to freethinkers, and infidels of all denominations, they have no title to what they may apprehend will reſult to the advantage of their cauſe from thoſe prophets in the point before us. This declaration we have thought proper to make, ſince, in order to ſerve a preſent turn, theſe gentlemen will vouchſafe ſometimes to allow the teſtimony of an inſpired writer, eſpecially when it ſeems to run counter to any other of the ſacred penmen, or to oppoſe what is advanced by ſome friend to revelation. Of this we have a

[p] Ger. Joan. Vossius de hiſtoric. Græc. lib. ii. c. 15. p. 130. Amſtelodami, 1699. [q] Hideo. hiſt. patriarch. tom. ii. exercit. 7. ſect. 29. p. 241. Adrian. Reland. de relig. Mohammed. Ludolf. hiſt. Æthiop. Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xiv. c. 4. & alib. Rauwolf, par. ii. c. 15. p. 151. Thevenot & Univ. hiſt. vol. vii. p. 240—264. [r] Isai. xxi. 15. Jer. xxv. Herodot. lib. iii. Prid. connect. vol. i. p. 119, 120. & p. 58. Lond. 1716.

flagrant inſtance, not to mention others that might be produced, in a late profligate writer, who has admitted the teſtimony of *Moſes*, in order to overturn the authority of St. *Paul*, and to prove the generality at leaſt of commentators to have miſtaken the ſenſe of the ſacred hiſtorian in a particular paſſage. But, not to dwell longer upon this topic, ſuch ſtale artifices, not to ſay groſs prevarications, are known to be common among the patrons of infidelity, by all who have examined their writings with any attention [t].

Most writers, indeed, are too apt to extol the authority of the antients, when it tends to eſtabliſh ſome novel ſcheme; and to explode the ſame authority, when it makes againſt any favourite hypotheſis. This, it muſt be owned, is a fault, and will always be condemned by perſons of candour and ingenuity. But it is the height of impudence to conſider a writer as an impoſtor, and at the ſame time to have recourſe to him, in order to confirm an opinion that we think is founded on truth. This will hold good with regard to profane authors, and even thoſe of little ſignificancy or repute. What name, then, does he deſerve, what mark of infamy ought he to be branded with, who acts in this manner with regard to thoſe, who have all the requiſite criterions that can be claimed by writers divinely inſpired, and whoſe impoſture, could it be clearly evinced, muſt draw a veil of gloomineſs and horror over the whole rational world!

Dr. Prideaux *miſtaken.*

As for Dr. *Prideaux*, when he affirms *Beleſis*, upon the diſſolution of the antient *Aſſyrian* empire, to have poſſeſſed himſelf of *Arabia*, it muſt be owned, that he oppoſes what has been advanced in this diſſertation; but, at the ſame time, it cannot be denied, that he likewiſe oppoſes himſelf. Beſides, we have already overthrown this unſupported aſſertion. The truth of the matter is, that learned gentleman had not taken care to inform himſelf ſufficiently of the ſtate and condition of the *Arabs*, from the days of *Iſhmael* to the preſent time. This may eaſily be evinced from ſeveral paſſages in his laſt invaluable work. However, we muſt make a wide difference between him, and the aforeſaid writers. He has deſerved well of literature and religion, whereas they, though educated in a Chriſtian country, are a ſcandal and reproach to both [t].

The Arabs *and* Jews *living monuments of the truth of Chriſtianity.*

In fine, the *Arabs*, and the *Jews*, both the deſcendents of *Abraham*, are at this time living monuments of the divine authority of the ſacred hiſtorian, and conſequently of the truth of Chriſtianity. The former have ſubſiſted as a nation near 4000 years, though in a ſtate of enmity with their neighbours, and even, as far as in them lay, with all mankind. This plainly evinces them to have been preſerved in their independency by a divine over-ruling power. For nothing but ſuch a power could have ſcreened them from the numerous and formidable enemies with whom they have been perpetually invironed. And if this be the caſe, how fully has the divine prediction been hitherto verified, even in the moſt extenſive ſenſe, which affirms, that *Iſhmael*, or, in other words, his poſterity, to the remoteſt periods of time, *ſhall dwell in the preſence of all his bre thren* [u]!

Having thus proved by an hiſtorical deduction of facts, and conſequently in the ſtrongeſt manner the ſubject will admit, that the *Arabs* were never wholly ſubdued by any foreign power, we hope our readers, or at leaſt the ſober and rational part of them, will acquieſce in what has been advanced. They cannot in reaſon deſire ſtrict mathematical demonſtration, when an hiſtorical point, at ſuch a vaſt diſtance of time, is to be eſtabliſhed, the object of ſuch an inquiry not being capable of it; tho' we have approached a complete induction, which is ſuch a kind of demonſtration, as near as poſſible. For we have rendered it in the higheſt degree probable, that the deſcendents of *Iſhmael* were not reduced to a ſtate of ſervitude in any age between the death of their great progenitor and the preſent time. We have alſo either anſwered or obviated all objections, deſerving the leaſt notice, that have been, or may be, urged againſt the conſtant and perpetual independency of thoſe *Arabs*. Nor have we been at all partial to the cauſe of Christianity in this affair; but have drawn up thoſe objections in the ſtrongeſt terms, and in ſuch a manner as to exclude even the leaſt appearance of bigotry or ſuperſtition. The internal excellency of the Christian Religion and the external evidence that ſupports it ſtand in no need of,

[t] Chubb's diſſertat. or inquiry concerning the hiſtory of Melchizedek. Lond. 1746. [t] Prid. connect. &c. vol. i. p. 1. See before, p. 263, 264. [u] Gen. xvi. 12.

nay, they utterly diſclaim, any arguments that will not appear ſtrictly concluſive to a rational and ingenuous mind. But whether the greateſt part of our modern ſceptics and unbelievers, at leaſt thoſe who have for ſome years paſt ſo frequently *entertained* the public with their moſt *acute* and *ingenious* lucubrations, exhibit any indications of ſuch a mind, we ſubmit to the judgment of even the ſober and more candid part of their brethren themſelves; we ſay, the ſober and more candid part of their brethren themſelves; tho' it muſt be owned, that no modeſt diffident ſceptic ought to be conſidered as upon the ſame footing with a petulant, obdurate, and blaſpheming infidel. There is certainly a wide difference between them. Nor can we deny, that a proper diſtinction ought likewiſe to be made between the true and genuine defenders of Chriſtianity, and thoſe who, by their abſurd principles, and ill polemical conduct, caſt a ſlur upon it. The former are intirely diveſted of bigotry and ſuperſtition, adorned with charity in its utmoſt luſtre; never depreciate reaſon by too low a depreſſion, or too high an elevation of it; pay a proper regard to the aids with which literature ſupplies religion; and remain firmly attached to all the primitive and apoſtolical doctrines of CHRISTIANITY. But the latter erect ſuperſtructures upon the foundations of CHRISTIANITY, which are ſubverſive of it; clog our moſt holy religion with ſuch abſurdities, as will prove an eternal obſtacle to the converſion of unbelievers; and, by their departure from the dictates of common ſenſe, as well as want of charity, hinder the farther propagation and extenſion of it. Theſe men are by no means qualified to undertake the defence of the moſt pure and holy, the moſt equitable and juſt, the moſt charitable, humane, and benevolent, and, we may add, the moſt excellent and rational inſtitution that ever appeared in the world.

Non tali auxilio, nec defenſoribus iſtis,
CHRISTUS *eget.*——

A MAP OF PARADISE MOUNT ARARAT and the CITY of BABEL

according to the three different Hypotheses mentioned in this Work.

ASTRONOMICAL OBSERVATIONS,

according to which this Map hath been formed

Places	Authors	Longit. de	Latitu. de
Erivan	P. Beza		40 49 33
Arzerum	Ditto		39 50 35
Al Bir	Maundrel		37 10
Alexandretta	Chazelles	54 15	36 35
Haleb or Aleppo	Halley		36 30
Al Rakkah	Al Bathani		36 1
Baghdad	Ebn Yunis		33 22 15

NB. That the first Meridian is that which passes over the Western verge of the Island of Iron which is the most western of all the Canaries which Meridian is found by Astronomical Observations to be 17° 35′ W. of that of London & 20° 00′ West from that of Paris. Note further that the modern names of Countries are ingraven in Italic & that when the names of Cities have only a single stroke under them it is a sign that only y Latitude of them is known and when y stroke is double y Longitude is likewise known.

The Longitude taken from the Iron Island

Persic Gulf

A MAP of the JOURNEY in the WILDERNESS, and of the Conquest and Partition of the Land of CANAAN, by the Children of Israel.

THE GREAT MEDITERRANEAN SEA OR

The Mouths of the Nile

THE DELTA

according to Dr. Pococke

EGYPT

PART OF THE LOWER THEBAIS

ARABIA PETRÆA

DESERTA

SYRIA

PHENICIA

ARABIA

PALESTINA

TRACHONITIS

PEREA

AMMONITES

MOABITES

ISMAELITES

AMALECHITES

IDUMEA

MIDIAN

TRIBE OF ASHER

TRIBE OF NAPHTALI

HALF TRIBE OF MANASSEH

TRIBE OF ZABULON

TR. OF ISSACHAR

HALF TR. OF MANASSEH

TRIBE OF EPHRAIM

TR. OF DAN

TR. OF BENJAMIN

TR. OF SIMEON

TR. OF JUDA

TR. OF RUBEN

TR. OF GAD

KINGD. OF JUDEA

GALILEE OF THE GENTILES

SAMARIA

Damascus

Springs of Jordan

Cæsarea Philippi

Samachon

Zobah

Cana

Chorazin

Mt. Carmel

Sea of Tiberias or of Galilee

Capernaum

Tiberias

Nain

Cæsarea of Palestina

Enon

R. Jabbok

Samaria

Lod

Ephraim

Joppa

Jericho

Bethoron

Ashtaroth Karnaim

Mahanaim

Ascalon

Kiriath Jearim

Bethany

Jerusalem

Kidron

Bethlehem

Gaza

Hebron

Jordan R.

Arnon R.

Sodom

Dead Sea

Beersheba

Gomorrah

Zered R.

Damietta

Tina

Gulf of Laeslida

Teman

Kadesh Barnea

Bozrah

Desart of Sin

Dophkath

Dedan

Rameses

Nile R.

Elim

Alush

Jam Suph or Red Sea

Mara

Succoth

Baalzephon

Pihahiroth

Etham

Hashmonah

Moserah

Libnah

Rissa

Benejaakan

Kehelath

Mitka

Horhadgidgad or Gudgodath

Jodbatath

Ebronah

Rimo Parez

Raphidim

Rithma

Tarah

Fiziongeber

M. Sapher

Haradath

Tahath

Hazeroth

Makheloth

Kibbroth

Haltavah

M. Sinai

PARAN

DESERT OF

HEROPOLITAN GULF of the RED SEA

ELANITIC GULF of the RED SEA

Jje-Abarim

Oboth

Phunon

Zalmonah

Dibon Gad

Almon Diblathaim

M. Abarim

M. Hor

R. Zered

Madian

English Miles

5 10 20 30 40 50 60

East Longitude from London

32 33 34 35 36 37

31 30 29

North

GREAT ARMENIA

CAPPADOCIA

CILICIA CAMPESTRIS

SYRIAN SEA

SYRIA

MESOPOTAMIA

Osroo

Gorduene

Arrapachitis

Calachene

ASSYRIA

Adiabene

Sittacene

Chalonitis

BABYLONIA

CHALDAEA

ARABIA DESERTA

Transeuphratensium Arabs

PART OF SUSIANA

Charaxene

Euphrates R.

Tigris R.

Cyprus I.

M. Taurus

Commagene

Singas R.

Germanicia

Hierapolis

Berœa

Antiochia

Chalybon

Thapsacus

Birtha

Palmyra

Edessa

Batna

Anthemusia Ptol

Zeugma

Sinna

Nicephorium

Hatra

Singara

M. Singara

Zama

Thilgubis

Gorbaa

Lubliana

Barbalissa

Naarda

Sipphara

Teridata

Pacorus

Baruana

Birtha

Manchane

Seleucia

Thelbe

Apollonia

Chatrachatera

Artemita

Sittace

Ctesiphon

Chala

Apamia Mesenes

Jana

Nicatorius M.

Arbela

Gaugamela

Dara

Regia

Zegira

Dosa

Sorrum

Dartha

Besara

Resen

Nisibis

Mygdonia R.

Aora

Sapphe

Gyndes R.

Caprus R.

Gomarus R.

Silla R.

Euphrates R.

Orontes R.

Chaboras R.

Tigris R.

Pallacopas R.

Choaspes R.

Tigris R.

Euphrates R.

Idicara

Orchoe

Pinda

Amaca

Erech

Asia

Teredon

Mesene

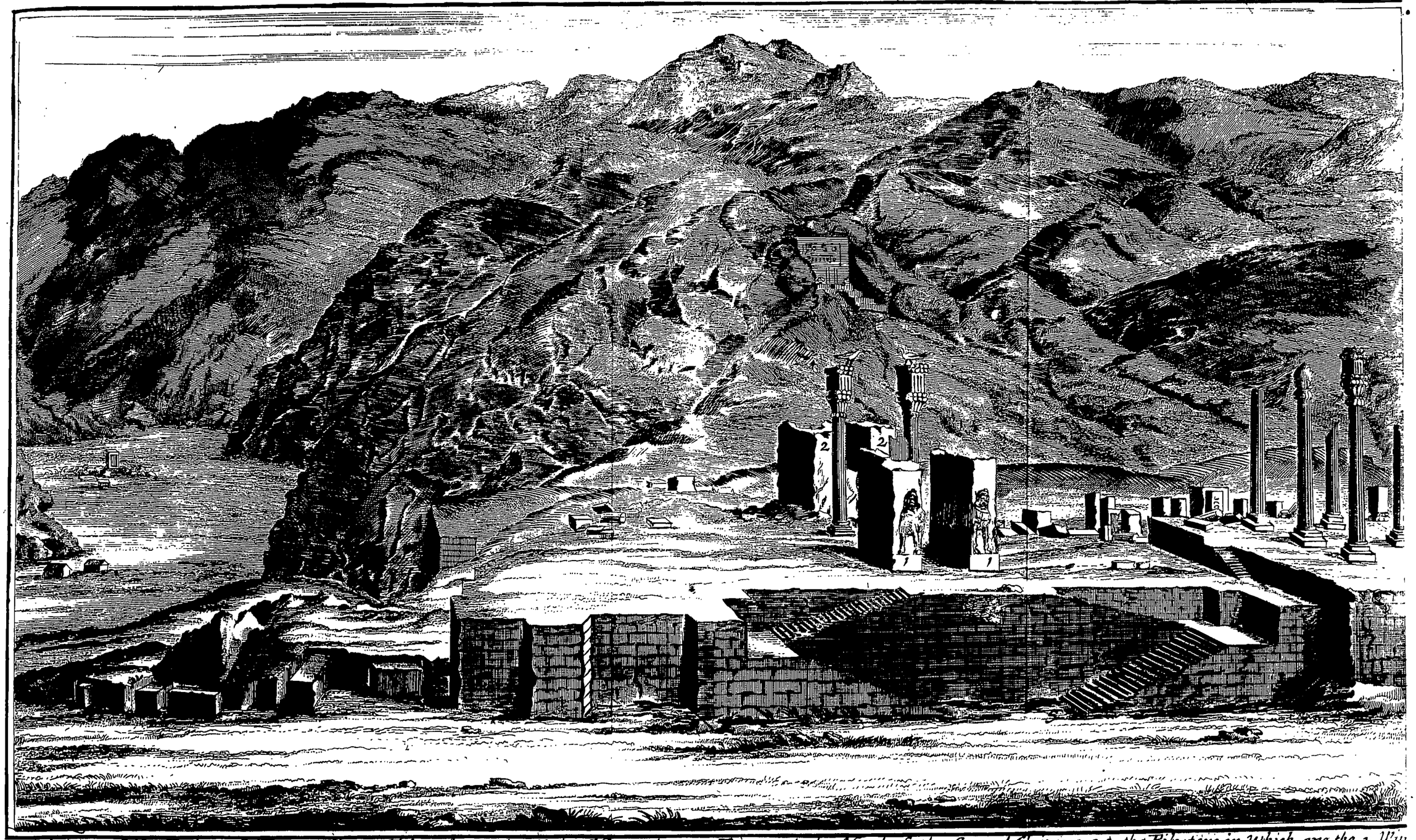
Part of the Persian Gulf

The Ancient Course of the Euphrates

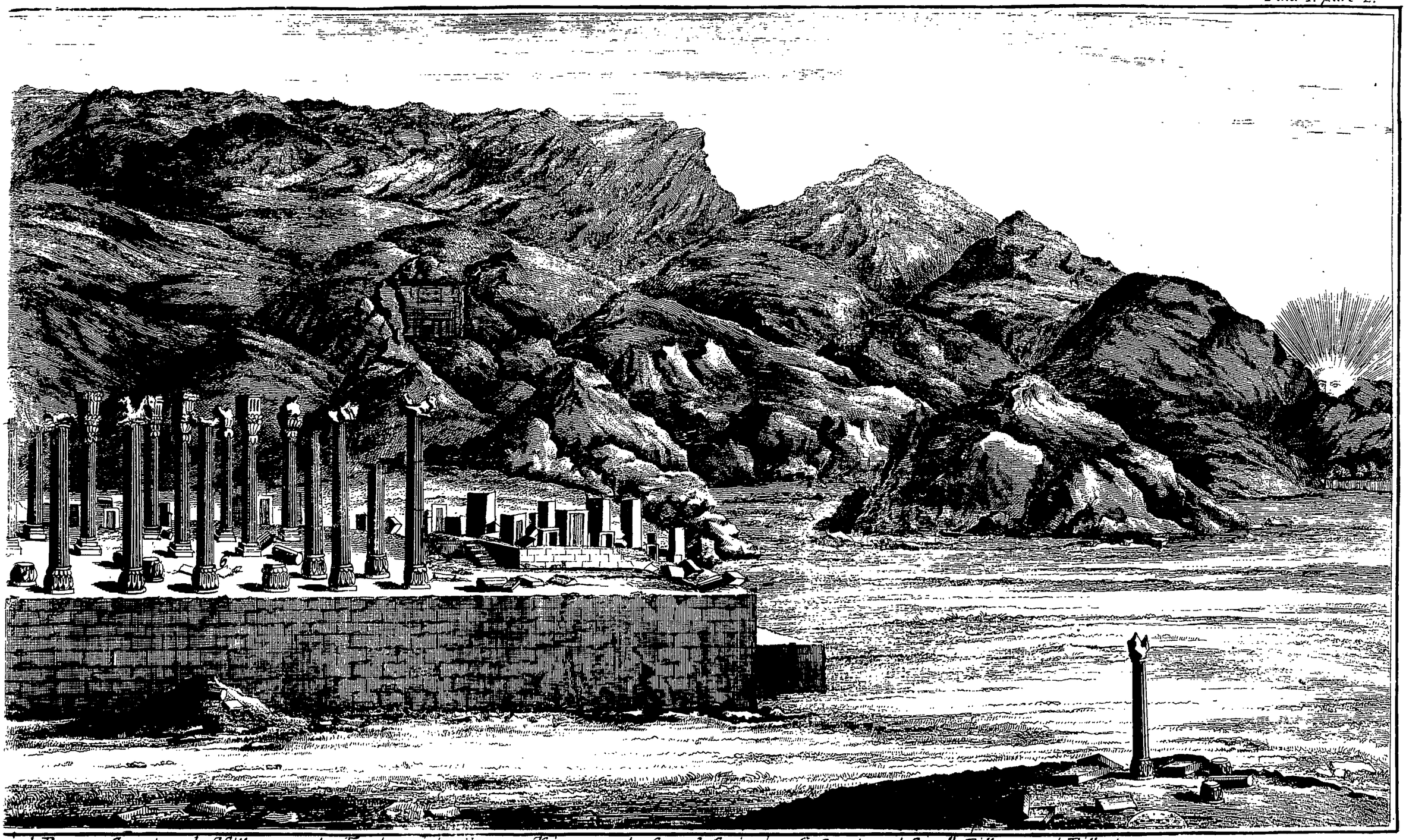
MESOPOTAMIA and BABYLONIA

with the course of the

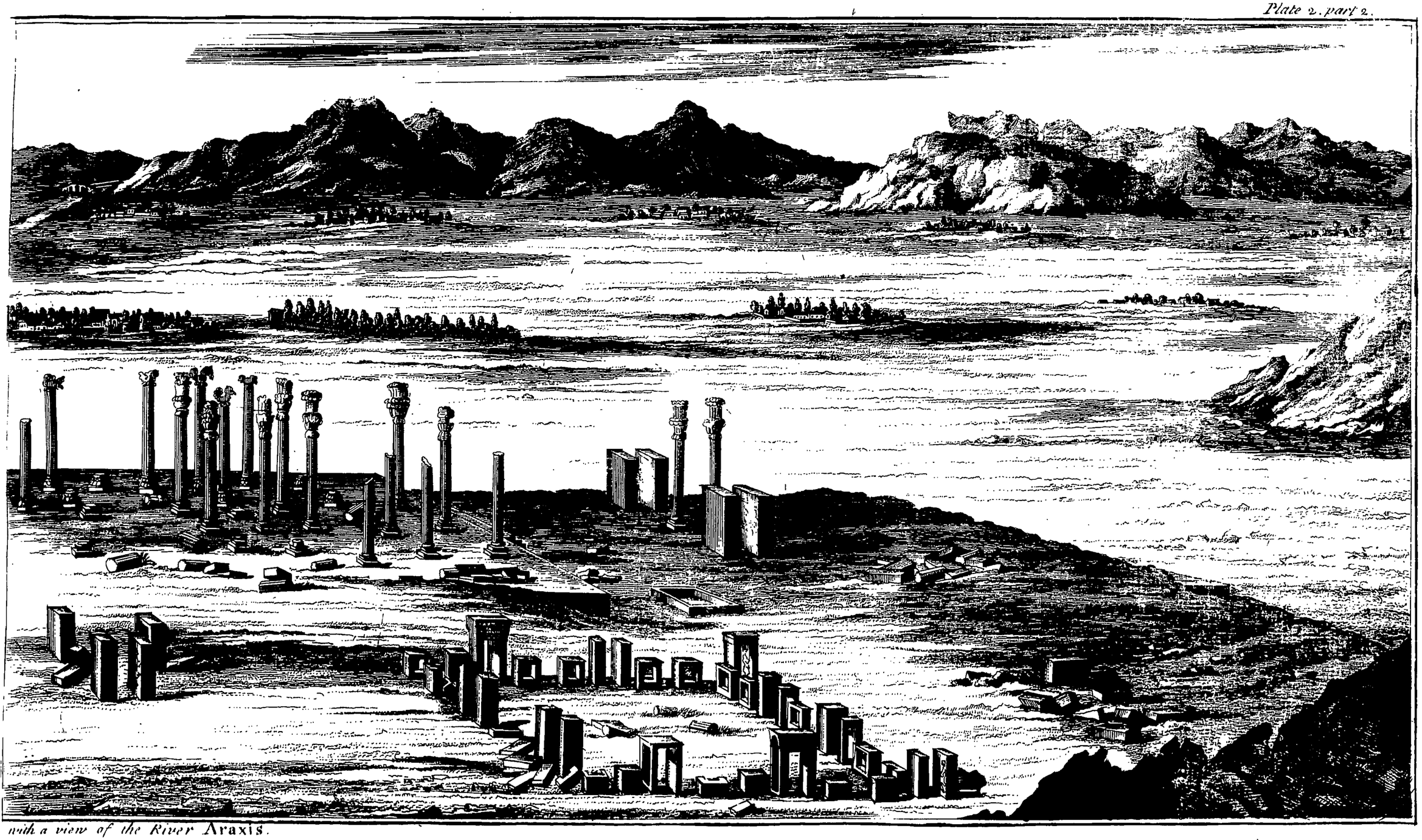
Euphrates *and* Tigris.



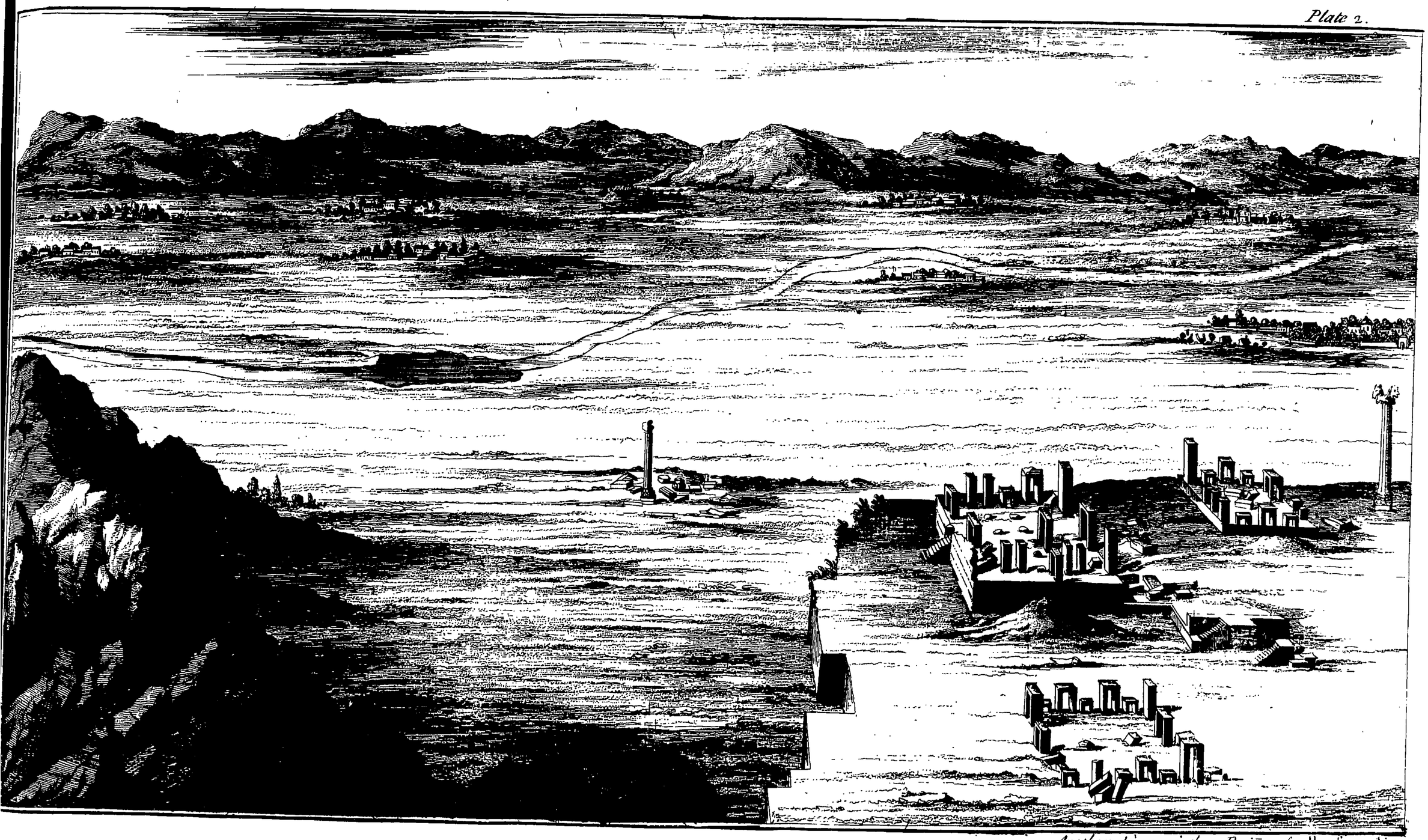
A View of the Ruins of Persepolis as Taken from the Plain N.° 1; 1. the two Beast at the Head of the Grand Staircase 2.2. the Pilasters in Which are the 2 Wi



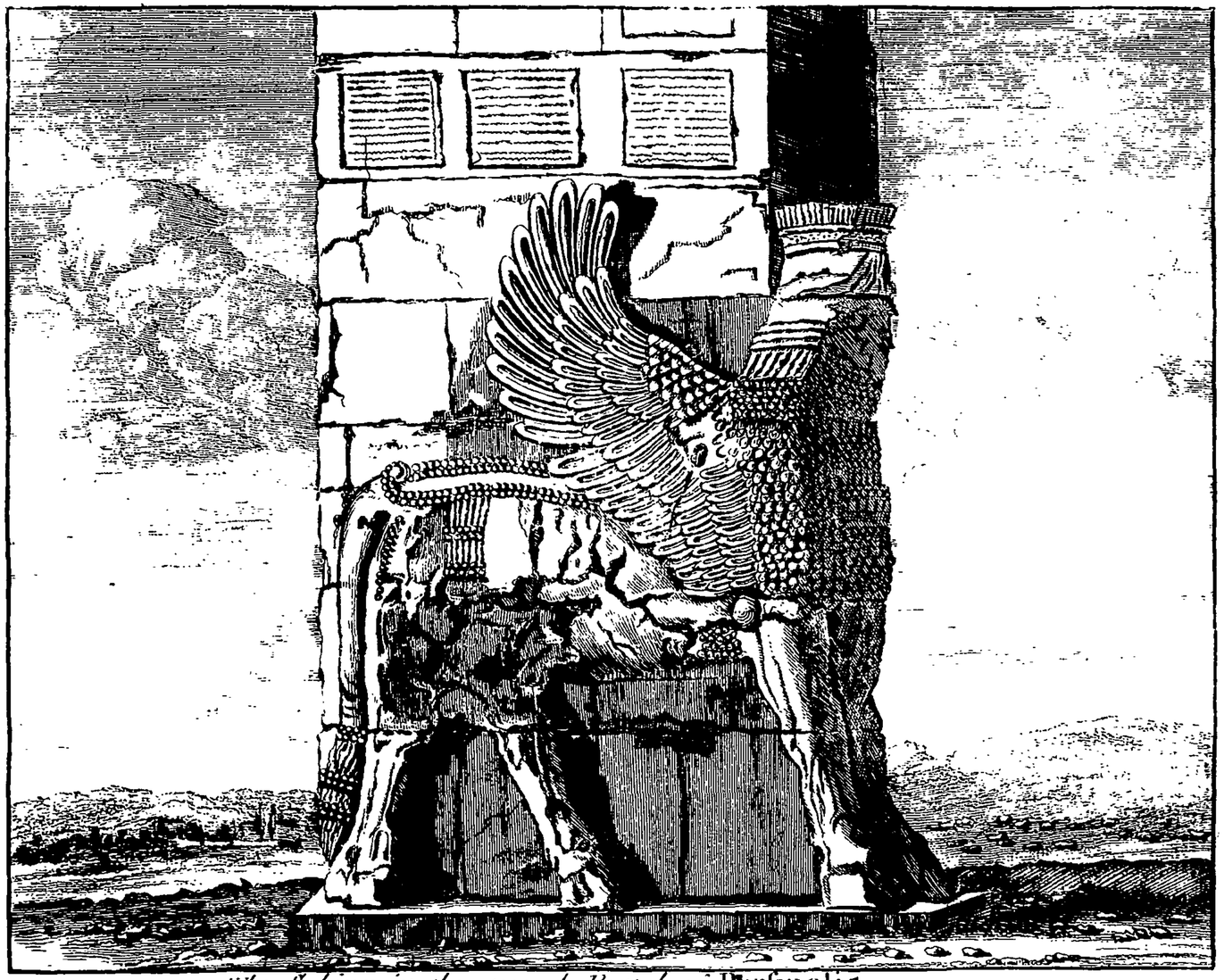
ged Beasts fronting the Hill 3 & 4 the Tombs of the Persian Kings. 5 the Grand Staircase. 6 Great and Small Pillars and Pillasters.



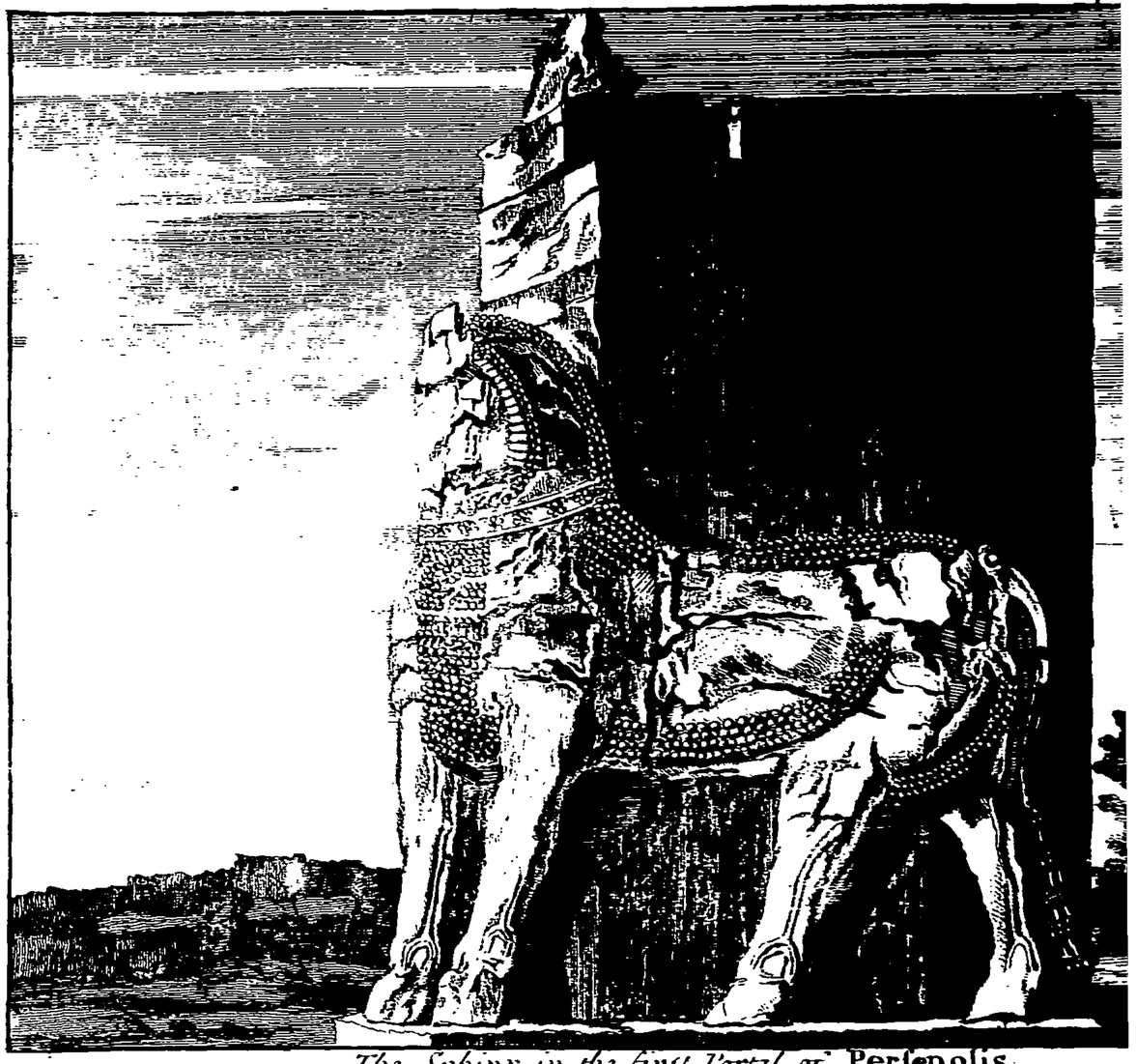
with a view of the River Araxis.



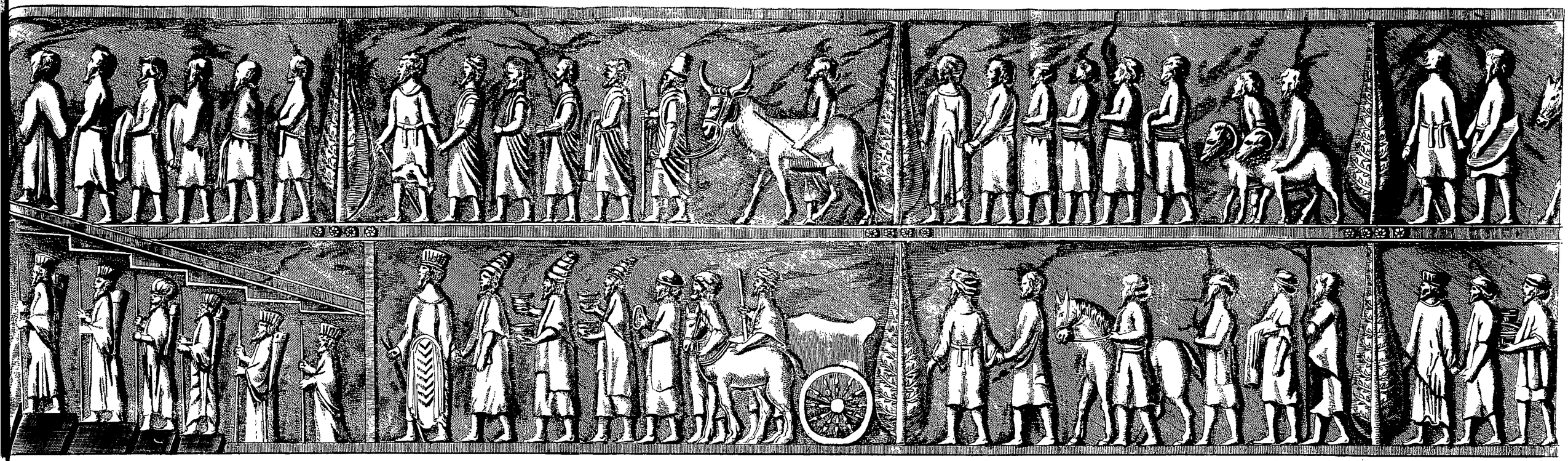
Another View of the Ruins of Perſepolis.



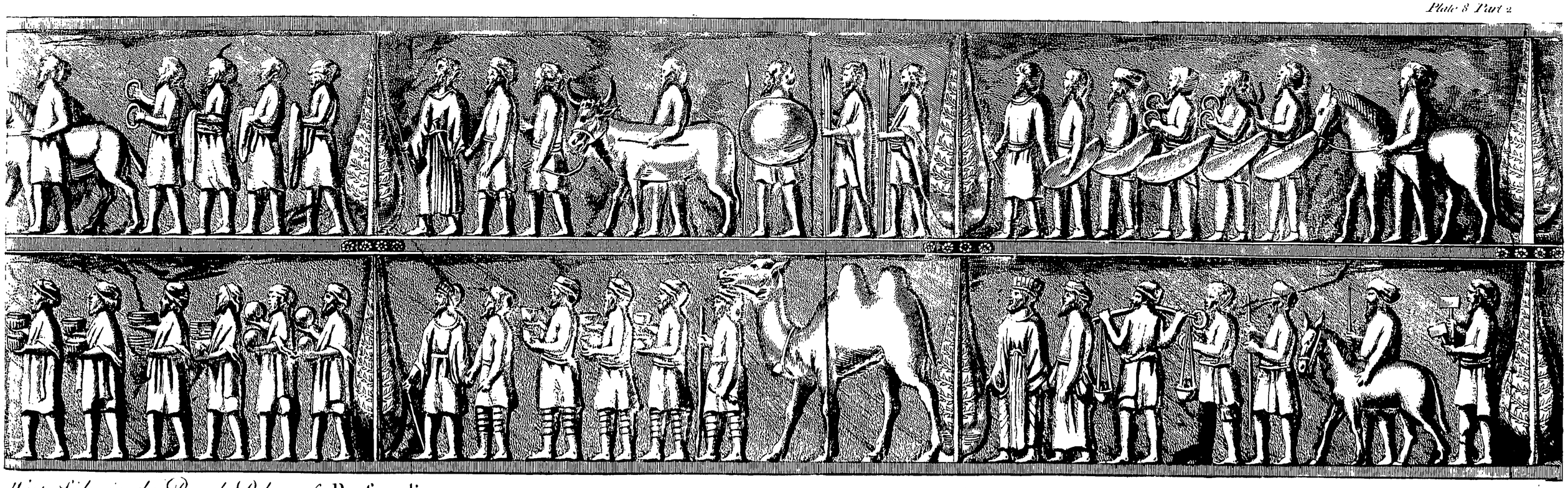
The Sphinx in the second Portal of Perſepolis.



The Sphinx in the first Portal of **Perſepolis.**



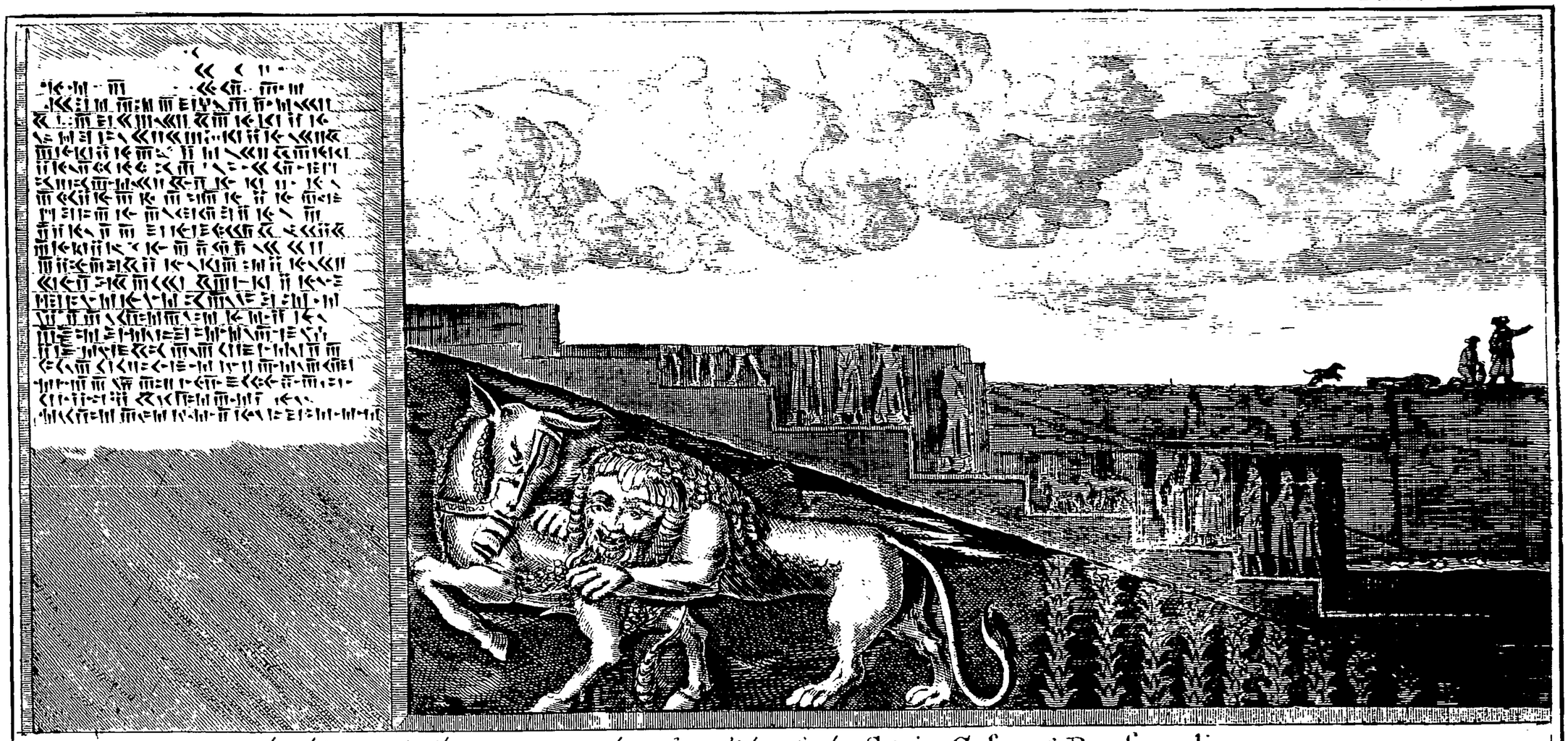
Figures upon the Windings of the Stair-Case, *on the*



West Side in the Royal Palace of Perſepolis.

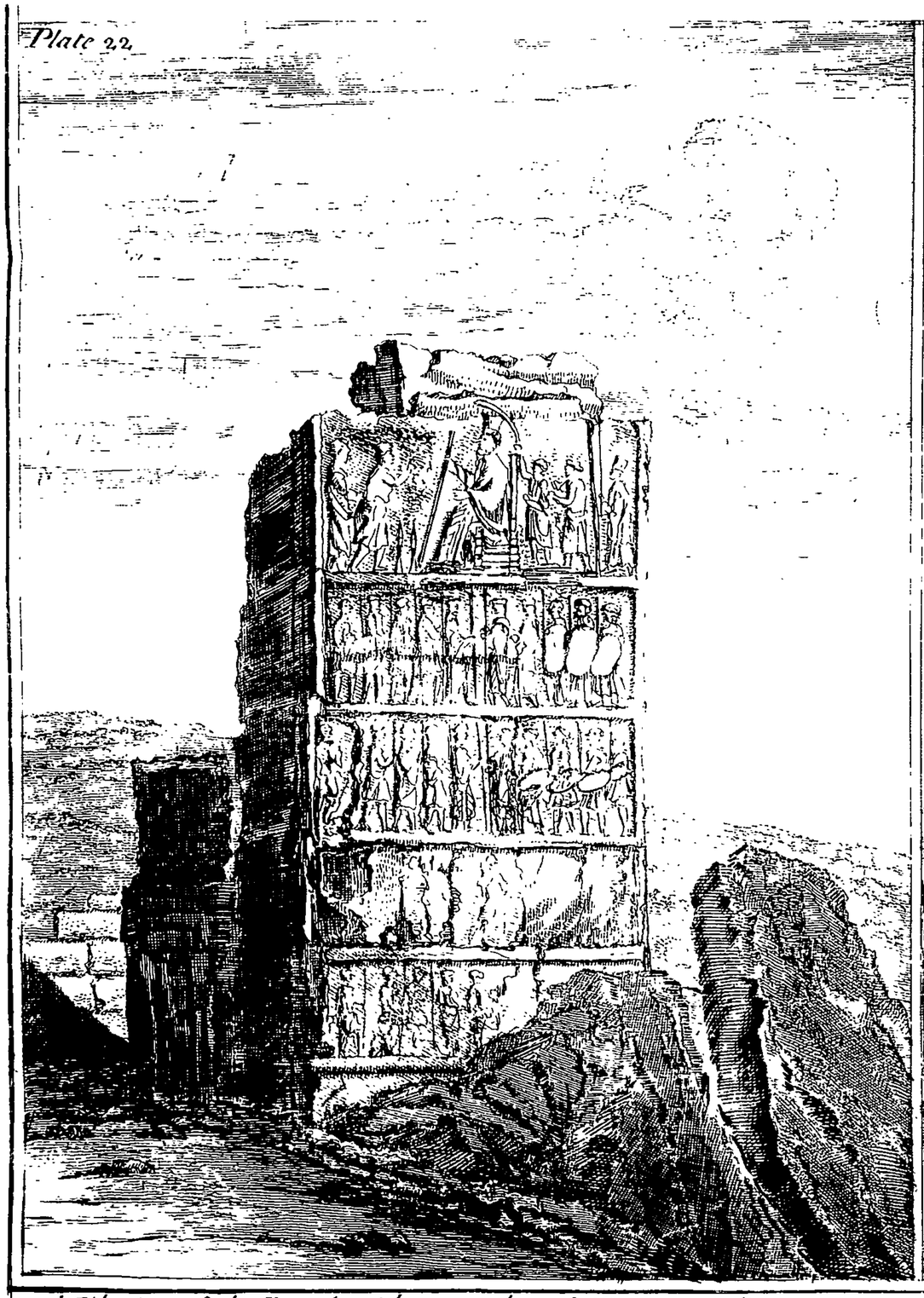
Figures upon the Windows of the Stair-Case, *on the East Side.*—

Plate. c.



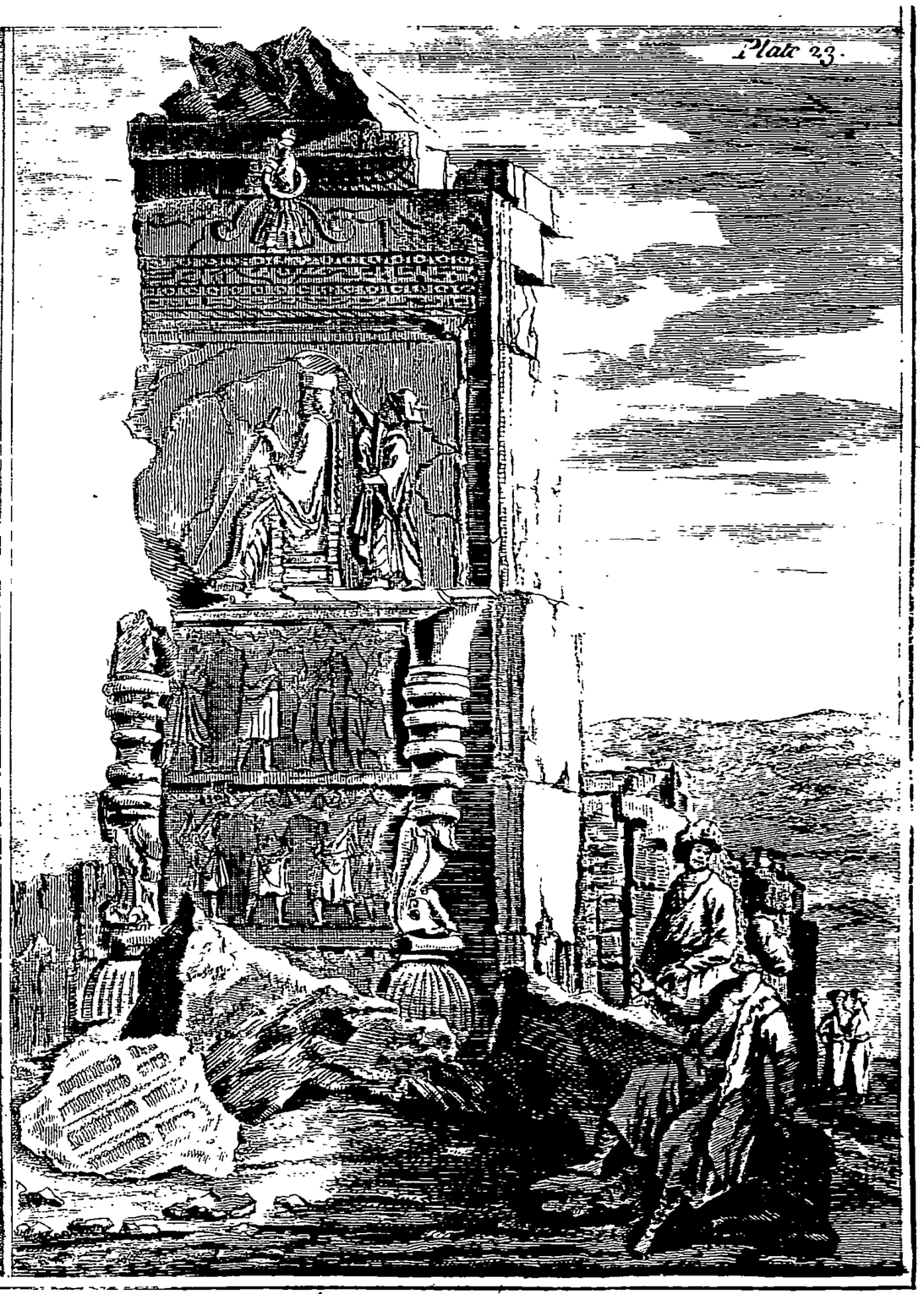
Hieroglyphics and Characters on the West Side of the Stair Case *of* Perſepolis.

Plate 22.

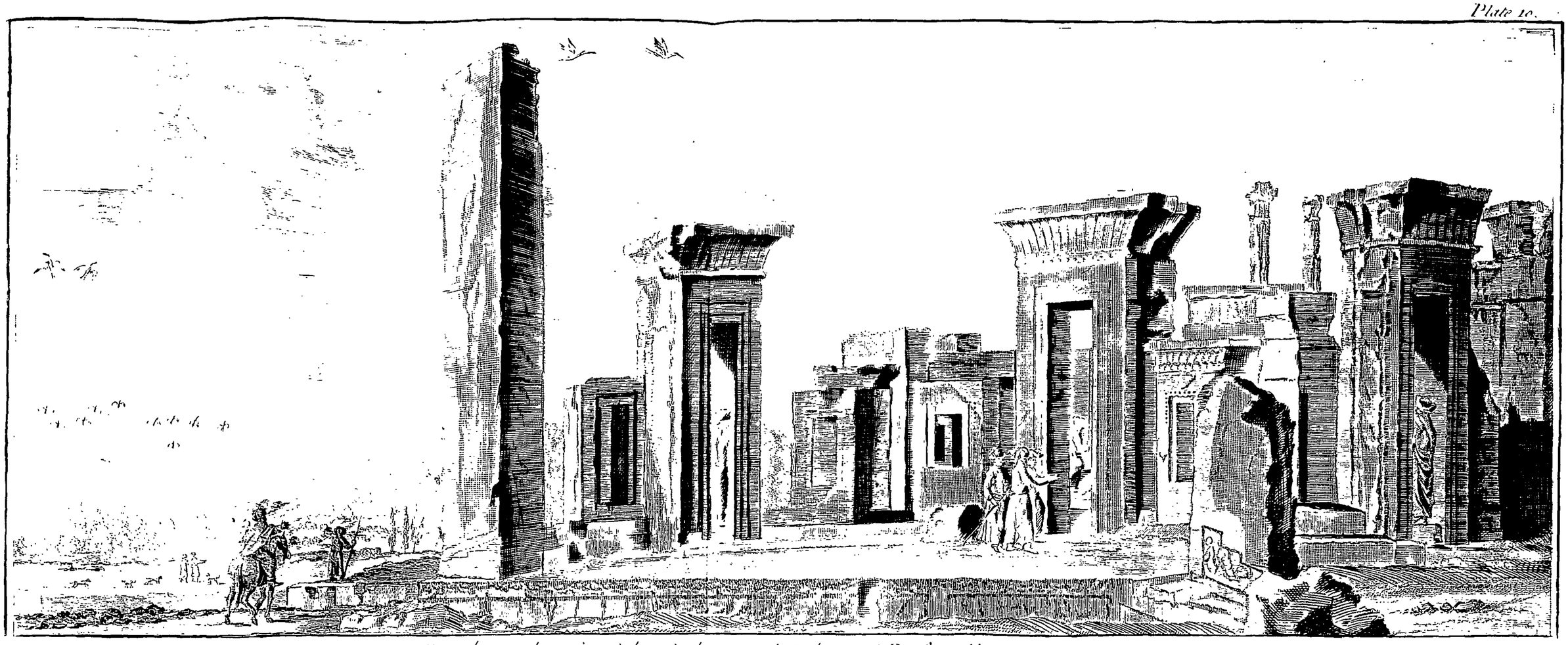


A Pilaster of the Portal with a number of Figures on it.

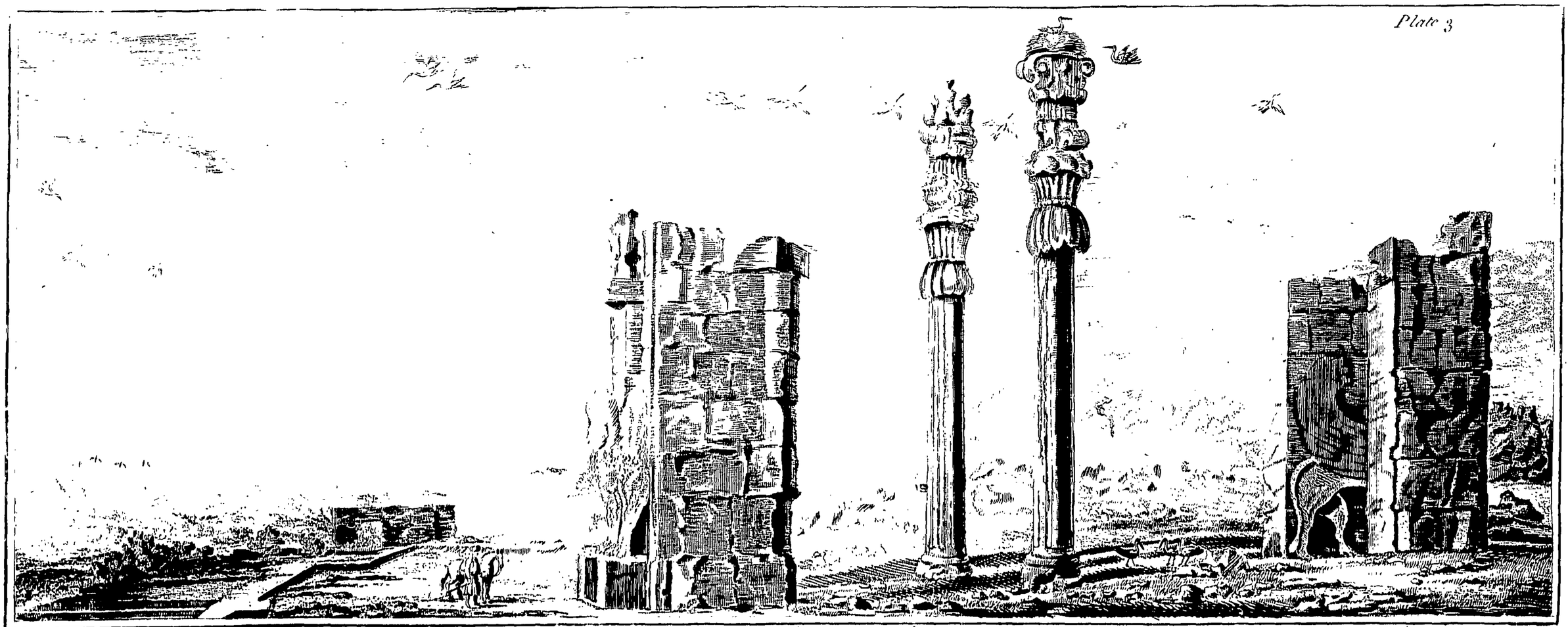
Plate 23.



Part of a Pilaster.

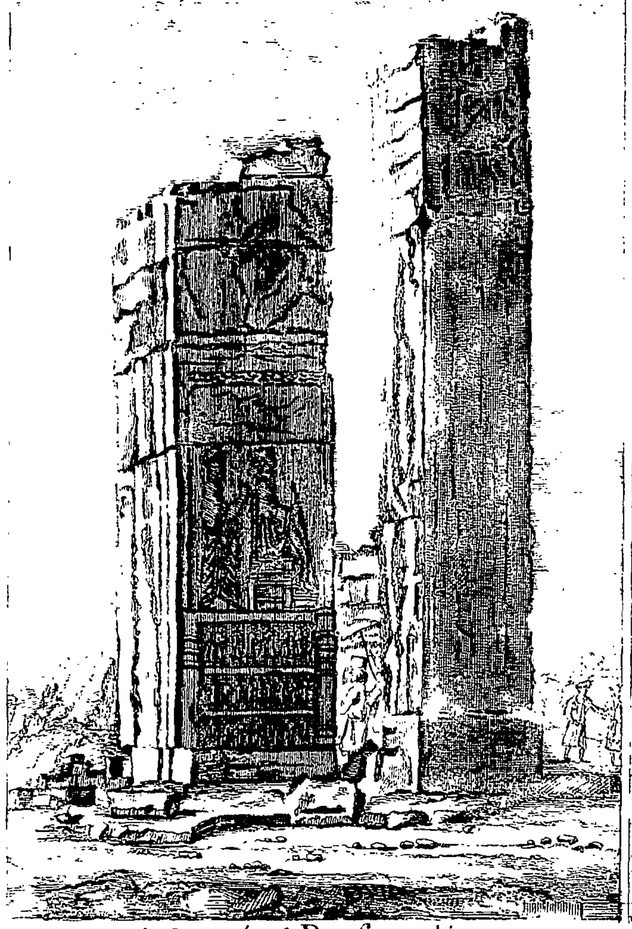


Portals on the West side of the Royal Palace of Persepolis.



The Remains of two Portals and two Columns of the Royal Palace of Persepolis.

Plate 12



A Portal of Perſepolis.

Plate 9



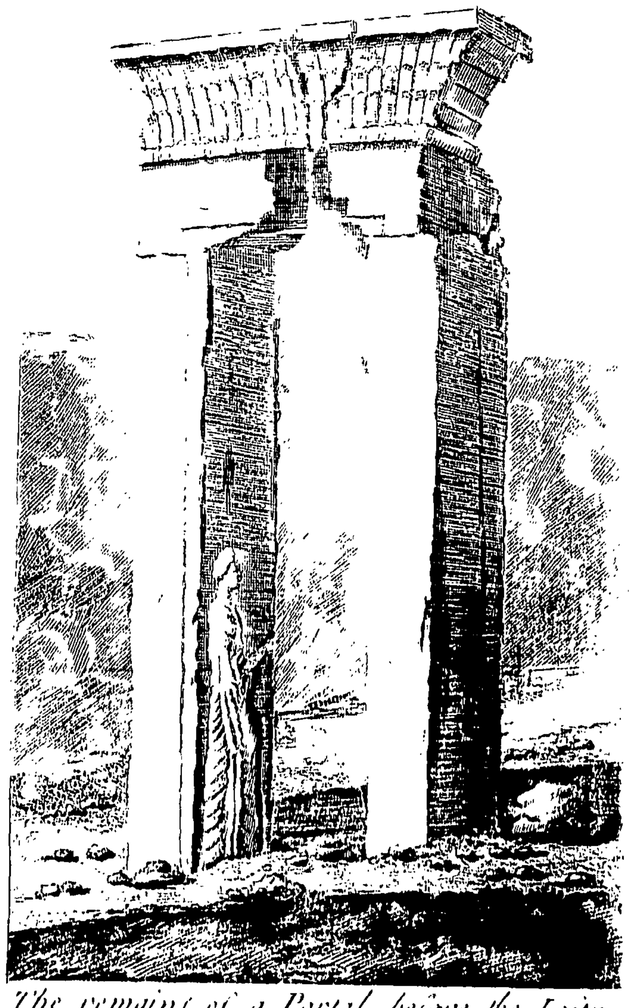
A Piece of the Side of a Window filled with Characters.

Plate 13



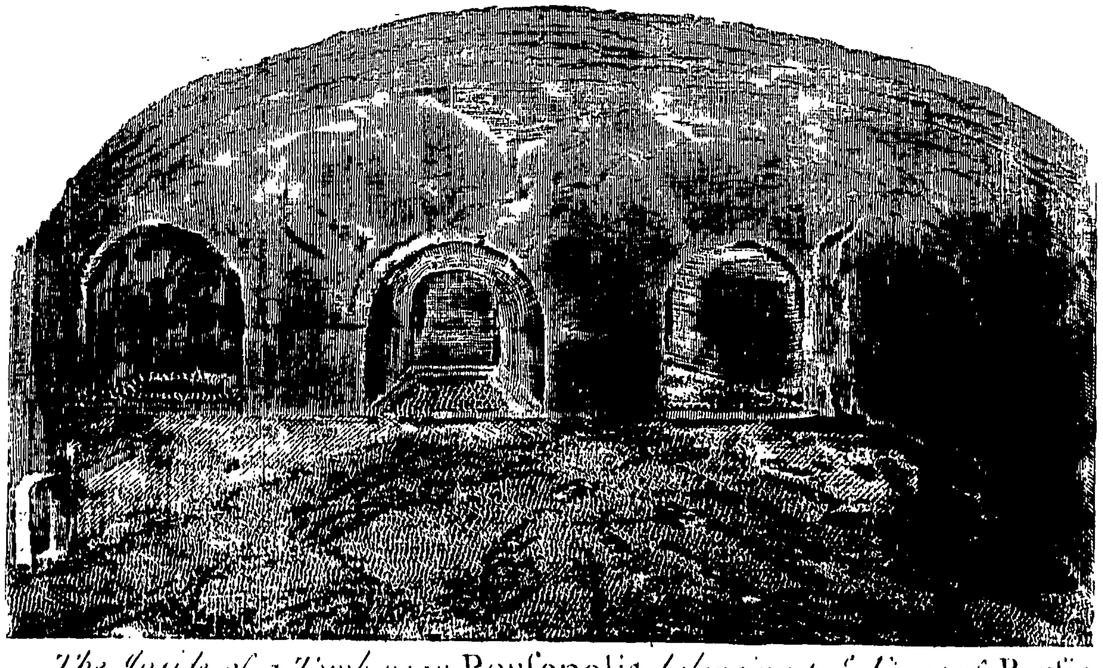
A Portal of Perſepolis.

Plate 11



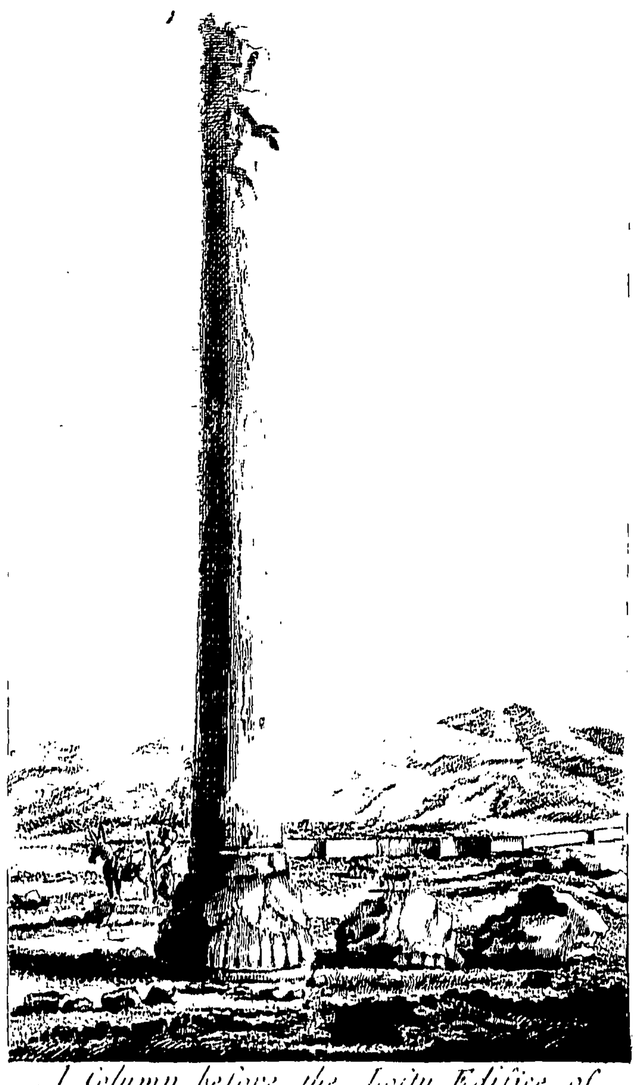
The remains of a Portal before the Lofty Edifice of Perſepolis.

Plate 10



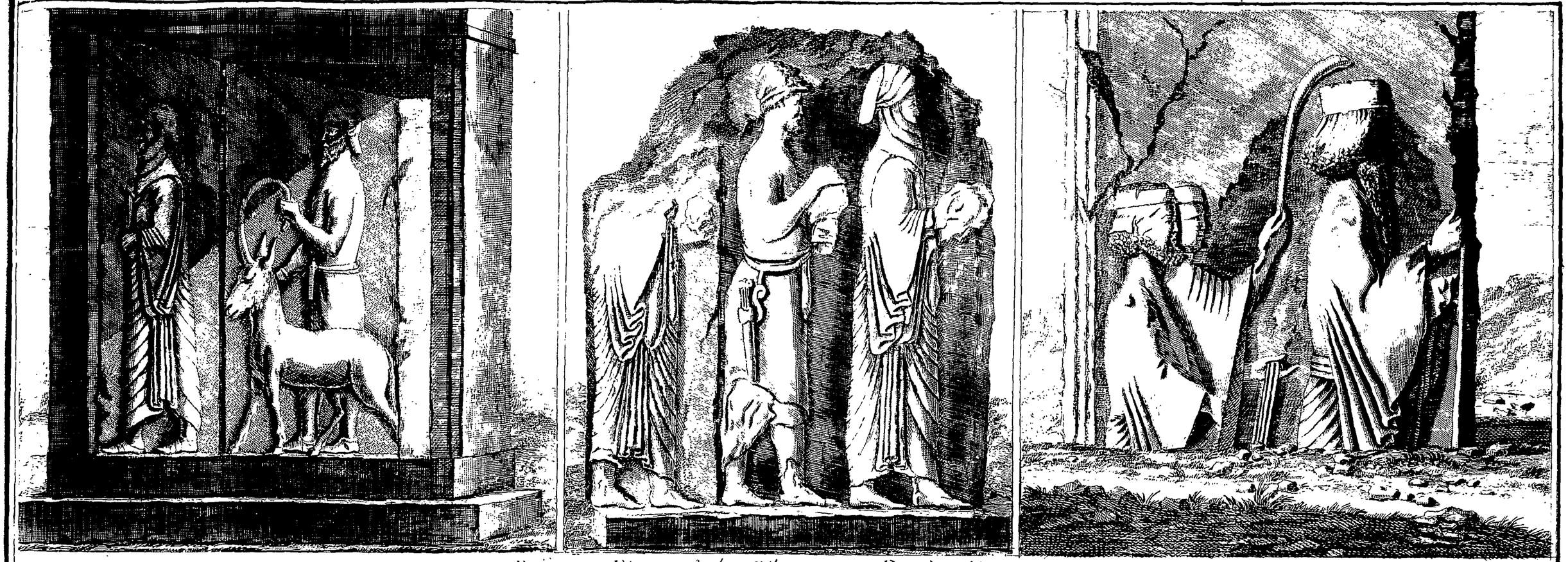
The Inside of a Tomb near Perſepolis, belonging to the Kings of Perſia

Plate 14



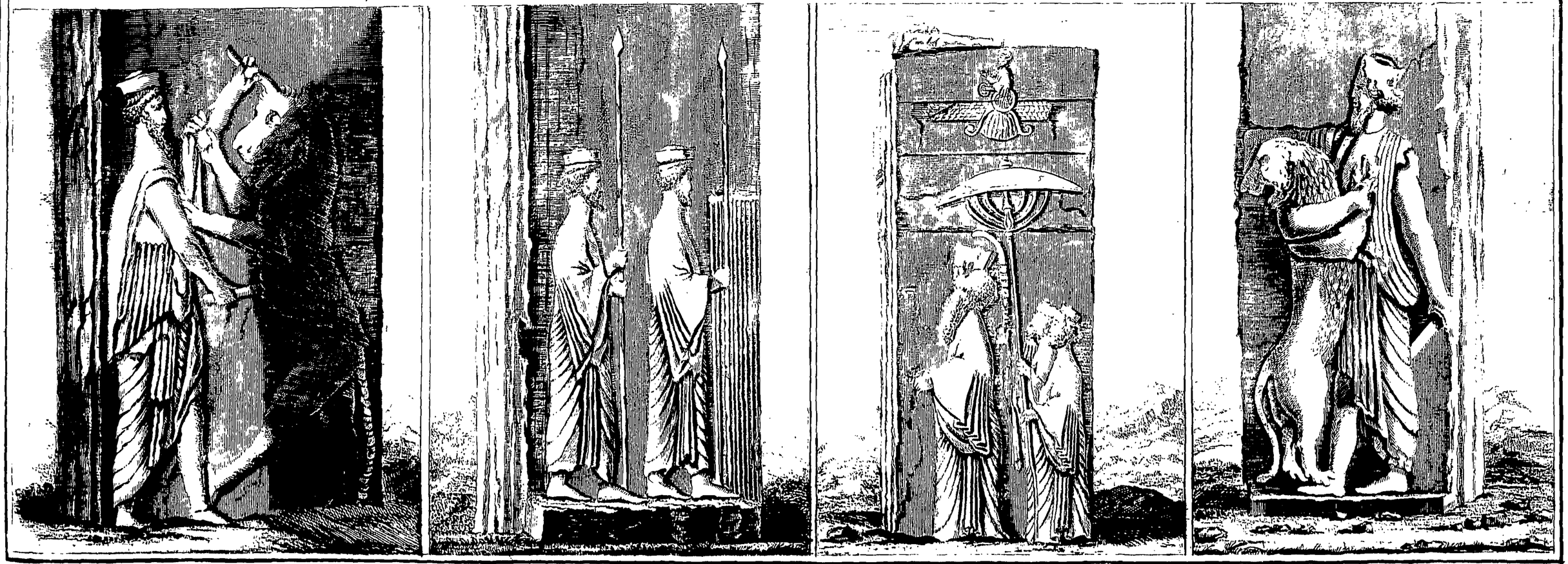
A Column before the Lofty Edifice of Perſepolis.

Plate 20 Plate 18 Plate 19

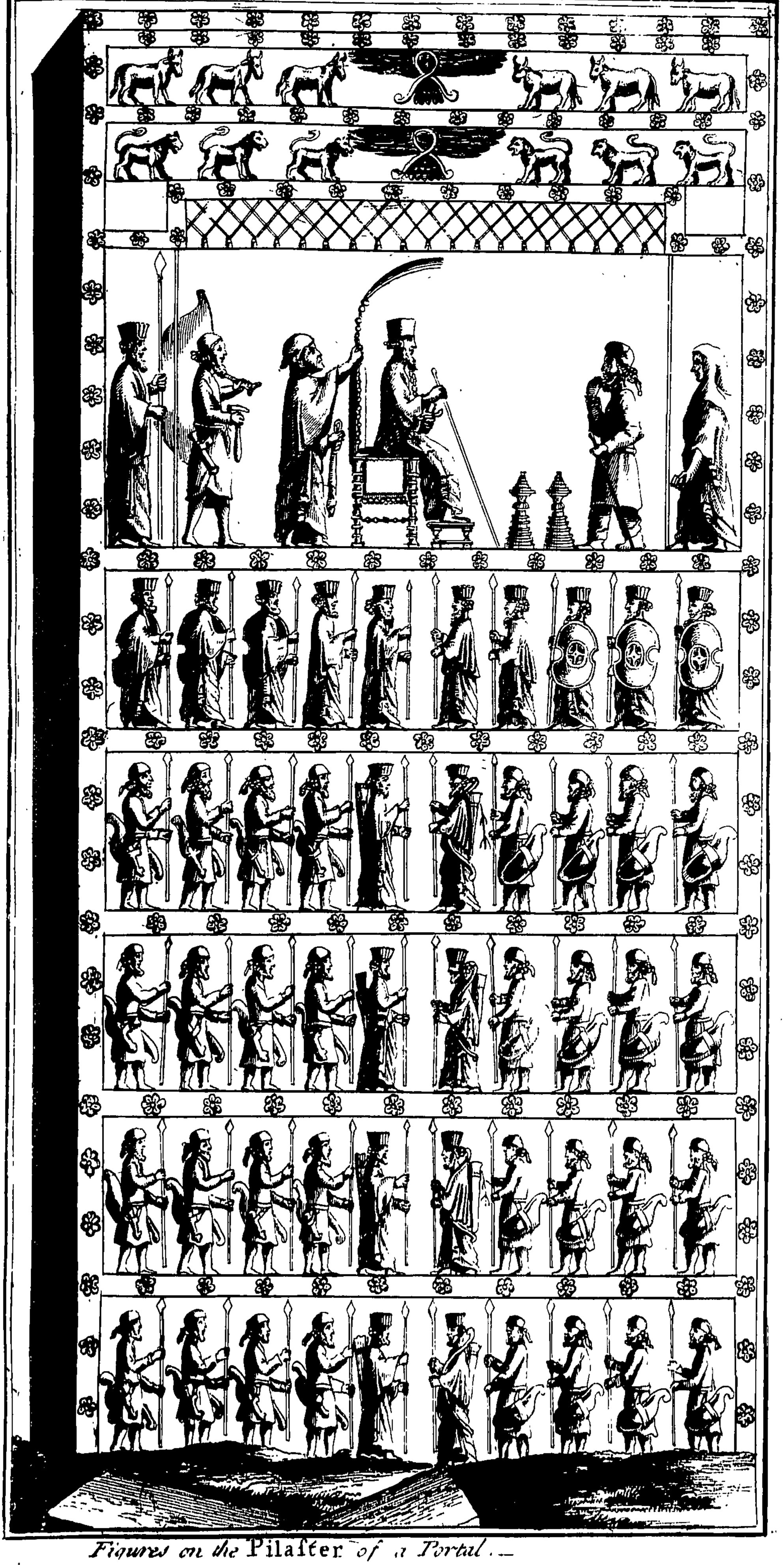


Different Pieces of the Pilasters of Perſepolis.

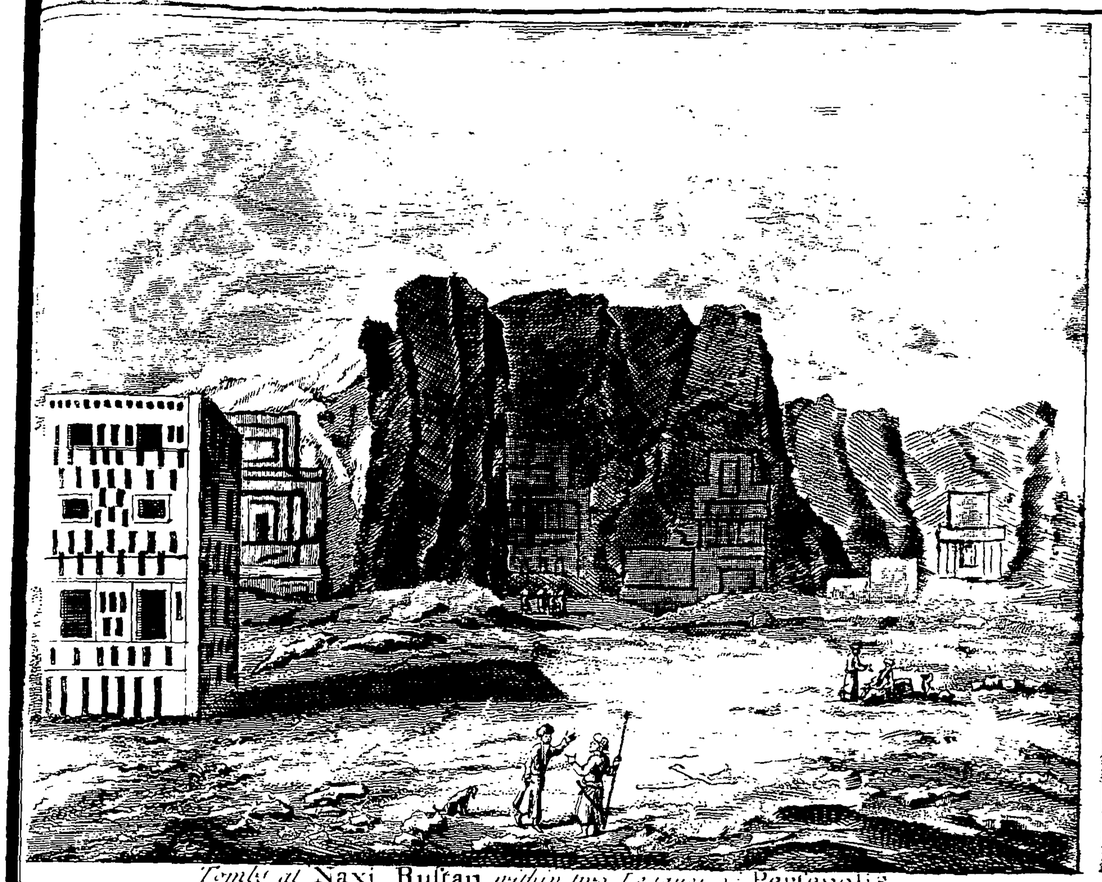
Plate 14. Plate 17 Plate 16 Plate 15



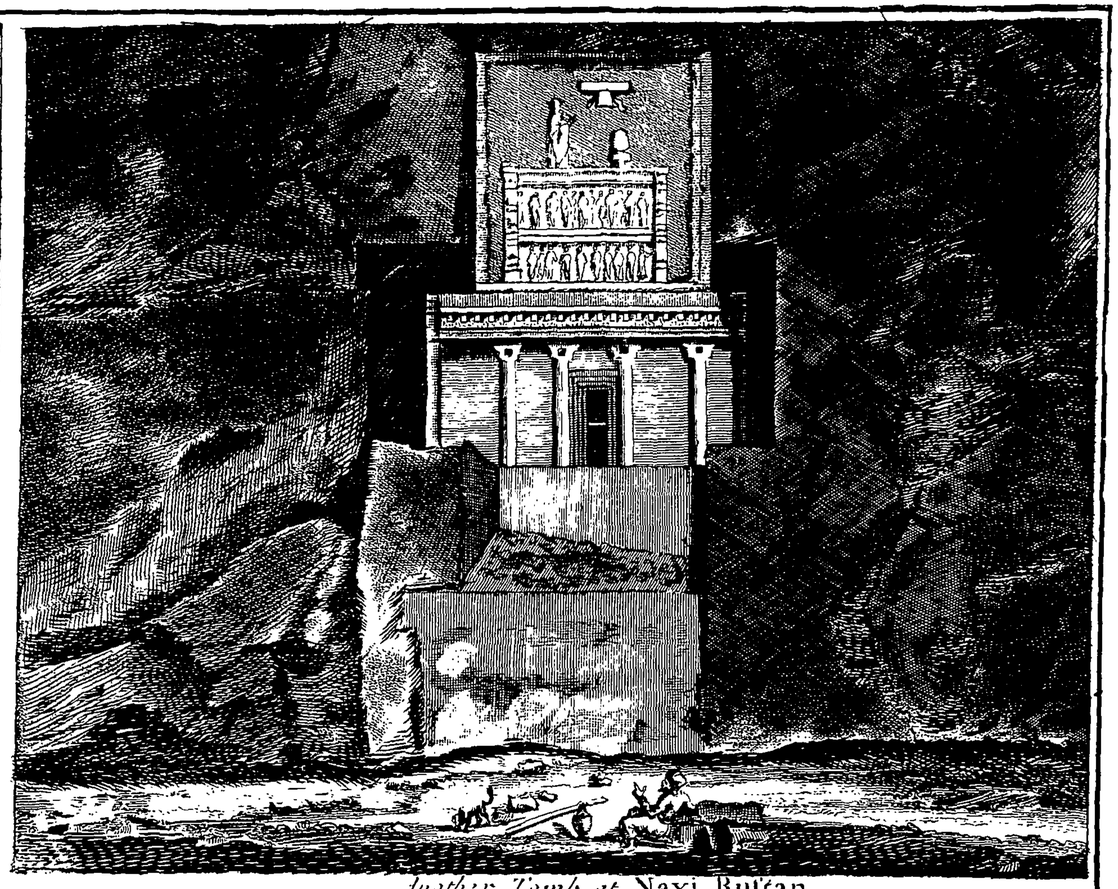
Other Pieces of the Pilasters.



Figures on the Pilaster *of a Portal.*



Tombs at Naxi Rustan *within two Leagues of* Pertepolis.



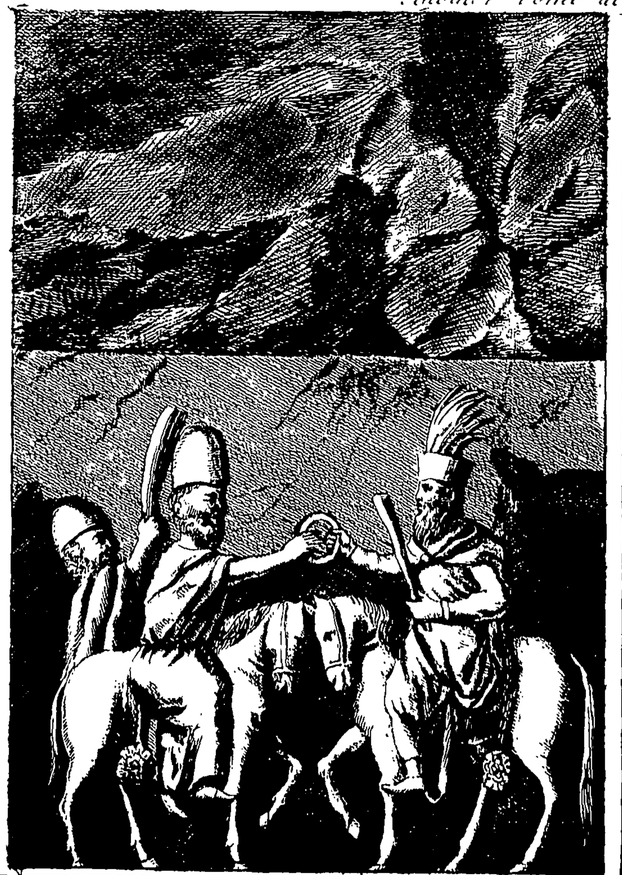
Another Tomb at Naxi Rustan.



Figures between the above Tombs Hewen out of a Rock. Plate 23



Figures half buried. Plate 25



Prince Rustan *& another on Horseback.* Plate 24

Plate 30

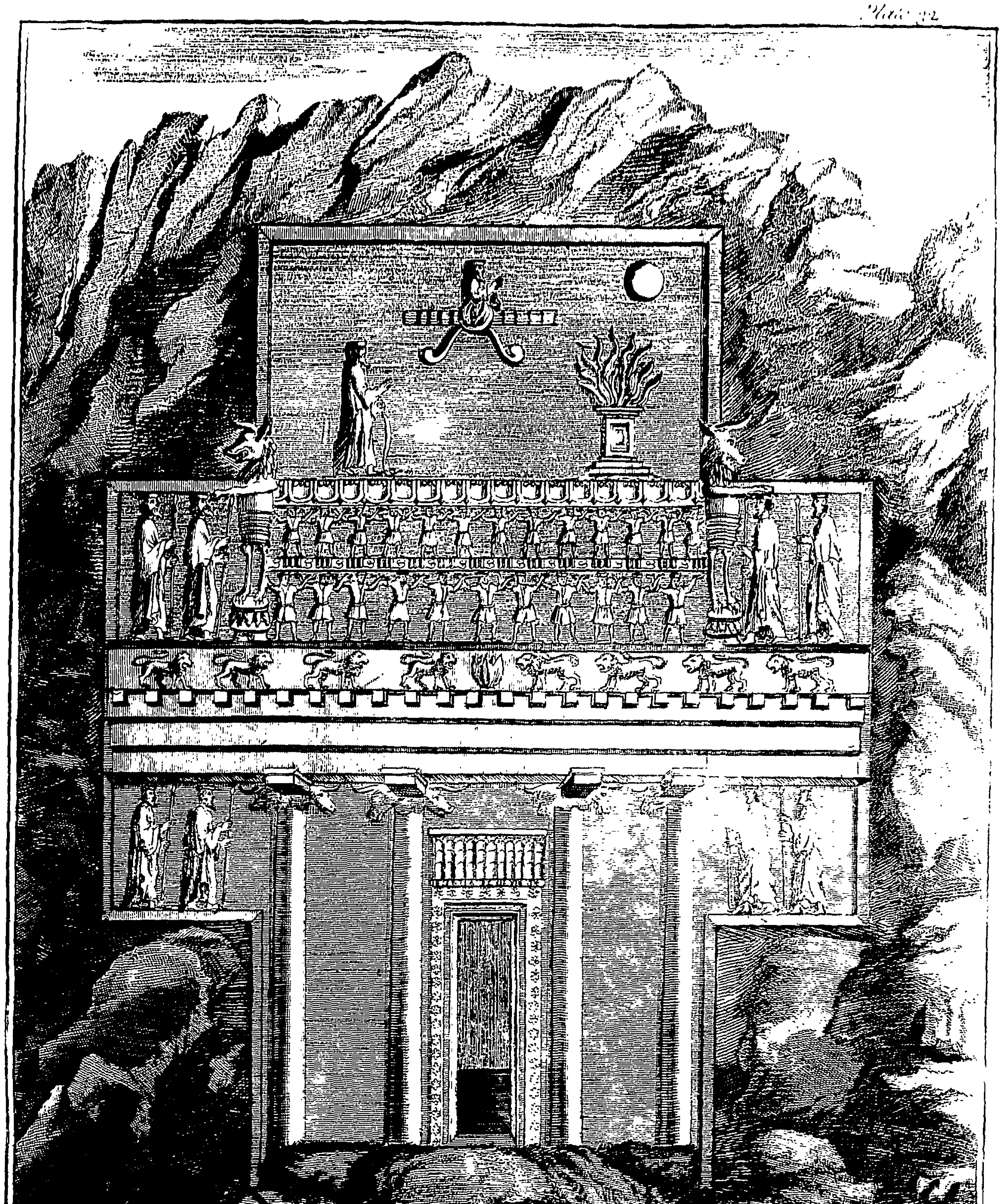


Two Small Square Edifices near the Tombs.



A Tomb of the Kings of Persia near Persepolis *Hewn out of a Rock.*

Plate 32



A MAP of the Retreat of the ten Thousand GREEKS under XENOPHON

THE EUXINE OR BLACK SEA

THE CASPIAN SEA

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

Salmydessus
Delta
Byzantium or Constantinople
Athenæ
Retreat of ye Greeks
Sinope
Harmene
Trebizonde
Cerasunt
Chalcedon
Calpe
Chrysopolis
Heraclea
PAPHLAGONIA
By Sea
Colyora
Lampsacus
Cyzicus
Troy
ASIATIC THRACE
BITHYNIA
PHRYGIA
Halys River
Iris River
Thermodon
TIBARENIANS
MOSYNOECIANS
MACRONES
COLCHIANS
SCYTHIANS
IBRIA or GEORGIA
CHALYBIANS
TAOCHIANS
Gymnias
Retreat of the Greeks
ARMENIA
Phasis or Araxes
River
ASIA MINOR or CAPADOCIA or ANATOLIA
Pergamos
Parthenium where ye Expedition en
Smyrna
LYDIA
IONIA
Sardis
Ephesus
Cyruss Route
TURKEY IN ASIA
PISIDIA
Miletum
CARIA
PAMPHILIA
CILICIA
Cilician pass
Alexandretta
LYCIA
RHODES I.
Teleboas R
Euphrates
Zeugma
CHALYBIANS
Spring of ye Euphrates
Spring of ye Tigris
Centrites
CARDUCHIAN MOUNTS
MESOPOTAMIA or DIARBEK
Aleppo
Mespila
Larissa
Araxes R.
Retreat of the Greeks
The Caspian Gates
MEDIA
Ecbatana
CYPRUS I.
Tripoli
PALESTINE
SYRIA
Thapsacus
The Marches of Cyrus
DESARTS
Coene
Daradax R.
Euphrates River
PHENICE
SYRIA
Sidon
Tyre
ARABIA DESERTA
Bagdad
Opis
Ctesiphon
Cunaxa
Sitace
Tigris River
Babylon
Susa
ASSYRIA
The BABYLONIA Inland
EGYPT
ARABIA PETREA

A Scale of Stades 700 to a degree
500 1000 1500 2000 2500
of Parasangs 23½ to a degree
25 50 75
of Leagues 25 to a degree
25 50 75 100

45 40 35
45 50 55 60 65

North

BOSPORUS, MAEOTIS IBERIA, ALBANIA, AND ASIATIC SARMATIA

Hyperborean Mountains

Rha River

Hippophagi Sarmatæ

Rha R.

Asæi

Agathyrsi

Hamaxobii

Rhipæi Mountains

Phthirophagi

Periebidi

SARMATIA IN EUROPE

Chæmdes

Materi

Rhymnia Mountains

Alexandri Ara

Cæsaris Ara

Tanaitæ

Tanais R.

SCYTHIA WITHIN IMAUS

Iaxamatæ Nautæ

Melanchlæni

Coraxi

Maotæ Europæi

Tanais

Exampæi

Scymnitæ

Vali

Orgasi

Pantanus R.

Patarve

Rhombites Major

Alexandri Ara

Iotæ

Horatius Mount.

MAEOTIS PALVS

SARMATIA ASIATICA

Serbi

Asiotæ

Rhombites Minor

Sarmatæ Pylæ

Udini

Olondæ

Aorsi

Tyrambæ

Zingi Mount.

Colica Gens

Alani

Udice R.

Pylæ Albanicæ

Sirena R.

Maeotæ

Pæthis R.

Anadyr R. al Vardanus

Caucasus

Gerri

Talebæ

Gerrus R.

Cimmerius Bosporus

Sindi

Cercetæ

Hemodus

Dandarius

Phagrus Mount.

Corax R.

Nubæi

Thuanta

Gelda

Coraxi

Ibericæ Portæ

Iberia

Cyrus R.

Mosis

Albania

Chadan

Colchis Propria

Colchi

Agunia

Media

Cyrnus R.

Hippus Cyaneus

Cyrnus R.

Cyrus R.

Artanissa

Camechia

Adsabdi

Harmastis Armaticæ

Tarum

Cagara

Saraces

Lazi

Phasis R.

Zadris

Scumara

Zani

Zalissa

Harmozica Armaticæ

Tega

Moschi

Moschici Mountains

Trapezus

Armeniæ Fines

MEDIA ATROPATENE

Caspiana

THE EUXINE SEA

THE CASPIAN OR HYRCANIAN SEA

Chersonesus Taurica

Byzantium

Panticapæum

Theodosia

Cercetica Sinus

Crimetopon Promont

Carambe promont

Parthenius

PONTVS.

Thermodon R.

Halys R.

Iris R.

South

North

PART OF THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA

ARABIA PETRÆA AND DESERTA

BABYLONIA AND CHALDEA

Euphrates River

Chaboras R.

Jactanas R.

Euphrates R.

Antiochia

Orontes R.

Casius M.

Apamea

Hemath

SYRIA

MESOPOTAMIA

Byblus

Berytus

Phœnicia

Libanus M.

Arabes Scenitæ Transeuphratesii

Euphrates R.

Rescipha

Sidon

Antilibanus

Trachonitis

Thapsacus Amphipolis

Birtha

Gozarthe

Auzarus

Audatha

Dastara

Tyrus

Ituræa

Damascus

Palmyra

Catana

Phargo

Celenna

Belgunes

Cæsarea Philippi

Terra Vz or Ausitis

Batanæa

Galilæa

The Desert of Palmyrene

Cauchabeni

Ptolemais

S. Iobi Sedes

Saceæa

THE DESERTS

The Mountains of Chaldea Prol.

Gaulon

Adra

Barathena

Sabe

Rheganna

Pella

Batra

Philadelphia

Rabbat Ammon

Philippopolis

Choce

Gabare

Samaria

Ioppe

Jazer

Aurana

Aisitæ of Ptol. or rather Ausitæ

Hierosolyma

Gallirrhoe

Areopolis

Rabbat Moab

Thimma seu Thema

Azotus

Moab

Solitudo Arabica

Gaza

JUDEA

Zared R.

OF ARABIA

Raphia

Zoara

Corace

Agræi

Rhinocolura

Ziza

Luma

Duma

Thoman

Ecupa

Marteni

Caparorsa

Elusa

Zur

Scuia

Dapha

Tedium

Elbeda

Thauba

Masam

Terra Heuila

Lyra

Sinai

Audia

Solitudines

Horeb

Petradree

Cora

Gubba

Zagmais

Gypsaria

Nedla

Anitha

Banacha

Dumetha

Adron

Aegypti fines

Moca

Agubeni

Ammas

Part of the Persian Gulf

Elana

Phara

Asiongeber

Obarn

Rhaabeni

Allutha

Alatæ

Berenice

Part of y Arabian Gulf

Kedar Cedrei

Bere

Abere

Calasthusa

Idiara

Artemita

Orchem

Salma

Iucana

FELICIS ARABIAE FINIS. quam vide in Tabula Orientis expressam

West

East

South